UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GARRE AND MURULLE INTER-CLAN CONFLICTS
IN MANDERA DISTRICT IN KENYA (SINCE THE POST-COLONIAL ERA)

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
AWARD OF A DIPLOMA OF THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2014
DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University

Abdi Hakim Hassan

R140/28992/2012

Signature: ______________________ Date: __________________________

The project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signature: ______________________ Date: __________________________
DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my family for their support
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

May I take this opportunity to salute a few individuals. My sincere gratitude goes to Miss Shazia of Institute of diplomacy and International Studies - UoN, for the assistance, guidance, encouragement, critics and assistance.

Special thanks go to family members for the encouragement, moral and material support. This is the proof that your efforts and prayers were not in vain.

Above all, thanks to the Allah SWAT.
ABSTRACT

The study sought to evaluate the strategies that have used in promoting peace and security in North Eastern Kenya. Specifically the study aimed to examine the drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts between the Garre and Murrulle clans, the role of the colonial frontiers and administrative control of pastoral nomadic movements in Garre-Murrulle conflict, how the Garre and the Murrulle alignments and realignments caused conflict in Mandera District and to determine the strategies that have been used in promoting peace and security between the Garre and Murrule clans in Mandera District. This study adopted an exploratory design in an attempt to establish the strategies that have been used in bringing peace among the Garre and Murrulle. Secondary data was used in addressing the study objectives. The data involved a documentary research on the government records held by the government authorities, the records held by NGOs and churches, historical sites in the internet, archives and census reports were used. After the data collection, it was subjected to content analysis which involved an objective and systematic identification of specified characteristics of information given retrieved from the data and segmenting the information on basis of similarities. The findings shows that the peace efforts by the government of Kenya and local elders from both warring clans prevail up on both sides and led to adopted and signed memorandum of understating as peace agreement that was supported by the locals and the all leaders in the mediation team. Therefore, both conflicting parities realized some peace as community leaders swore to up hold peace effort. It also enables those displaced from their homes be resettled and schools to be reopened in all affected centers. The mediation team also gave suggestions that would enhance security and peace in the affected areas of Mandera. Therefore the study recommends that for the security officers to work efficiently in the Mandera area, they need all terrain designed armed cars which they do not have to facilitate their movements and operation when dealing with conflicts. Deliberate efforts to foster lasting peace should be undertaken by leaders from the feuding clans to try and find a lasting solution to the conflicts between the two clans.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.................................................................................................................. i

DEDICATION...................................................................................................................... ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.................................................................................................. iii

ABSTRACT....................................................................................................................... iv

ACRONYMS.................................................................................................................... viii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY ......................................................... 1

1.1 Background to the Study.......................................................................................... 1

1.2 Statement of the problem ......................................................................................... 3

1.3 Objectives of the Study............................................................................................ 4

1.3.1 General objective.................................................................................................. 4

1.3.2 Specific objectives are;......................................................................................... 5

1.4 Literature Review..................................................................................................... 5

1.4.1: Conclusions......................................................................................................... 10

1.5: Justification.............................................................................................................. 11

1.6: Theoretical Framework.......................................................................................... 12

1.7: Hypotheses.............................................................................................................. 13

1.8: Methodology.......................................................................................................... 14

1.9: Chapter Outline...................................................................................................... 15
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY OF THE GARRE AND MURULLE CLANS ................. 17

2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 17
  2.1.1 A Brief History of the Garre Clan ................................................................. 17
  2.1.2: The Murulle Clan ....................................................................................... 20

2.2: The Garre and Murulle Livelihood ...................................................................... 22
  2.2.1 Economic Activities .................................................................................... 23
  2.2.2 Traditional Authorities ................................................................................ 24

2.3: The History of Conflicts between the Garre and Murulle ..................................... 30
  2.3.1 Shifta War .................................................................................................. 37
  2.3.2: Perennial Clan Based Conflicts .................................................................. 40

2.4 Conclusions .......................................................................................................... 43

CHAPTER THREE: THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GARRE
AND THE MURULLE .................................................................................................. 45

