

**RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION AND SECURITY IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF
NORTH EASTERN KENYA**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University - Africa for academic credit.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is my humble contribution to the survivors of terror in Kenya, and for those who suffer because they are wrongfully perceived to be Al Shabaab by society. May the Kenyan leadership be driven to secure us all. I hereby acknowledge my family and friends for their understanding as I tackled this sensitive topic in my country right now. I thank my family for encouraging me to research, analyse and complete this thesis. To my son Andrew Imani who inspires my academic journey, I am forever in debt. My supervisor and mentor Mr Weldon Ng'eno, thank you – your passion in governance and development in Kenya has inspired many to do more for this country, I am lucky to have learned so much from you.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Al Shabaab	Islamic terror group based in Somalia and responsible for several attacks in Kenya.
CDU	Central Depository Unit
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
GoK	Government of Kenya
EU	European Union
ID	National Identity Card
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KNCHR	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
NEP	North Eastern Province
NFD	Northern Frontier District

LIST OF GRAPHS AND TABLES

Table 1.1 Data showing frequency of concepts appearing in research material by year

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ABSTRACT

This thesis researched the links between resource distribution, and the state of security in North Eastern Kenya. The study aimed to determine if indeed such links existed, and when they did, to check how they manifested themselves and affected residents of the region. The study explored prior and current government initiatives that have aimed to remedy inequality in resource distribution.

The study identified instances of historical injustices aiming to establish existing perceptions of the government by the residents of North Eastern Kenya. Such perceptions were seen to create uncomfortable relationships between citizens and the government in the region. This strained relationship was seen especially as several residents continue to refer to themselves as non-Kenyans.

This research was conducted over a period of 5 months where the researcher reviewed information from various sources on the subject, guided by key research questions investigating the issues. The content was secondary data, and it gave good insight on the historical manifestations of the issues around the people and the government. Media reports from reputable media outlets were also used for study. Data was analyzed through content analysis which generated information through conceptual analysis from which several conclusions could be derived, and described further along.

During the time the study was conducted, several attacks were carried out in Kenya by Al Shabaab. For this reason, North Eastern Kenya was quite insecure, and it was not possible for the researcher to visit the area for more research. However, there was a good amount of content available for study.

The study found that indeed, there are links between resource distribution and security issues in North Eastern Kenya. The key issue being that, due to continued marginalization of the area, the area has not developed good security infrastructure. The residents also do not collaborate with the authorities in the area, since they do not trust the government due to historical and continuing injustices.

The study recommends that a survey is conducted in the region to listen o the views of the locals about insecurity and terrorism. Including the views of locals will aid in capturing hearts and minds and ensure that key terror suspects are rooted out with the help of the community. Community policing is another recommendation made by the study so that local authority figures are involved in decision making.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Resource sharing is a critical state responsibility globally. Different states worldwide have approached this issue based on varying factors to ensure citizens enjoy services and opportunities that enable them to thrive. Proper management of basic social services such as education, infrastructure and wealth distribution are vital resources for the growth and development of any state.

Europe showcases some success when resources are shared equitably. Education in Finland is celebrated as one of the best in the world currently due to specific features such as the limiting of private schools and equity in learning opportunities (Väljärvi, 2012). This means that citizens are highly encouraged and supported to access state-sponsored education. Subsequently, economic status as a factor among the Finns has limited effect on the education that a student would access, much less than other countries around the world. This reveals that education is largely accessible to most of the population, so much so that private schooling has been contained. Väljärvi (2012) confirms that the government puts conscious effort to ensure that all children have an opportunity to attend school with a school network that covers the population evenly.

Well-developed infrastructure is another key resource for development of states. The European Union is heavily investing, in infrastructural growth with the assumption that improved transport will lead to more trade, fostering economic growth and eventually

leading to cohesion (Wegener, Spiekermann & Schürmann, 1997). Although this relationship has been difficult to verify empirically, there has been tremendous growth in the EU economy alongside infrastructural improvement. This is some indication that infrastructural development is relational to economic growth of a society.

The Niger Delta has been studied as a case for resource distribution and governance in Nigeria. According to Opukri (2012), resource distribution has been a cause for war within and without nations. Opukri (2012) opines that a federal system of government such as the one in Nigeria, should be one to allow maximum participation in governance. In such a situation, the endemic militancy over the oil-rich Niger Delta (Opukri, 2012) should be better governed by local systems. It also makes for discourse on the 'resource curse' (Mahler, 2010), which links the abundance of resources to violence and instability as opposed to economic growth. The perennial violence in the Niger Delta is here examined as a product to mismanagement of oil as a natural resource. This is an instance where the availability of resources does not necessarily lead to the improvement of lives of the locals.

The East African community also reveals that resource distribution is key to growth even in integration. According to Adar (2012), the Nairobi-Kampala railway set the pace for the first vital phase of integration in East Africa since it enhanced socio-economic cooperation. In this way, the growth of an entire region can be seen to have begun through the development of a single railway line since it allowed citizens and goods to

cross borders for trade through a cheap means of transport. Opening up a region through transport can lead to a spiral effect of development in the area,

National development in Kenya remains a topical discussion among political leaders and academia as the state forges on to grow. The long struggle for democracy in Kenya in the nineties is punctuated by calls for equal distribution of resources through a fair political process. Indeed, the system of devolution operationalized by the 2010 Constitution particularly aimed to achieve growth around all regions in the country.

There is no region in Kenya which is completely disadvantaged or marginalised according to some authors (Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012). However North Eastern Kenya lags behind on issues such as infrastructural development and access to basic services. For example, despite having political representation, in Kenya, resource distribution is often pegged on political might and numbers (Murunga, 2003), and North Eastern Kenya has a low population and even lower political might.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Resource distribution in Kenya has been linked with political might (Murunga, 2003). The discussion Murunga (2003) presents is that areas with political might have better chances in securing resources as leaders from these communities are appointed to influential ministerial positions. This author defines political might as the numbers in population and availability of resources in a given geographical area. From this lens, it is notable that according to the 2009 census, North Eastern Kenya only has a sparse

population of less than 5 million. Indeed only a handful of the residents of Garissa have access to formal education (Kenya Inequalities Report, 2013). The report goes on to reveal that over three quarters of the population in North Eastern Kenya live in poverty. The argument here thus point to a population that cannot command power to receive an equitable share of resources from the national government.

The region has survived several conflicts due to competition for resources for livestock (Mwagiru, Oculli, 2006). Classified as an arid area (GoK, 2012), North Eastern Kenya has limited water and pasture land for livestock, which is a primary economic resource for the residents of this area. Poverty coupled with famine and conflict leaves the population highly vulnerable.

North Eastern Kenya has suffered more terrorist attacks from the Al Shabaab militant group compared to any other region in Kenya (Atta-Asamoah, 2015). The attacks in the region have cost loss of lives and property. This alludes to an effect on the livelihoods of the people and their sense of security. The imperative role of the state is to protect itself from internal or external threats and to maintain general harmony by ensuring that the citizens are satisfied (Munene, 2012). The state as a geopolitical unit in the international arena has many functions but most importantly must secure itself within its borders. The relationship between allocation for resources and conflict in the region is key in analysing the security situation in the region.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to determine the influence that resource distribution may have had on security in North Eastern Kenya.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. To determine how access to basic social services affects security in Northern Kenya.
2. To establish how access to employment opportunities affect security in Northern Kenya and;
3. To find out how infrastructure affects security in Northern Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer these questions:

1. How does access to social services affects security in Northern Kenya?
2. How does access to employment opportunities affect security in Northern Kenya?
3. How does infrastructure affect security in North Eastern Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study was vital for Kenya's security interventions in this decade as Kenya faces a security crisis due to terror attacks in North Eastern Kenya and indeed across the whole nation. The findings of this study will go a long way to inform how the government

relates with communities in North Eastern Kenya in a bid to develop effective strategies to the insecurity phenomenon in the region.

The Kenyan leadership shall be informed by the findings of this study and develop policies that expressly seek to address the challenges in access to basic resources in tackling security issues. Solutions defined from these challenges are crucial in devising more strategic methods of allocating resources to areas that face unique problems.

It has been proven by several development approaches that true and significant change is realised when communities are genuinely interested and take ownership of interventions. Therefore, this study recommended key ways in which the government can work effectively with communities in North Eastern Kenya to address security problems.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study was focused on North Eastern Kenya in the counties of Garissa, Wajir and Mandera. This area was previously known as North Eastern Province. The study detailed the accounts of residents of these counties, most of whom are of Somali ethnicity.

The study was conducted from January to July 2015 and followed related events arising during this period as well as historical facts. Leadership as well as communities are included in the study.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The study was limited in that it only focused on North Eastern Kenya, although some of these factors could be at play in other regions in the country. Infrastructural development, access to basic social services and employment are critical to all regions in the country, and security is indeed a national issue, but this study narrowed down to examine this interplay in North Eastern Kenya only.

Security is a dynamic issue and has changed how the world operates in general. Terrorism in particular has gone on to change international relations greatly. Therefore it can be studied better over long periods of time with deeper analyses on an array of sectors. However, this study took place over seven months, analysing data for a period of six years only. This is because the study was conducted within a set academic period with limited resources accessible to the writer.

The region covered by this study has been gravely hit by numerous terror attacks with many losing property or their lives and property. For this reason, it was not safe to conduct the study on the ground without the aid of security agencies.

This study was relevant to Kenya's security problems at the time, and therefore acquired insights on some issues from the national discourse on security. This was a major strength for the study as it acted as a source of documentation of several incidents in North Eastern Kenya.

The study was self-funded by the author. This acted as both an advantage and a disadvantage. It was advantageous because the author was at liberty to select the strategy for the study without coercion or influence except for the supervisory guidance of the academic department. This freedom encouraged curiosity and fuelled the research. However this was a limitation because the author had limited funds and could not conduct as many activities as possible to feed into this research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature studied here reviewed studies on resource mobilization around the world as well as in Kenya. This review undertook an empirical approach to insecurity and resources analysing the studies that have linked infrastructure, access to social services and employment opportunities to insecurity in other parts of the world and in North Eastern Kenya. The literature described the region in terms of climate, topography, socio-economic characteristics and political standing in the Kenya scene.

North Eastern Kenya forms a larger part of the arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya. As 80 % of Kenya falls within arid lands, North Eastern Kenya stretches over a massive section of the country. An estimated 10 million, around 20 % of the national population, people live in the region (GoK: 2006). This study reveals that the sparse population mostly comprises of nomadic pastoralist communities who own almost 70% of the national livestock. The livestock kept in the area consists of sheep, goats, camels and cattle in the region bordering Ethiopia and Somalia (Kumssa, Jones &Williams, 2009). This is a dry region with a relatively small population with access to a resource that could improve their livelihoods.

This majority of livestock in Kenya is kept by this minority community that practises nomadic pastoralism as central economic activity in the region. Apart from civil servants and development workers, there are very few other income generating activities in the area that can match pastoralism.