3.1 Genesis of Conflicts between the Garre and Murulle Clans .................................... 45
  3.2.1 Conflict over Resources Particularly Pasture and Water ............................... 45
  3.2.2 Politically Related Conflicts ........................................................................ 49
  3.2.3 Administrative Boundary Issues ................................................................... 51

3.2.4 Proliferation of Weapons in Mandera District and Insecurity ............................ 53
  3.2.5 Terrain Challenges ...................................................................................... 55
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.2.6: Acts of Crime and Banditry</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.7: Weak Government Presence</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.8: Presence of Ethnic Militias</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.9: Propaganda</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Conclusions</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Strategies For Promoting Peace</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Local Methods of Promoting Peace and Security between the Garre and Murrule Clans</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Government Interventions in the Conflicts between Garre and Murrule Clans</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Conclusions</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Recommendations</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KADU</td>
<td>Kenya African Democratic Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>NED</td>
<td>North Eastern District</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEP</td>
<td>North Eastern Province</td>
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<tr>
<td>NFD</td>
<td>Northern Frontier District</td>
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<td>NFDL</td>
<td>Northern Frontier Defense Liberation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Study
In the late nineteenth century, the present North Eastern Province, now subdivided in counties by the new Kenya constitution, was known as the Northern Frontier. At the turn of the century this region and the larger Horn of Africa was hit by human and livestock diseases and famine. These calamities caused depopulation by depleting vital natural resources necessary for human survival.\(^1\) Areas affected by the calamities were the Northern Frontier region, including areas bordering Daua and Ganale Doria Rivers, Sagan River, Waso and the Tana rivers. Soon after the occurrence of these disasters and the subsequent depopulation, the Somali clans of Darood and the Hawiya from the Horn of Africa migrated to occupy these areas. The British and the Italian in their colonization quest fixed boundaries that divided up the Somali pastoral communities into different political jurisdictions.\(^2\)

The creation of the political boundary was completed in 1903 when the boundary between Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Kenya (Kenya colony) was fixed. On the same note, the boundary between Italian Somaliland and the British Kenya colony was fixed between 1925 and 1926, when Jubaland was transferred to Italian Somaliland. The first boundary was fixed between the frontiers along the eastern sections of the Ganale-Duaa

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Rivers and Daua-El Wak (wells), which was shared between Ethiopia and Kenya. The second boundary was that of Jubaland-Wajir, which was shared between Somalia and Kenya. All these areas were used by the local people as areas of trans-frontier pastoral seasonal migrations. In creation of these boundaries the colonial frontiers shifted and altered ethnic and clan territories. This shift and alteration of ethnic and clan territories by the colonial frontiers is crucial for understanding the history of inter-ethnic conflicts in the Northern Frontier District (hereafter NFD) and Mandera District at large.

Mandera District is located in the northern part of the North Eastern Province of Kenya. The District borders Wajir District to the south and south west, Ethiopia to the north and Somalia to the east. The District comprises six districts, namely of Mandera East, Central, North, West, Banisa and Lafey and has three Parliamentary Constituencies, namely, Mandera East, Central and West. Although the population density of Mandera District is sparse, it appears dense at water points and areas with green pasture. This overstretches the meager water and pasture resources available therefore leading to frequent conflict between the four ‘clan’ groupings, of the Garre, the Murulle, the Degodia and the Corner Tribes. Of all the above, the Garre and the Murulle have been in constant conflict.

In understanding the strategies that have been used to promote peace and security between the Garre and the Murulle one must first attempt to define exactly what are the

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3 Ibid Farer, pg 67 – 89.
factors responsible for the conflict between the two Somali clans and how they are involved. What and/or who are the Garre and the Murulle? Where did they come from? What did the British creation of northern frontier mean to them? What does it mean now? This research looks at the Garre and Murulle conflict in Mandera and explains how this conflict has been resolved over the years.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Mandera District is on the frontier region of southern Ethiopia- North Eastern Province of Kenya. Creation of the frontiers coincided with regional mass migration of the Somali herdsmen from the Horn westwards to the British colony of Kenya. Using the resource scarcity model described by Homer-Dixon, the study aims at identifying factors underlying the Garre-Murulle conflicts. The research is interested in understanding how the colonial frontiers and administrative control boundaries of pastoral nomadic movements created structural scarcity and how political administrative borders were affected.