The counties in North Eastern Kenya are all unique although they share commonalities such as sparse nomadic pastoralist population and arid climatic conditions. Garissa, the former headquarter of the North Eastern province has a small urban population with only 23% of the 620,000 inhabitants living in town centres (Kenya Open Data, 2013). According to the most recent census, Garissa county has a youthful population where three quarters of the people are aged under 45 years (Kenya Population and Housing Census, 2009), depicting a dispersed population over a vast area. Garissa is the entry point from North Eastern Kenya into the rest of the country. This town has several modern thriving businesses and is trying to attract more investment to secure other sectors in livestock farming, especially since the main animal market in North Eastern Kenya is located here (www.garissacounty.go.ke, 2014).

Mandera is 1000 kilometres from Nairobi and has a sparse population of just over one million people who are dispersed across the county (www.mandera.go.ke, 2014). The county suffers perennial famine due to the arid climate and the most recent relief food distribution was in February 2015 where 1000 metric tonnes of food were delivered to the county (Daily Nation, February 2015). Mandera has had no tarmacked road since Kenya achieved independence back in 1963 (www.cog.go.ke, 2015). Analyses reveal that services such as education and health have suffered greatly due to surges of insecurity.

This evidence confirms that Mandera, Wajir and Garissa suffer disparities in terms of development in a wide range of sectors. Even with recent developments in self-governance in the counties, they still lag behind in terms of service delivery to the

residents. Although the residents practise nomadic pastoralism, it is evident that the income generated from this is not leading to any improvement in their living conditions.

The population of North Eastern Kenya is mostly Muslim as the last country census confirms (KNBS, 2010). However, Muslim representation in the public sector is low leading to disgruntlement among members of this community in the country (TJRC, 2008). Before devolution was introduced as a form of government through the Constitution of Kenya in 2010, there was little Somali or Muslim representation in ministerial positions in government. Since numbers relate to might as one author has put it, it proved difficult for Somalis to entice governments to allow them into influential leadership positions (Murunga, 2003).

This chapter examines the corollary of infrastructure, access to basic services and employment to security in North Eastern Kenya to provide a basis for the study. To begin with, the literature sought to define how these issues have related in other parts of the continent and how states are handling them.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Regional Security Complex Theory

This theory was first used to describe the world after the Cold War, and is known to be durable but not permanent. This means that it offers an explanation of instances over a long period but does not exhaustively the lasting effects of a conflict. The theory by

Buzane and Waeber (Bogzeanu, 2012,) espouses that security is highly interdependent and has structures that support one another. This dependency is due to either confrontation or cooperation between states. This theory well explained the situation in North Eastern Kenya as this region borders Somalia which has been volatile for over two decades.

The security concerns in Somalia and in North Eastern Kenya are too interconnected to be resolved independently due to the influx of refugees from Somalia, and due to Al Shabaab infiltration of the region. Al Shabaab are based in Somalia and have continuously managed to mete attacks on Kenyan soil with coordination from local recruits (Atta-Asamoah, 2014) and other compromised institutions in the country. In 2011, Kenya deployed troops to Somalia with the support of the Somali government, to weaken Al Shabaab. The presence of Kenyan troops in Somalia since 2011 has often been cited as a reason for attacks by the Al Shabaab terrorists and therefore this dimension of security was well explained by the Regional Complex Theory.

This is because this theory correlates existing structures to security and how it operates in a specific environment. This was particularly vital for this study since structures such as security agencies in Kenya and basic social services were variables in this study. The objectives of the study pointed towards relationships between social services, infrastructure and employment; which are vital in the Kenyan society. The study also focused on the fluid border of Kenya and Somalia at Mandera which has allowed the influx of refugees into the country. Since structures form fundamental underpinnings of

this theory, then the theory provided an adequate platform for the discussion of these structures vis a vis the security situation in North Eastern Kenya. It was therefore impossible to discuss security in the region without considering that the Somali of North Eastern Kenya share the same culture and religion as the Somali who live across the border in Somalia. The theory could also be used to explain the interdependence of Kenya and Somalia in the war against Al Shabaab.

Moreover, this theory was used to explain the disparities in development between North Eastern Kenya and the rest of the country have allowed elements of terror into the rest of the country. This theory espouses the thinking around the comparison in growth of North Eastern Kenya and the rest of the country.

2.2.2 Social Exchange Theory

As a theory of economics, this sets out to explain self-interest in relationships in a community. The founders of this line of thought opined that human beings choose to do things that further their self-interest and thus participation is based on perceived benefit (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Based on this theory, it was possible to explain instances of violence by young people who are aligning themselves to Al Shabaab.

Botha (2015) revealed in her research that most of her 95 respondents who were lured into Al Shabaab were young men aged under 30 years. Many of them joined the militant group to pursue firstly religious interests, and secondly economic interests. Most of those who joined did not tell anyone, but they joined with friends (Botha, 2015). This can be explained by the social exchange theory as the interests of the young men are guiding their actions and not the influence of leaders or parents.

Explanations of unemployment and alternative sources of livelihood can be well explained through this theory since it exemplifies the need for individuals to pursue interests. This theory thereby allowed the discussion on the reasons why people have been involved in conflict in the area. The pursuit of interests here was linked to employment opportunities or lack thereof, availability of infrastructure to the residents and accessibility of social services. In this regard, this theory focused the discourse of security from the point of view of the interests of the residents of North Eastern Kenya, giving a balanced outlook to the study.

2.3 Empirical Review

Rwanda presents a case for a state that has suffered massive insecurity due to a citizenry lacking access to resources from the government (Mentan, 2014). The 1994 genocide reveals many cracks in the governance system where there are instances that entire state structures according to Mentan (2014), were mobilized for violence. This creates an opportunity to examine how the access to resources might change attitudes of the people

towards a state, and possibly ensure that communities cooperate with government to curb insecurity.

In West Africa, Cameroon has had to deal with the Nigerian militant group of Boko Haram who take advantage of the lack of infrastructure in Cameroon (Engelbert, 2009) to launch attacks. According to Mentan (2014), Cameroon imposes still taxes and the bureaucracy locks out most of the population inhibiting economic growth. Here is an instance of the regional complex theory assumption that interdependence of states is vital in security. This presents a scenario where the citizenry is prevented from entrepreneurial innovation or employment leading to slow economic growth. Since there is limited revenue for development, infrastructure is hard hit and insecurity from a neighbouring state seeps in.

Further on in West Africa, Burkina Faso offers a case study of Boulgou town sheds perspective on security and scarcity of resources (Dafinger, 2013). As a rural centre, water and land are necessities for survival but are often diminishing during dry spells according to Dafinger (2013). With a swiftly growing population, access to land is only reducing, leading to frequent conflicts (Dafinger, 2013). Political involvement in this scarcity as observed by Dafinger (2013) increases competition and fuels insecurity among groups within the community; between those who are perceived to have more, and those who believe they do not access resources that they are entitled to. The community therefore exists in a state of suspicion of both state and non-state actors due to divisions created by political influences.

Resources have been at the core of governance in Kenya even before independence. Inequality has remained a major issue in the country after independence as the country continues to use several governance structures set up by colonialists that are not well-suited to the region (Mentan, 2014). According to a study by Nyawalo, Kabongah, Ombok, Magero, Onyango, Wepundi and Obiri (2011), the Rift Valley was spotted by early settlers constructing the Kenya-Uganda railway as lush with great economic potential.

This led to an aggressive advertisement abroad calling for settlers to come to the region to exploit the land (Nyawalo et al, 2011). The newcomers and their activities were met by resentment among the locals who were forced off their lands. These instances of exclusion resulted in African populations that were resentful that they could not access their land and other resources, building momentum for the Mau Mau freedom fighting rebellion.

2.3.1 Insecurity

Security as defined through community and citizenship is vital in security debates (Noxolo, Huymans, 2009). A state exerts itself by securing its borders and ensuring that its people are able to thrive within its borders. Security issues have plagued North Eastern Kenya in varying forms. In Mandera as many young Muslims are beginning to identify with Al Shabaab as the government has also marginalized them for a long time (Botha, 2014). Al Shabaab and sympathizers have gone on to radicalize young Muslims (Botha, 2014) building on the atrocities committed by the military in Mandera (HRW, 2015) and

by the Police around the country (HRW, 2015). This describes a snapshot of the insecurity faced by North Eastern Kenya.

The young population has developed sympathy for the militant Al Shabaab group who connect with them in the pretext of brotherhood (Botha, 2015) capitalizing on the marginalization meted to the region by the Kenyan government merged with discourse on religion and culture. The level of security in Mandera is of particular concern since Mandera borders Somalia.

Even as refugees flee their countries' internal conflicts, they find themselves entangled in the host country's perception of these conflicts. The perception of Somalis as terrorists is connected to the conflict in Somalia which is interpreted in Kenya as a conflict between a moderate transitional government and a radical, terrorist organization (Jaji, 2013). This has led to suspicion between the host Somali community and the refugees who have moved into Kenya. For example, two separate security incidents involving non-residents were reported in Dadaab Refugee Camp and in one of the incidents where a man was shot dead in Dagalahey camp (UNHCR, 2015). This is one of the many recent reports that suggest tension between residents and the camp dwellers. North Eastern Kenya grapples with underdevelopment due to inequalities in the provision of basic resources from the government.

The impact of Somali refugees from neighbouring Somalia on the Kenyan Somalis on security has often been discussed. Migration evokes reactions from host communities around the loss of familiarity and a threat to culture or high competition in the

environment (Noxolo & Huymans, 2009). Introduction of new communities with new cultures create a dynamic that is susceptible to conflict often due to suspicion. This has a direct negative effect on security coupled with the underdevelopment of security and other social apparatus (Noxolo & Huymans, 2009). Newcomers create more competition for the already limited resources and are sometimes perceived as beneficiaries of services they do not deserve by the locals. They are also perceived as they cause of suffering in the war against terror in Kenya.

Kenyans developed an abhorrence towards Somali's whom they link to the spate of terror attacks in the country, with or without evidence. All in all, more people have died in North Eastern Kenya due to non-al Shabaab related violence compared to the rest of the country in totality (Atta-Asamoah, 2015). The sensitivities required to resolve conflict when people of the same culture attack one another, albeit across the border, are lacking as all Somalis are viewed as refugees, regardless of their citizenship. The proverbial knife is twisted by the Kenya Police who are accused of profiling of Somalis even within North Eastern where refugees and Kenyan Somali live alongside one another (Ibid). The suspicions that exist between the Somali community and the security agencies have since increased due to counter-terror efforts following Al Shabaab attacks.

The irredentist Shifta War in 1964 – 7 in North Eastern province is a notable conflict (Thiesen, 2012) that has had a lasting impact on the security discourse in North Eastern Kenya. The war was the result of attempts by Somalis in the Northern Frontier District to secede and to become part of the Greater Somalia project in the Horn of Africa, which

sought the unification of territories in the region inhabited by Somalis into a single nation (Atta-Asamoah, 2015). This war was quashed in the 1980 Bulla Kartasi Estate (Gubai) massacre (Garissa), and the 1984 Wagalla massacre where hundreds of Somalis from the Degodia clan are said to have been killed on the government's order (Thiesen, 2012). Residents of North Eastern have raised concerns about the actual and perceived injustice following these massacres. The Kenyan government is yet to implement the recommendations from the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) report (2008) that aimed to find the root cause of historical injustices in Kenya, including the Wagalla massacre.

Over 3000 people are reported to have lost their lives during the Wagalla massacre which was carried out over one week (TJRC, 2008). The TJRC was set up to find the root cause of the 2007/8 Post-Election Violence in Kenya made several recommendations on how to ensure Kenya does not fall into violence again. One of the key recommendations was the implementation of a reconciliation strategy to ease tensions between locals and government in Wajir following the 4-day Wagalla Massacre in February 1984. The 31st anniversary of the massacre was commemorated in February 2015, with the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNHRC), at the forefront of the calls to seek lasting solutions for such injustices. The people of Wajir still maintain deep suspicion of the government and certain individuals in leadership.

To date, many still believe that state security forces are a major source of insecurity in the country rather than a solution to the matter. Security agencies still carry their brutal colonial and immediate post-independence image and remain a feared and abusive infrastructure. The ongoing efforts to reform the police as a functional operational structure of the state (Atta-Asamoah, 2015), are an indication that the state recognizes this flaw within security that has affected Kenyans and particularly Somalis ever so harshly. State security is the ultimate obligation for any state. Therefore it should be of high priority for the government to seek lasting solutions to reforms in the security sector in order to match the current threats to the state.

The development situation in Kenya states that high inequality can lead to social conflict (World Bank Development Report, 2006), as is observed with the high levels of insecurity in the country currently. This inequality is manifested through inequality, ethnic fragmentation, and social distrust in government institutions, this is also being observed in North Eastern Kenya. The region is lagging behind when measured against several markers of basic development. Education, healthcare and road networks are markers that are explored by authors to study the heights of marginalization in the region.

2.3.2 Basic Social Services and Insecurity

Kenya is a growing nation aiming to realize the SDGs and to eliminate poverty by 2030 (KIPPRA, 2013). Prioritizing these issues clearly indicates that although the state aims to overcome certain developmental challenges, Kenya is still classified as a developing

nation by international standards. There has been tremendous growth in particular issues in the country, but some lag behind even in the access of basic services.

Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 2010, Kenya embraced devolved governance with counties as regional administrative units (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). There are three counties in the former North Eastern province of Kenya; Garissa, Mandera and Wajir. The histories of these regions provide insight onto the discussion of marginalization in the area. North Eastern Kenya is one of the most marginalized areas in the country (Mwaura, 2005). Pastoralist communities occupy areas that are used least for agricultural or industrial growth. Distance from major towns and institutions is often perceived as marginalization by these communities according to Mwaura (2005). Perceived exclusion has become pervasive in the region stemming from lack of access to resources.

This exclusion in North Eastern Kenya, which plagues the pastoralists today, began with the colonial government which imposed measured policies to exclude this area and the residents from the rest of the country (KNCHR, 2007). According to a Central Depository Unity (CDU) 2003 report, all pastoralists in the Kenyan territory were confined NFD residents to dry land by colonialists. They disregarded pastoralism and enacted laws that pushed Africans to one section of the country. The ordinance effectively made NFD a closed area and movement in and out of the area was restricted to indigenous people only or holders of passes obtainable from the District Commissioner (CDU, 2003). This historical and institutionalized exclusion meant that structural

development did not affect this area. There has been some migration across towns and rural areas since post-colonial times, but largely Kenyan rural areas remain ethnic enclaves. Therefore most of the residents of North Eastern Kenya are Somalis. This presents a systemic prevention of access to development by local and national governments.

Such policies were carried over even after the attainment of independence by successive governments. The policy instituted collective punishment was used against any clan that was considered errant and this was manifested in the quelling of the Shifta war which is discussed later on herein. The issues of historical injustices have been discussed extensively.

On the other hand, the government has taken steps to look into the lack of development in the North Eastern region. During his regime, President Mwai Kibaki created the Ministry for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands in 2008. This led to the creation of unique policies to address growth in the area in order to close the developmental gap between this region and the rest of the country (GoK, 2012). This study focused specially on the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) in north of Kenya and acknowledges that livestock contribute a significant amount of funds to the state's GDP. The preamble of another policy prominently acknowledges that this region is the gateway to the economies of the areas in the Horn of Africa (GoK, 2011). This policy goes on to state that due to the dispersed population many of whom are practising nomadic

pastoralism, the area requires innovation in service delivery. Some of these are the mobile libraries and schools instituted by the Kenya National Library Services.

However according to a study, only a quarter of the residents in Garissa have accesses to formal education (Kenya National Report on Inequalities, 2013). The report showcased a sharp contrast in development in various regions. Education is a key service that has not been delivered effectively to the people in North Easter right from colonial times. There was minimal investment in schools or hospitals in this region as the first primary school was started in the area in 1948 yet even in 1963 at the time of independence, the region did not have any secondary school (KNCHR, 2007). This has changed with time but the area still cannot compare to the rest of Kenya on access to education. For example, in comparing Garissa to Nyeri County which is closer to the capital Nairobi, only one in ten people lacked access to formal education. This data demonstrates the variance in access to education between two counties only 400 kilometres apart. Teachers downed their tools in Mandera in 2014 because of a bus attack orchestrated by Al Shabaab (IRIN, November 2014). These teachers refused to return to work citing security as a key concern. During this period, students did not attend school although other students around the country continued learning. This encapsulates the reality of regional inequality in Kenya. Inequality here is defined as the comparison of qualities between two groups of people to access the differences in the sharing of these particular characteristics (SID: 2013). Wajir has a projected population of 800,000 by 2017 (www.wajircounty.go.ke, 2015), and has been classified as one of the poorest counties in Kenya (SID, 2013), even in the aim to grow into an economic hub.

There are several other issues that have affected security in the region. Livelihood insecurity, rising competition for resources and growing wealth disparities are critical in the stability of a state (Mwagiru & Oculi, 2006). Some of these factors are at play in the region. On the other hand, Kenyans of Somali ethnic origin living in the area have expressed concern that they have been discriminated against in the process of issuing National Identity cards (KNCHR, 2007). In Kenya, ID cards are a requirement for the access of basic services such as registration for social security and health insurance (KNCHR, 2007). By limiting issuance of ID cards, many people here are locked out of these services by the steep measures set by the government in registration particularly in this region. Lack of direct access to such basic access can create attitudes of resentment towards a government.

Citizenship is linked to privileges that a community is allowed to participate in. It goes hand in hand with participation in some kind of political democracy (Bellamy, 2008). Although citizenship covers various relationships, the most important definition is concerned with the ability to partake in a democratic process, and thereby have a voice in development through the selection of a preferred candidate (KNCHR, 2007). However with extreme bureaucracy in this process, Somalis living in North Eastern Kenya go through stringent measures in order to receive basic identification documents which allow them to vote. When applying for national identity cards and passports that Muslims especially feel are required to produce additional documentary evidence of citizenship, whereas (Botha, 2014)

‘Christian applicants only needed two birth certificates, their own and of one of their parents, applicants with Islamic names were required to produce, in addition, the birth certificate of one of the grandparents’ (Mazrui, 1994).

This discriminatory policy has not been improved with changes in legislature. In 2010 there was a new constitutional dispensation in the Republic of Kenya. The constitution is the supreme law of the land (CoK, 2010 Art 2). Herein the Bill of Rights is enshrined under Chapter 4 of the Constitution where it provides for equality before the law. In spite of this constitutional provision, the threshold used to determine the criteria through which Kenyans living along the geographical borders in as far as citizenship is concerned is not uniform. A higher burden is placed on applicants of Somali descent to prove that their parents or grandparents were actually Kenyans. The state is responsible for record keeping and should be able to document such lineages. However, the Kenyan borders are porous, expansive and unmanned.

On the other hand, a report also reveals that Somalis from Somalia have paid bribes and have been issued with ID cards (KNCHR, 2007). While Kenyans are denied this identification document and non-Kenyans are able to access it, the Kenyan community in the region harbours resentment to the government structures and to the refugees. Since the National ID plays a major role in the political process through voter registration,

many Kenyans are denied the right to vote for their preferred leaders in this area, since the process of applying for IDs are extremely stringent. The essence of democracy however, lies in the ability of voters to select a preferred candidate, and to feel acknowledged and protected by the state.

Therefore although Kenya is a secular country, Muslims feel discriminated against since they feel that they are not well represented in key government positions and institutions (Botha, 2014). Others agree with this finding stating that the Muslim population in Kenya in general is subject to discrimination and harassment from government on national and local levels (Ryan, 2014) and some of these incidences are discussed herein. Victimization and exclusion such a large section of the community, further marginalized Somalis who live in North Eastern Kenya who are mostly Muslim. Moreover, in Nairobi during the operation *Usalama Watch* in 2014, several Somalis were rounded up as they were suspected to be terrorists and they faced abuse in the hands of Kenyan security forces (HRW, 2015).

On the other hand, there have been political parties in Kenya formed to drive the collective cause of Muslims such as the National Union of Kenya Muslims (NUKEM) which was established in 1968 by KANU (Botha, 2014). This led to the founding of the Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims (SUPKEM) in 1973. Recognised as the sole legitimate representation of Muslims by the Kenyan government since 1979, its legitimacy is not always acknowledged among the Muslim community (Botha, 2014).

Representation that is not recognised eventually constitutes a body that represents only a section of the community and leaves another section disgruntled. Kenyan Muslims who make up 30% of the population (BBC, 2003), often demonstrate against the Kenyan government for its perceived persecution of Muslims when the government arrests Somali and Kenyan Muslims as well as other Muslim foreigners on various charges (Jaji, 2013). This is an indication of lack of comprehensive inclusion of Muslims, many of whom are Somalis, in the political process in Kenya and more importantly, in the discussion for security in Kenya. The proverbial hearts and minds of Somalis have not been won in the pursuit of security in this sense.

Associations are easily made between Muslims and terrorism in Kenya as is in other parts of the world (Botha, 2015). This often leads to xenophobic discourse which in Kenya, has been largely directed at Somalis who were implicated in the terrorist attacks on US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in August 1998, and several other attacks in other parts of Kenya (Jaji, 2013). These studies explain one aspect of the discrimination that Muslims in Kenya have to deal with as they relate with the rest of society.

More studies on ethnicity and political socialization in Kenya have largely focused on the ethnic communities that have more numbers, translating to political might (Murunga, 2003). Political socialization is defined as process through which society transmits its political culture from generation to generation to preserve norms and institutions (Botha, 2014). Another author aptly puts it that the marginalisation, inequalities and other forms of disparities in Kenya have also been the result of ethnicity and ethnic-based politics,

which have since colonialism been at the core of discrimination (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2012). The discourse here suggests that inequality in Kenya, and particularly in North Eastern is a regional phenomenon heavily influenced by politics and governance. Ethnicity is a major factor that influences development according to these authors, although in the case of North Eastern Kenya there are more factors at play.

The unfortunate reality is that Muslims in post-independence Kenya have been kept on the margins of the national development discourse and participation. This has caused many to feel that they were not fully part of Kenya. It has also led the government and non-Muslims to question the patriotism of Muslims, a perception that was reinforced by the resulting in the afore-mentioned irredentist Shifta war (Botha, 2014). This brings to light the tight rope walked by Somali Muslims in the Kenyan political arena. They are set aside due to their ethnic identity and due to their religion yet they remain part of the Kenyan state.

The Kenyan Somali community makes up 2.3% of the national population (KNCHR, 2007), a marginal number existing sparsely populated in a large geographical are in the country. Devolution has presented equal chance of leadership from all regions nationwide, though the national government is still in control of basic services such as security and education. The Suppression of Terror Bill (2003), which received astounding rejection from Kenya's civil society was another attempt at institutionalization of human rights abuse through extra-judicial killings actions against terror suspects (Wanjiru,

2006). Muslims in Kenya felt that the Bill targeted them as a section of the Bill attempted to outlaw particular dress codes (BBC, 2003) leading to their arrest,

‘...a person who, in a public place wears an item of clothing, or wears or carries or displays an article in such a way or in such circumstances as to arouse reasonable suspicion that he is a member or supporter of a declared terrorist organisation is guilty of an offence.’ (Government of Kenya, 2003).

This vague description in clothing left many Kenyans who subscribe to Islam, vulnerable to the whims of police officers who could therefore decide that whatever kind of religious clothing was related to terror (Wanjiru, 2003). SUPKEM came out strongly against this claiming that Muslims already bore the brunt of police harassment on suspicion of various charges (Africa News Update, 2003). Although the bill was not domesticated at this point, the Muslim community continued to distrust the legislature’s motives. This is another instance where Kenya Muslims, many of whom are Somali, felt targeted and excluded in the security discussion. In a situation where strife develops between members of a certain community and the government, these poor relations can lead to insecurity caused by the community who do not believe the government values them.

2.3.3 Employment Opportunities and Insecurity

Employment remains a grave matter in Kenya, more so in an area already facing stark challenges such as North Eastern. Over three quarters of the population in North Eastern Kenya is unemployed compared to one in three people in Central Kenya (Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012). With no source of employment and barren land, the largely youthful population is disenfranchised with who face difficulty in any effort they make to make a livelihood for themselves.

Livestock is the main source of livelihood for the people in the arid and semi-arid areas where pasture and water are critical resources. Communities maintain their traditional nomadic lifestyles to seek the pastures and water and their nomadism is not limited within Kenya as it crosses into Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia (Mwaniki *et al*, 2007). According to Mwaniki *et al*, (2007) these movements often infringe on other communities leading to long running retaliatory conflicts. Such interaction can be a catalyst to conflict as communities compete to survive in the harsh conditions.

In North Eastern where nomadic pastoralism is a major economic earner, conflicts arise from the competition for water and pasture lands (Mwagiru & Oculi, 2006). These authors also attribute long running clan rivalry among the Somali as an influence to livestock raids and other violent attacks. Such conflicts signify the height of insecurity and with them come a torrent of human rights violations (Mwagiru & Oculi, 2006). Such a conflict reveals another dimension in the security issues in this region. This conflict is

directly related to a major economic activity and directly affects income as well as the general safety of the community.

More scholars attribute intergroup violence in Kenya to scarce renewable resources. One such study claims that there is a strong link between drought and pastoral violence (Mkutu, 2008). Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) of Kenya which are mostly inhabited by pastoralists see annual cyclic livestock raids driven by revenge (Thiesen, 2012). With no successful efforts to diversify the economic activities in the region, these cyclic raids further stifle income generation and widen the gap between this region and the rest of Kenya. There are varying views on the linkages between pastoralism and competition for resources.

The causes of conflict in this region have been generalized by some authors who try to create linkages between scarce resources and pastoralism. The conflicts in these challenged areas strain the government security agencies who are not well equipped to combat the frequent raids among the clans (Mwagiru & Oculi, 2006). The proliferation of small arms in the region magnifies each raid with high numbers of casualties reported in an area where healthcare facilities are already stretched thin on a good day (Thiesen, 2012). However from the reading, the estimated rate at which competition for natural resources motivates conflict is not explicit.

Economic factors have been an influence to young people from North Eastern Kenya joining Al Shabaab (Botha, 2015). Citing lack of jobs as a concern, Botha (2015) states that many of these people felt that they lacked opportunities to advance themselves and therefore joined the militant group which would provide their families with sustenance. This presents a significant link between jobs and security as these young people would probably decline invitations or be less attracted to Al Shabaab if they had jobs or some form of income generating activities. There is a supposition that economic might can deter the reinforcement of terrorism as it would limit the number of young people who would align themselves to these groups.

2.3.4 Infrastructure and Insecurity

Security infrastructure and systems are frail in North Eastern Kenya because the area lacks road networks and sufficient manpower compared to the challenges in the region. Lack of this basic infrastructure has set Mandera back on several issues of growth, particularly trade and efficient security apparatus (Atta-Asamoah, 2015) as the border county remains unmanned despite the volatile nature of neighbouring Somalia. There are hardly any roads in the region and where they exist, they are in a state of utter disrepair (KNCHR, 2007). Inaccessible roads limit the amount of trade the region can engage in. This deals a heavy blow on economic growth and general access to services in the region. The porous Kenya-Somalia border at Mandera has been identified as a key factor in the rise in terrorism activities in Kenya (Otieno, 2015), as Al Shabaab militants easily cross

into Kenya to recruit sympathizers or launch terrorism. This border has been problematic since Kenya's independence in 1963 according to Little (2003), as it has not limited movement across the two states. Traders move goods across the border with significant ease (Little, 2003). The border shares the similar historical and cultural aspects and is therefore extremely difficult to manage with the resources allocated to the region. The Kenyan government is constructing a perimeter wall to manage the influx of Somali refugees (Botha, 2015), a move that has been done with minimal consultation of the local populations.

To curb this issue, the Kenyan government has responded by deploying the military, particularly the KDF unit which initially attacked Al Shabaab in Somalia (Atta-Asamoah, 2015). The effect of using military in the war against terror in Mandera is the growth of sympathisers among the Muslim community in Kenya (Botha, 2015). This is because they have felt that they have been profiled unfairly as the government refuses to investigate other key factors surrounding the rising terror. Inequalities in infrastructural growth coupled with rising suspicion from other communities therefore put the Somalis from North Eastern Kenya in a precarious situation where they resent their own state.

According to the Society for International Development (2004), North Eastern Kenya has only 3% access to electricity compared to 11% in Rift Valley region. Limited electricity translates to limited capacity to communicate since technological advancements in telecommunications rely heavily on electricity. Industrialization is also hereby limited as it cannot excel without electricity.

On the other hand, Dadaab Refugee Camp in Garissa county hosts over 350,000 refugees from Somalia who have come into Kenya through the border in Mandera (UNHCR, 2015), building a town with over 600,000 residents. This is a well-resourced refugee centre offering food, education and other services for the refugees and other residents in the camp (Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012). This remains the largest refugee camp in the world and has developed into a hub for humanitarian aid and development work to support the refugees. With an influx of refugees on an already underdeveloped region, competition for resources has increased in the region.

Since the demarcations of African countries were done during colonial times, it is often the case that ethnic groups lie across one or several borders (Mwangi, 2002). Kenyans of Somali ethnicity, who have found themselves on the Kenyan side of the colonial border between Somalia and Kenya, share ethnicity, culture and religion with Somalis who live in Somalia (Jaji, 2013). Post-colonial leadership curbed movements and mixing of ethnic groups for supposed national security (Mwangi, 2002), and in line with the Organization for African Unity's initial directive to avoid changing of borders after independence. For this reason, Somali's who found themselves in Kenya during independence are considered Kenyan citizens. This demarcation in itself cannot be blamed on the government. However, states do have responsibilities to ensure that all citizens within their borders have access to resources in the most equitable manner possible.

In negotiations for independence, the Northern Frontier District (NFD), as it was known then was not a favourable resource to the colonial masters (Al Jazeera, December, 2013)

due to harsh climatic conditions and unfavourable farming conditions. Farming was a critical economic practice in the colonies. This television documentary by Mohamed Adow (Al Jazeera, December, 2013), explores the systemic exclusion of the region through the political violence.

Notably, studies on Kenya's post-independence period reveal that it was largely peaceful, but that there was little effort to improve the area's infrastructure, cutting off the region from the rest of the country which has a largely tarmacked road network.

2.4 Summary and Gaps to be filled by the Study

The literature reviewed presented descriptions of the economic outlook of North Eastern Kenya to define inequalities in the region compared to other regions in Kenya. The descriptions of marginalization stemmed from sociological perspectives that define societies or peoples who are treated as peripheral by an authority. In the examination of marginalization, authors discussed core understandings of this issue.

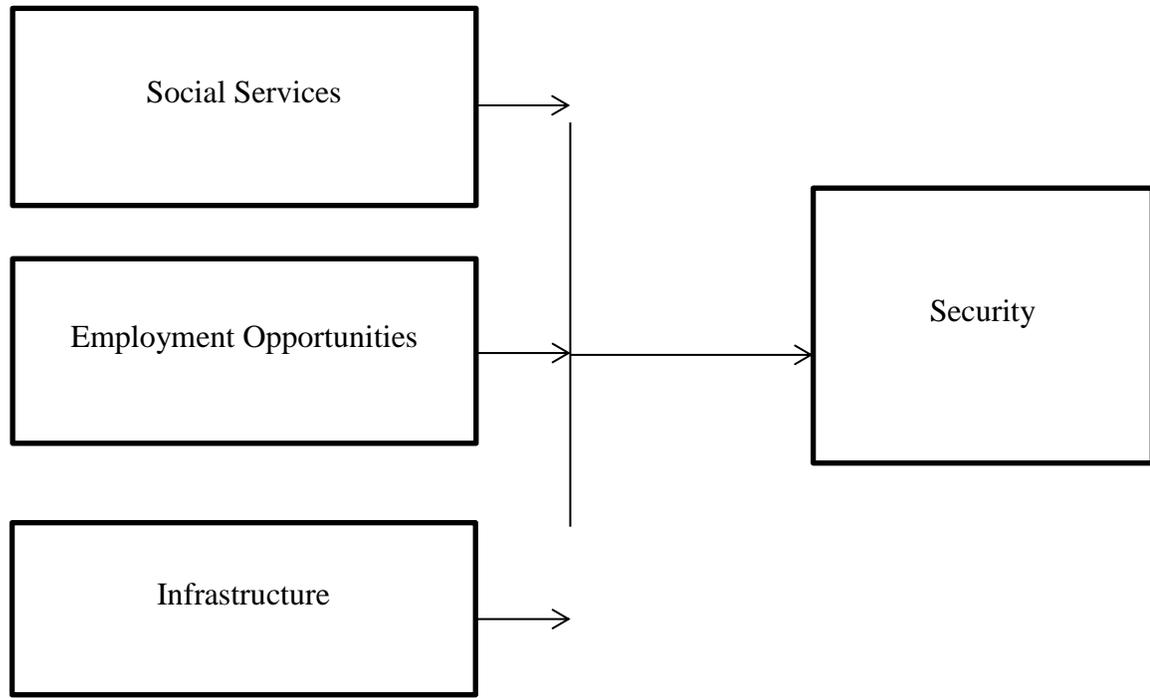
To begin with, the notion that lack of discussion to firm up the definition of the term marginalization, created a gap in operations to solve situations where the vulnerable are set excluded (Unterhalter, Yates, Makinda, North, 2012). Extensive academic writing verified that there is need to understand the complexity in the nature and forms of inequalities among subject groups (Unterhalter, Yates, Makinda, North, 2012). This would be key in breaking down complexities in this discourse and thereby allowing more focused analyses on the issue.

The literature also reveals the security situation in the region which is affected by several kinds of insecurity. From livestock raids to terrorism, North Eastern Kenya is burdened with security issues coupled with an influx of refugees to an already strained environment. There is no direct link established however on how infrastructure is affecting the spate of insecurity in the region from the literature reviewed. This study focused on this gap to examine the role that infrastructure in particular has on securing the region.

Although Somalis share cultural and religious ideologies even across borders, in Kenya, they are mostly viewed as refugees and as agents of terror. On the other hand, refugees from the other countries are not singled out by their religious affiliation. Kenyans in a study, as well as Kenyan and Somali politicians who expressed their views in the local and international media, specifically linked Somali refugees to terrorism (Jaji, 2013). This discussion brings forth the issue of social services that remain inaccessible to Somalis who are Kenyan citizens. There is space to further determine how lack of proper access to education has affected the state of insecurity in the region.

The study shall also examine how employment can influence security. Job creation and general economic support in the region is not comprehensively discussed and yet it could have a direct impact on how secure the area becomes.

2.5 Conceptual Framework



Dependent Variable

Independent Variable

Social services such as education and access to identity cards influence security in North Eastern Kenya. Education is vital in economic growth as they prepare people for economic opportunities. Employment opportunities and economic growth also could play a role in securing the region. There are higher chances of finding meaningful employment for educated people. It is the role of the state to satisfy the labour market with highly qualified professionals through easy to access education. With limited economic opportunities, populations become disenfranchised and could resort to illegal means of earning a living. Earning a living or seeking healthcare in Kenya is pegged on access to

an identity card. As studies have shown, access to identity cards is limited in North Eastern Kenya. In this case, these could be a contributing factor to the rise in insecurity in the region.

The infrastructure can be manipulated in development of security. Well-developed infrastructure eases trade and transport and opens up regions to interaction with other communities as the literature reviewed has explained. A well-manned border is crucial in securing any state. Studies have revealed that the Mandera border is not well manned, and that there are barely any tarmacked roads in the region. This could be a challenge to secure the region as it is inaccessible by road.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodologies used in the study. All the research process including all activities undertaken to access data are explained here. The design of the study is explained to lay ground on how the study is structured. The location of the study is also stated here as well as a description of the target population who are discussed within the study. The key sources of data are discussed herein coupled with the analysis method that was used to synthesize all the information collected.

3.2 Research Design

The research was qualitative in nature seeking to determine a particular population's perception. Qualitative research is defined as research that focuses on people's attitudes and feelings towards a particular issue (Sage, 2014). These provide insights into how and why people react to an issue to understand the meanings they apply on various matters. This descriptive survey was used to ground the documentation provided by previous sources that have revealed these perceptions in their natural setting. Descriptive research is a prearranged process of data collection, analysis and ordering of information about existing conditions. This information could be about practices, trends and cause-effect links. Following this, the information was interpreted and presented in an organized manner without a specific statistical instrument. This design was well suited to the

objectives of the study as it is channelled towards the trends in a given region and hopes to determine specific relationships.

3.3 Location of the Study

The study was done from Nairobi but the study focused on relevant events and situations in North Eastern Kenya. The specific counties under survey were Garissa, Wajir and Mandera which comprise of the former administrative unit known as North Eastern Province (NEP).

3.4 Target Population

The study targeted information about Kenyans of Somali ethnic origin living in North Eastern Kenya in the counties of Garissa, Wajir and Mandera. According to the Government of Kenya (2012), these residents live in arid areas and mostly practise nomadic pastoralism. The area is home to one of the largest refugee camps in the world, Dadaab Refugee Camp, which hosts thousands of Somali refugees who have fled the political instability in Somalia. However, the study will solely focus on the Kenyan Somalis who live in the region.

3.5 Sample Selection

The sampling method selected for this study was random sampling, focusing on material that targets events unfolding between 20th January 2009 and 14th June 2015. Random sampling refers to the selection of members by chance (Harter, 2008). This therefore gives each segment of the population a fair chance of representation in the study as the

design does not intend to lock out any information about a particular group. This sampling method also allowed the author to study widely and analyse information comprehensively.

3.6 Research Instrument

The instrument used was a coded instrument to monitor the use of certain phrases and incidence relating the dependent and independent variables. The study was coded to analyse the type of information source so as to understand the information source by listing the author. This would give perspective on why the information has been packaged a certain way and what audiences were targeted by the said information. This would therefore describe state sponsored information and information developed by development and academic sources.

Following this classification, cases of access of basic services, namely education, health services and identity cards were coded and recorded for analysis. These particular cases were set apart as focus for this study to narrow down the information to be analysed. These three set the foundation for interpretation of all information on access to basic services. Employment or lack thereof provided the next coding. This included an analysis of reports and statements that discussed the employment and income generation opportunities in the region. This presented a platform to list all the instances where the people of the region benefitted from income generating interventions and novel investment opportunities. On the other hand, this also captured the situations where these opportunities remained elusive to the residents of the region.

The final variable was coded as the access to infrastructure or infrastructural development initiatives. This covered roads, bridges, water piping and electricity connection. These factors were important in analysing infrastructure development and were thereby classified thus. General cases of insecurity were also classified for codification. These included livestock raids, crime and terrorism in the region during the study period. It was therefore vital to compare these based on the frequency of their appearances. This set of information also analysed instances where security was directly linked to inaccessibility of employment, infrastructure or a basic service.

In order to analyse all the information studied, the frequency of the appearance of the above sets of information as also coded. This was important noted all through the study period in order to build meaningful relationships between these sets of information.

3.7 Data Collection Techniques

Data was collected through secondary data review. The study of information over the period covered the study of several written and audio-visual materials. Critical to the study was government reports published during this period concerning the region. These were often documents related to development of North Eastern Kenya, or Kenya as a whole.

Several organizational reports also offered important information furthering government study, or offering comparative studies. Religious groups have also written on the security situation in North Eastern Kenya and these were critical sources of information since

religion is a factor at play. These were also analysed to collate a balanced view of all actors in the region. Journal entries about the inequalities in the region also provided a source of information for the study. These were selected from journals focusing on development, security and international relations.

The media also offered a basis for study. Newspaper articles, podcasts, video documentaries and television news were also analysed to develop analysis of the discourse presented by the media in Kenya and locally. Community media in the region also offered news items for this analysis. Speeches by leaders, recorded eye-witness accounts and concerned parties were also collected for study and were analysed to provide first-hand information of expression by various stakeholders concerning security and inequality in the area.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data was synthesised by qualitative means of content analysis which is the systematic arrangement of text into significant amounts of text. Conceptual analysis was used to code the information. In this case, key words and phrases were selected to guide the analysis where meanings as well as actual words and phrases were noted down in a bid to prove that indeed the particular variable in study was in discourse over a set period of time.

This was an objective process as the codification developed a means of analysing communication to understand the amount of time availed to a particular theme, key messages and developing patterns and frequencies of messaging from authoritative sources. Microsoft Excel was used to compute and analyse the volumes of text gathered.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Data Findings

This Chapter presented the findings from the secondary data review on North Eastern Kenya from January 2009 to July 2015. The information collected was from books, journals, speeches, electronic and print news sources, government reports and organizations reports. The information was collected per year for the six years, using online and offline sources. These sources are varied and represent discourse among state and non-state actors as well as residents of the study area. All variables in the research were collected and plotted on a timeline as shown below.

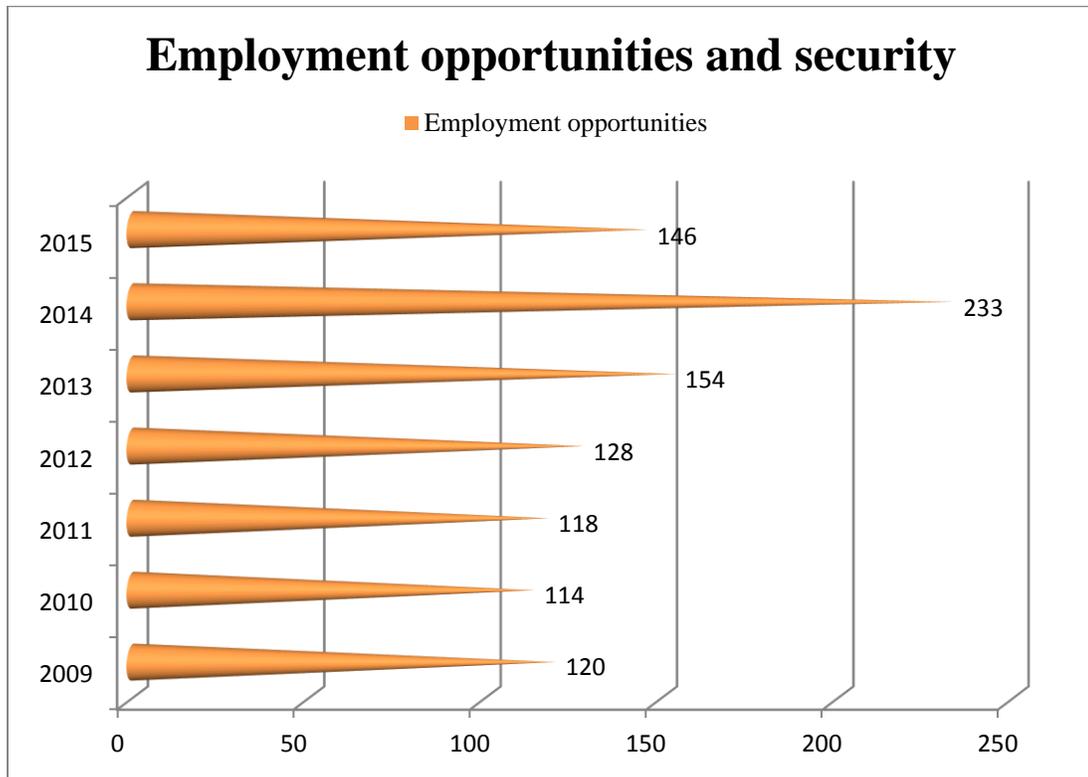
The study aimed for articles or stories that were specifically about the region, or those that made reference to the region in comparison or for emphasis. However, articles that discussed the region but made no reference to the variables herein were not selected for the content analysis. This is because such documents did not present information that was key to the discussion in this particular study and would offer data that is misrepresentative. The information sourced was then interpreted to infer meanings to various frequencies. The total data reviewed was plotted in frequency against the years as follows:

Variable	Year						
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Employment opportunities and security	120	114	118	128	154	233	146
Access to basic services and security	125	128	136	140	186	267	250
Infrastructure and security	134	149	165	108	115	289	257

Table 1.1 Data showing frequency of terms appearing in research material by year

4.2. Access to Employment Opportunities and Security in North Eastern Kenya

This analysis compared the frequency of information on access to employment opportunities and security or lack thereof in North Eastern for the study period. Data was compiled per year per source from 2009 to 2015 and concentrated on phrasing, words and meanings around employment, income generation, unemployment and accessibility to investment opportunities in the three counties.

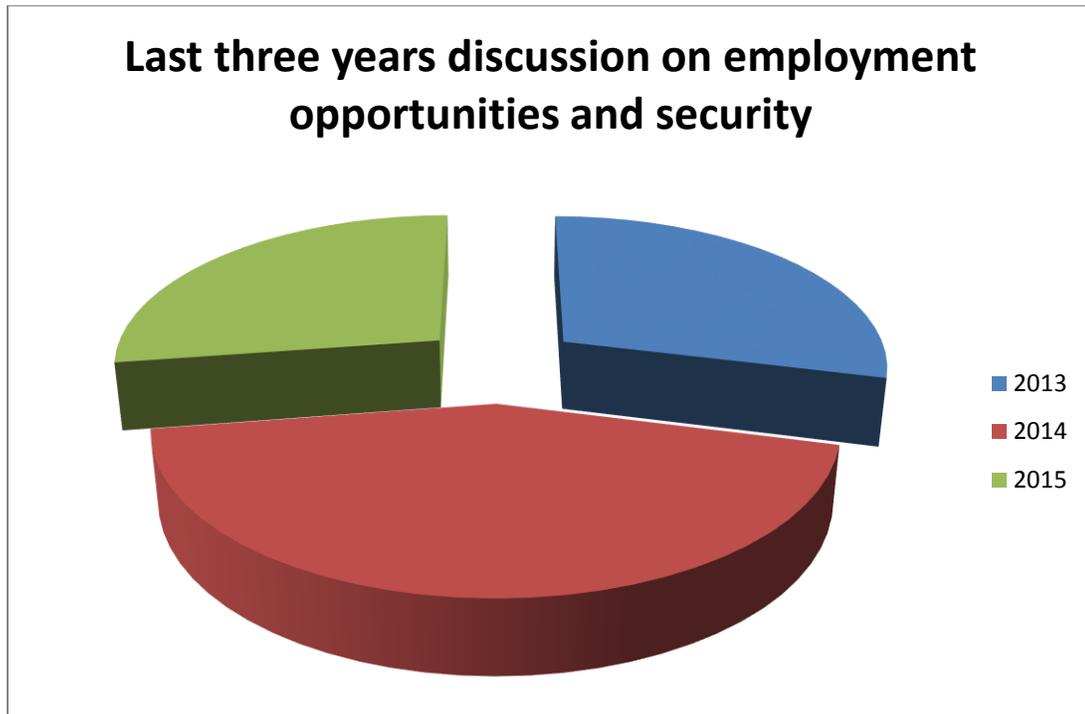


Graph 1.1 Depicting frequencies of 'employment opportunities' from the data reviewed.

This chart shows that in 2015, the discourse of employment opportunities and thereby discourse on livelihoods, increased significantly in 2015 by almost 10%. This means that more and more, there were discussions on these opportunities and their relevance is becoming more valid with time. Like many parts of Kenya, employment is a challenge in this area and is often discussed. Within the content analysis, there is evidence that

employment is a key concern in the region as it appears in many articles about the region. There is also a steady growth in the discussions around employment opportunities between 2012 and 2015.

This shows that recently, employment became a major consideration in discourse about security in North Eastern Kenya. With a bulging young population, it was noteworthy to discuss the place of youth in a situation where they have little access to jobs or entrepreneurship. However, from the data, this demographic could not access sufficient employment opportunities. This created inequality since the community struggled to afford to decent livelihoods with the lack of sufficient income which led them to engage in violent means of obtaining financial sustenance. This confirms the claim that inequality can lead to conflict (World Bank Development Report, 2006). The levels of security that was directly related to young people can here be traced to the massive unemployment in this region.



Graph1.2 Last 3 years discussion on employment opportunities and security

2013 was a memorable election year in Kenya as it was the first time Kenyans voted for a devolved governance structure. It is vital to note that during this year, there was considerably low mention of employment in the analysis. This is a concern because the employment levels in the region were low as revealed in the literature review, and devolved government purposed to ease unemployment by availing more opportunities to the county level. The spike was seen in 2014, a year after the elections when citizens are making more demands on their newly elected leadership.

In the last three years, employment opportunities have taken a significant space in the discourse. There has been a constant discussion on employment in the region involving security. This was justified since there was not much variance in the percentage of frequency in the three years compared. This was maintained for a significant amount of time which means that this issue is still critical and should be addressed. Occupying the conscience of the society with such consistency means that the issue is indeed vital for a large section of the population in the region as it affects them greatly.

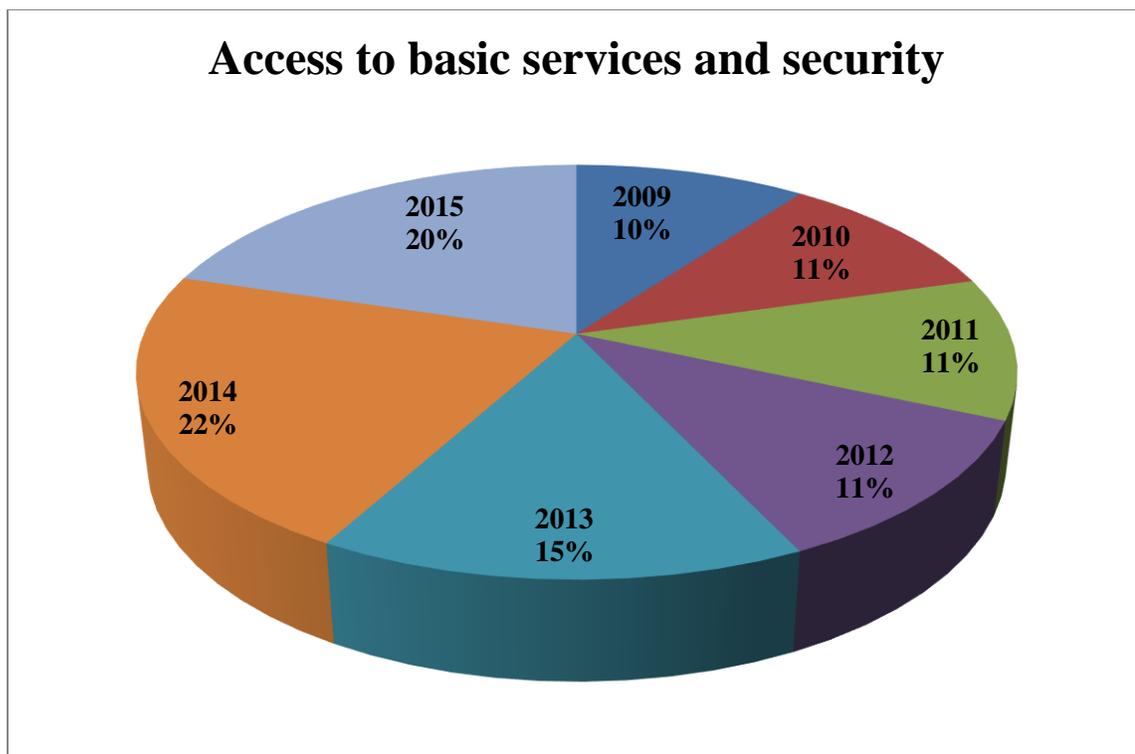
The spike in 2014 in comparison to the discussions on this in 2015 should be analysed by noting that the study was completed in July 2015. Simple projections imply that this trend persisted in 2014, but may not be as high in 2015 as the year draws to an end. This could be interpreted as turn in the security discussion away from the linkage with employment and livelihoods in the region. On the other hand it could imply that there is some action ongoing in the job creation sector in this region, therefore, focus of the community is shifted to another pressing problem. A longer study can reveal which of the two offers a better interpretation.

This data confirms previous study by Freidrich Ebert Stiftung (2012), which found that most of the population is indeed unemployed in this region. North Eastern Kenya is the gateway of economies of the greater Horn of Africa region (GoK, 2011), but this has not been exploited efficiently according to the data presented here. The TJRC report (2008) revealed disgruntlement from the Muslim community, who form the majority in North Eastern Kenya, about finding jobs in the public sector as this data confirms in the low

levels of employment. The youth form the bulk of the population in North Eastern Kenya (KNBS, 2009). Therefore there is an available workforce in this region. In her study, Botha (2015) discovered that most of the recruits of Al Shabaab from this region were under 30 years and joined the terror group for several reasons including lack of employment. This is reinforced by this data which sees the massive discussions on employment and security over the years.

4.3 Access to Basic Social Services and Security in North Eastern Kenya

The basic services analysed in this study are national identity cards, education and health in the region in relation to security issues. This was done by monitoring the frequencies of phrases in education as indicators, such as teachers, students, primary school, secondary school, university, ambulances, doctors, hospitals, clinics and immunization. Also coded were phrases around citizenship, national identity cards, ID and registration of persons. These were coded from actual phrases and meanings and even words as they appeared in various documents.



Graph 1.3 Access to basic services and security

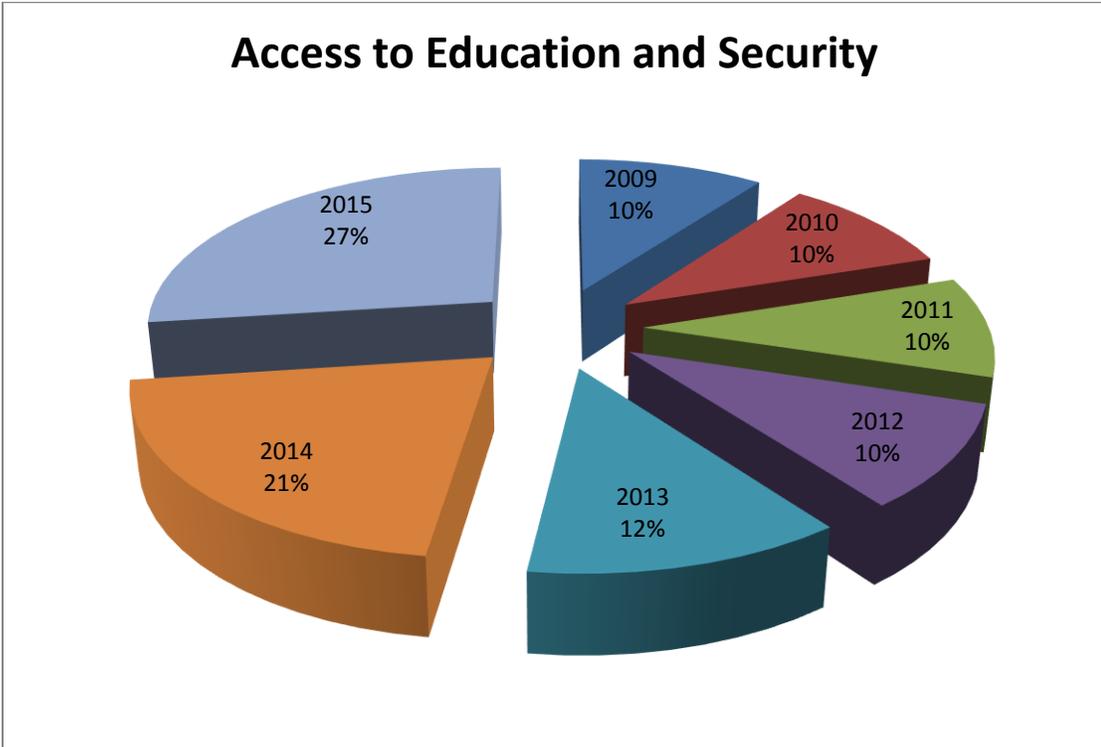
The chart above represents the data collated under the theme of access to basic services and security in North Eastern Kenya. The data is plotted between 2009 and 2015 in terms of frequency. From this information, basic services formed a critical part of the discourse in 2014 occupying 20% of the total discussion on issues around North Eastern Kenya. Between 2009 and 2012, the information on basic services in the region is constant but is lower compared to the rest of the years.

In 2013, an election year, there was a rise in this information by a significant percentage, considering that the trend had been consistent for a long period before this. Here, it is

evident that in the electioneering period, there was more discussion on the issue since it appears to be a vital concern for the region. During electioneering period, campaigns in Kenya are often run on promises to achieve more development for the citizens. It is therefore important to note this rise from 11% to 13% between 2012 and 2013. The electioneering period from 2012 comes with a drive to register voters and this requires the issuing of identity cards.

Indeed, Bellamy (2008) laid the foundation for this discussion as he explained how identification is a critical factor in the democratic process. Therefore, that presents justification that during the voter registration drive, there is a rise in numbers. Identity cards are an entry point to an array of basic social services. This data further proves that inaccessibility of identity cards denies a large section of the population a chance to access health insurance, mobile monetary services and even voting rights (KNCHR, 2007).

There was an even higher spike in 2014 is also noteworthy considering the gradual trends in the previous years. The 20% reported is also quite high compared to the information in the past. It shows that by this time, there was more emphasis being placed on access to basic services in the security discussion in the region. There is an even higher rise in 2015 which means that the issue is gaining momentum currently in information accessible to the public. This is a sign that the two issues influence each other and no longer exist exclusively in this region. The growing rate projects to further growth even in future since there has been no significant change in the trend for three years on this.

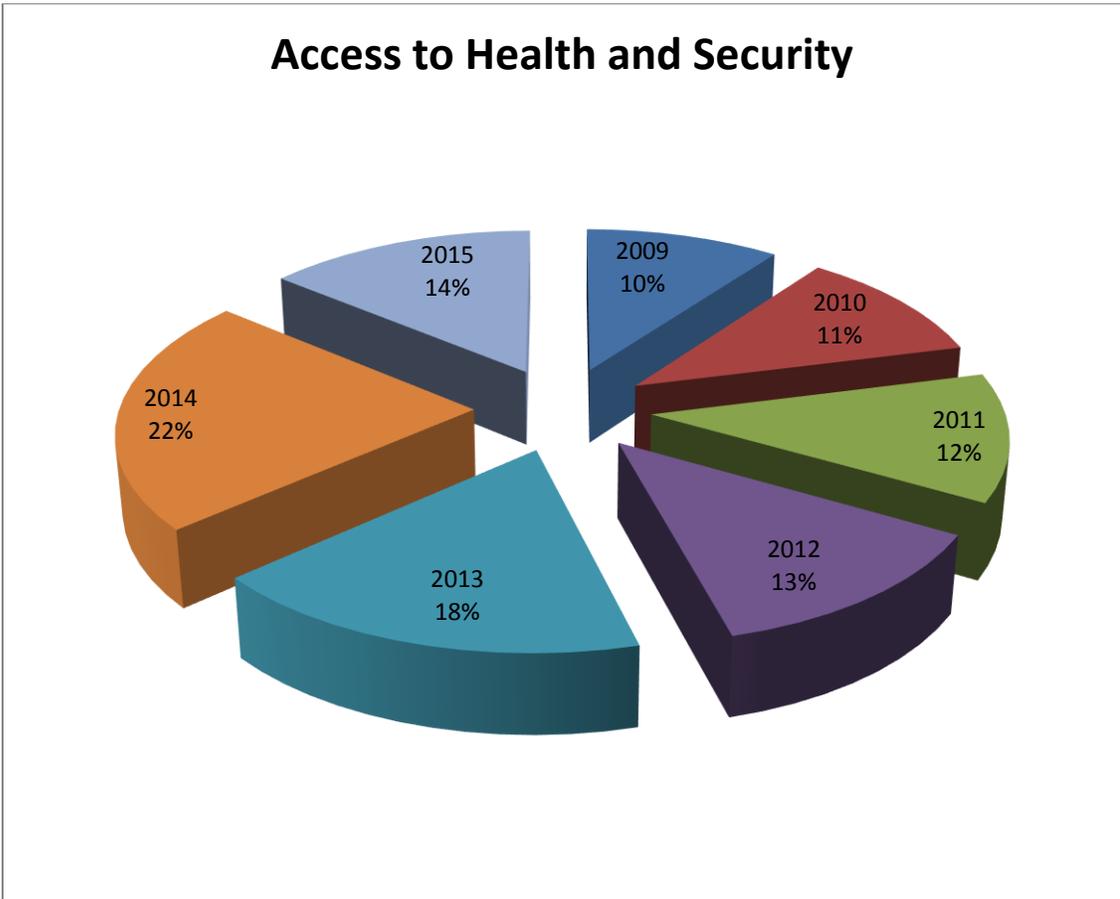


Graph 1.4 Access to education and security

The information above represents the discussions on education related to security. There was a consistent trend from 2009 to 2012. During the election year, there was a small increase which could be attributed to electioneering rhetoric. This is not to be ignored as the upward move then continued in 2014 and 2015. In these latter years, the growth is significant as it is double from the first three years, a sign that with the spike in security issues, education has also been pushed to the forefront of data collected from this region.

Education as a basic service was greatly affected by the security situation as 800 teachers declined to report to work in Mandera due to insecurity (*Capital News March 2015*). This disrupted learning for students for the now ending First Term of the Kenya academic year in 2015. These students already had to bear with extremely difficult learning conditions.

On the other hand, lack of accessible education locked out a large proportion of the population from employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. These disenfranchised groups then contributed to insecurity in several ways as they sought income from illegal means and are often enticed by funds offered by the extremist group Al Shabaab.



Graph 1.5 Access to Health and Security

Health services in the region are a major source of discussion around accessibility of services. This is evident in the trends presented in the graph above. Between 2009 and 2012, there were more linkages between health services and security; in comparison to education services and security despite both being coded here as basic services. This notwithstanding, health services have grown to affect security more from 2013 to 2015.

2013 as an election year of course sees more discussion in the region compared to the previous years.

A report on inequalities (SID, 2004) had previously noted the lack of access in healthcare and education services. The media also reported on the low education levels in the region. The study, through this trend showed the link between health services drawn from the information collected and the need for the communities to access health care which is dire in the region. The trend went on to rise in the next years peaking notably in 2014 and dipping significantly in 2015. This need drove several groups to engage in violence or to support some form of violence which would fund access to healthcare. Poor sanitation was often cited in the same vein with poor healthcare and general poor health, which drives the argument of inequality home.

4.3 Access to Infrastructure and Security in North Eastern Kenya

The data here represents the relationship between security and infrastructure during the study period. This study sought for instances where infrastructure had a direct relationship with a security incident and plotted this against occurrences between 2009 and 2015. It is imperative to understand in this case that infrastructure was coded as phrased as electricity connection, bridges, roads, border and piped water connections.

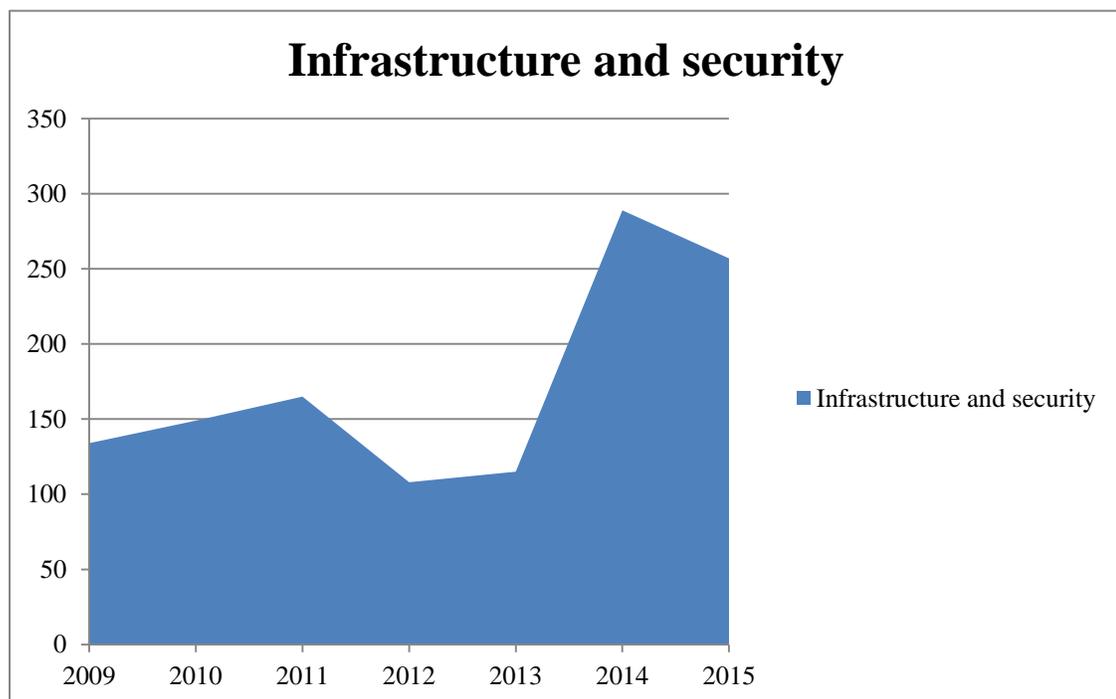


Chart 1.6 Access to Infrastructure and Security

This information represents the trend of this relationship in the years of study. Initially, infrastructure began at a lower point and gradually grows to above 150 on the graph. This

took a sharp dip in 2012 and rises slowly from 2013 taking a sharper turn upwards in 2014 and dipping in 2015. This graph illustrates that infrastructure was a common and important issue in the region since from the onset; the frequencies are well above 100.

The inference made by Mwaura (2005) about how people in this region feel disenfranchised because of the distance they have to cover to reach major towns is now reinforced by this study. The radicalization described by Botha (2015) happens more often due to the narratives of distance from major towns where basic services are more accessible. The intertwined nature of inequality is manifested by this data.

The regional security complex theory here clearly explains how inaccessible infrastructure structures are contributing to more incidences of insecurity. Further, this series shows that infrastructure and security in the region were least linked between 2012 and 2013. This was the same period that Kenyan troops went into Somalia to counter Al Shabaab, a significant marker in the security discussion of Kenya since most discussions focusing on security were now pegged on discourse around the border of Kenya and Somalia. For this reason, there was less discussion on the roads network during this time as more focus was put on the reasons for the troops going into Somalia and hope for better security management.

However, between 2013 and 2015, more time was spent on the narrative of the wider infrastructure setting in the region.

Particularly in question was the fact that poor infrastructure prevented communities from escaping when they were attacked. Poor infrastructure also slowed down response time for rescue efforts by security agencies as is seen in the case of the Garissa University attack by Al Shabaab in 2015.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides next steps following the interpreted data on resource distribution and insecurity in Kenya with a focus on North Eastern Kenya. Insecurity from terrorism has particularly hit this region so although the government is investing in counterterror efforts, more can be done to address the issues that are arising from this study to handle the issue from a different but equally important perspective.

Insecurity has plagued Kenya particularly since 2008 with the North Eastern counties of Kenya bearing the brunt of terror attacks. This has led to sustained counter-terrorism efforts by the government which aim to secure the region and manage the influx of terror from Somalia into Kenya through the porous border at Mandera. One of the solutions fronted for this is the construction of a wall (Business Standard, April 2015) which began in April 2015. This is a reactive measure by the state to the spate of insecurity, although locals feel that this strategy does not favour them directly. Therefore, more strategic ways to deal with insecurity can be considered to ensure sustainability and longer term gains for the region and the state at large. The findings of this study pointed out key outstanding issues in the relationship between resources and security in the region.

5.2. Summary of Findings

The study conducted presented findings over six years checking for frequency measured by conceptual analysis. This study focused on the relationship between security and variables such as accessible basic social services, infrastructural development and employment. All the data found was presented on graphs for simpler comparisons and interpretation of findings. The findings then provided a basis for comparison with the literature review and offered several confirmations to the review.

The findings revealed that there was a strong relationship between accessible social services and security. This was evident due to the increasing frequencies of these concepts through the years of study and particularly during election years when potential leaders discuss their manifestos with their constituents. The identity card which is a critical social document for Kenya was highly discussed in relation to security in the electioneering period and continues to be a concern for those who cannot access it in North Eastern Kenya. These issues are becoming bigger concerns with time.

Infrastructure was also seen as a major issue from the research findings. The relationship between infrastructural development and security was heightened. This is interesting to note this relationship since infrastructure has heavily affected the delivery of security services as seen by major terror attack in Kenya such as the Garissa University attack. Here, the government admitted to slow response due to the mere distance from Garissa to Nairobi. Various terror attacks in Mandera were not addressed due to the lack of roads in the region, which prevented security agencies from reaching those in need in good time

to mitigate damage. This is a clear example and confirmation that in North Eastern Kenya, poor infrastructure, is affecting security of the region.

Employment is a concern for this region due to the mostly youthful population. Spikes are seen in data studied in recent years particularly due to the discourse on radicalization. The literature review had presented some ideas on this and the data went ahead to ascertain that indeed, employment or lack thereof were closely related to security.

First, counterterrorism efforts by government and security agencies must protect human rights and freedoms. Distrust between the population and the security agencies is growing due to perceived and real inequality. This manifests itself in the form of ingrown terror perpetuated by local disenfranchised youth. It is important therefore to regain trust of the communities in the North Eastern Kenya region in the fight against terror, using their insights and experiences as pillars in this battle. Kenya's constitution captures this aptly;

‘National Security shall be pursued in compliance with the law and with utmost respect for the rule of law, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms.’

This is emphasis that enhanced national security and respect for human rights remain mutually inclusive principles and outcomes of good governance and long term security solutions. This can be achieved if the government strategizes to win their hearts and

minds in this war against insecurity in the region. The residents of the region therefore need to feel that they matter to the government and hopefully choose patriotism over mistrust for the state. There are young people who have been involved with terrorism from the region due to economic issues which drive them to work for the terror group for financial gains.

However more information can be gained by working with these young people who are Kenyan citizens first and foremost. The community can work with the government if persecution that is meted against them in counter terror efforts are addressed. There is a dire need for the government to apply strategic and rights-based approaches to deal with Kenya's security crunch. A national forum that would include the widest possible range of nongovernmental groups and government agencies on the preservation of national security and protection of fundamental rights and freedoms is the best way forward.

The Kenyan government should start by acknowledging and publicly condemning these cases of blatant human rights abuse. Furthermore the relevant government officials should direct the security organs involved in the response to carry out in-depth investigations and hold the officers culpable of violations to account. The government needs to support agencies tasked with overseeing these operations, such as the Independent Policing Oversight Authority, with adequate resources to improve efficiency as well as the authority to take action in cases of abuse.

Collaboration with communities and other relevant stakeholders is a sure step in the right direction for the government if it would like to address the root causes of the insecurity,

conflict and instability – including radicalization of the youth to achieve a sustainable and comprehensive response to the runaway insecurity in the country. Deepening oppression - whether real or perceived - and political exclusion of some communities combined with poverty will only present an increasingly dynamic threat to security.

Further, the government must invest in academic, donor-supported or state-sponsored study on the existing narratives about security in North Eastern Kenya. This can be done through a survey discussing with the residents of the region how they are affected by the terror, and how some sections of the population in this region could be contributing to inflating the problem. This can inform the state to revise strategies and create more efficient methods that are centralized on the feedback of the community. Such a study should be supported by local government as an information gathering drive. With good data, the local government structures can develop short term strategies in in engaging the community in the security discussion.

One strategy that could tackle the problem of unemployment and insecurity would be to develop a community policing system. This would be a community initiated but state supported intervention that would organize young people by small administrative units such as ward, and facilitate them to monitor trends and work with law enforcement units. The current drive to revamp the National Youth Service in 2015 as a community support system can sustain this process. Working with young people from North Eastern Kenya to secure their own community even through the NYS programme puts the onus on the community and ensures that local solutions are used for local problems. A special unit of

NYS can be created to address security needs specific to this region. This kind of intervention which has community backing can survive more easily compared to the massive and compulsive security interventions that have been employed thus far by the government.

Unemployment can also be addressed through securing investment in the local trade and improved infrastructure. The area supplies most of the livestock in Kenya's meat trade. Kenya is a regional hub and can position itself to secure financing to build the livestock trade in North Eastern Kenya. Such an industry would create jobs for many in the region. This kind of cash flow would be liberating for the youth and allow them to grow themselves through legal means. With a good road network and steady electricity and phone connectivity, young people in the North have a good chance of becoming wealthy and driving their communities with the proceeds they can receive from the eased trading.

Basic social services have been few and far between in North Eastern Kenya from pre-independent times. This inequality is coming back to haunt the state with a whole section of the population who reside within the Kenyan border but do not enjoy the benefits of being citizens. Identification of persons in Kenya is imperative for access to several social services. National identity cards are currently processed in Nairobi through a central registry, even though applications and renewals have been devolved through the *Huduma Center* service delivery programme. Processing these documents in local offices would ensure that records are up to date and more suitable and less intrusive verification methods are used.

Healthcare is a vital service that is a basic right that the Kenyan government strives to provide to its citizens. However, the study has shown that this is a resource that is not easily accessed in this region. This inaccessibility has forced some residents to find other means of seeking healthcare. Many respondents to Botha's (2015) study said that they were forced to join Al Shabaab to earn money to secure money for health services for their families. Since healthcare is a devolved service, local governments in North Eastern Kenya need to use the various funding provided to the marginalized areas and prioritize healthcare development. Employment of health workers from the local community will also go a long way in creating ownership of the health projects seeing as this community is conservative and deeply religious. Further, development of mobile health facilities can improve accessibility for these nomadic communities and allow them to receive this service and live their lifestyle.

Development of infrastructure in the region shall be a major sustainable intervention for the whole region, and indeed the horn of Africa. Road networks will open up this region for more investment and ensure that security agencies can easily access the region. This will ease response in case of attacks and ensure people get the help they need. It is imperative for the government and all funding partners to invest heavily in ensuring modern development such as electricity and piped water are input, just as the investment is made in the border wall in Mandera.

The community in North Eastern Kenya needs to be heavily involved in strategies to acquire, distribute or improve resources in the region. However, there is need to study to

further how to improve ideologies of citizenship and unification by the government. Patriotism is the sure key to preventing in grown terror in Kenya, but to develop this, there must be a comprehensive guideline developed to improve patriotism in this region.

5.3. Conclusion

The government is strategizing on how best to handle the security crises in North Eastern Kenya and indeed Kenya at large. The dimensions of basic social services, infrastructure and employment are brought out in these findings as critical issues that are only increasing in the spate of insecurity that Kenya faces. The conceptual study has revealed that there is growing concern about these variables in relation to security, and that these relationships are being reinforced with time. Even as electioneering periods heighten these discussions, it is important to note that there are no reductions in the discourse after elections as security still plagues the residents of North Eastern Kenya.

Infrastructure has come up as a vital issue for this community who have been cut off from the rest of Kenya for a long time. This issue is coming out strongly as it offers a quick and direct link to deal with some immediate concerns like the improvement of trade and thus the improvement of the economic situation. Infrastructural growth will have a direct impact on several other factors, thus the reason why it is at the top of the list, compared to the other variables. Better access to electricity will improve communication in the region and therefore coordinate quick assistance if required.

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