Over the last decade, the Garre and the Murulle have engaged in frequent fights that have affected more other groups in Mandera District. The inter-clan conflict has affected decisions in the District has had long-term implications. The two clans have their own specific rights of why they fight hence deserve attention in the scholarship observation, not only in terms of lacking development but also in terms of the frontier effect. Yet too

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7 Ibid KHRC, pg.10
often, the Garre and Murulle conflict has been ignored, and goes unheard in the scholarship arena. This can also be attributed to the fact the area is the northern frontier, which was affected by the state of emergency. During this period, it had little or no access to the media and limited access to the government justice infrastructure such as courts. Nor did they have powerful lobbying groups.\(^8\)

The Murulle and the Garre have engaged in frequent conflicts that has affected the entire Mandera triangle. In December 2004, the conflict between the two clans claimed at least 100 lives. The two clans continue to be hostile to each other. The continued hostility has slowed social and economic progress among the two clans as no meaningful development can take place in a volatile environment. Factors underlying the hostility between the two clans are not well established. Therefore this study set out to understand and analyze the strategies that have been used in promoting peace and security in the District.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General objective

The main objective of the study was to explore the strategies that have been used to promote peace and security in resolving the clan conflicts in Mandera District with a specific focus on the Garre and Murrule Conflicts.

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\(^8\) Mburu, Nene, Bandits on the Border: The Last Frontier in the Search of Somali Unity, Trenton, NJ, 2005, Red Sea Press, pg 23
1.3.2 Specific objectives are;

1. To examine the drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts in Mandera District
2. To examine the role of the colonial frontiers and administrative control of pastoral nomadic movements in Garre-Murulle conflict.
3. To determine the strategies that have been used in promoting peace and security between the Garre and Murrule clans in Mandera District.

1.4 Literature Review

Korir outlines a detailed process of building peace at the local, grassroots level, based on firsthand experience in the North Rift Region. The purpose of the report was to demonstrate that the church could play a special role in calling for peace in the region and the need for the church to exercise ‘stewardship’ in the community ‘by resolving to work with the people to achieve sustainable peace.’ He shows that these communities have realized that peace is a common good that they must promote and guard. Therefore, members of the communities have responded in numerous ways to alleviate, contain and end the violence that plagues their people, providing relief, shelter, development assistance, reconciliation and peace building services.

Jesse summarizes the current situation of the poorest and most vulnerable households in drought affected areas of North Eastern Kenya in relation to seasonality, livelihoods, health, nutrition, households coping strategies and ends with a list of recommendations.

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9 Ibid Korir, pg 230
10 Jessa M. Serna, Drought Assessment Northern Eastern Kenya (Wajir East, South and Mandera), 2011, ERP – Food Security & Livelihoods
The assessment was conducted in the districts of Wajir (East and South) and Mandera located in North Eastern Kenya near the border with Somalia where the findings of the assessment suggested that the impact of the drought has severely affected vulnerable households in different livelihood zones. The failure of short rains in mid October up to mid December 2010 and the late arrival of long rains in mid March 2011 have resulted in negative coping mechanisms, triggered stress and in depth livelihoods shock amongst pastoralist and agro pastoralist households mainly due to water and grazing shortages.\(^\text{12}\)

According to Lewis, the chronologies of conflicts over resources can be understood if the social and political mechanism that created these conflicts are analyzed. Lewis shows that the shifting of rights to key and scarce resources, such as wells, increased competition and intensified conflicts.\(^\text{13}\) Another scholar with similar views is Homer who discussed how the patterns of historical conflicts can be interpreted in the context of resource scarcity theoretical frame of Political Ecology.\(^\text{14}\) The study resonates well with the political legacies of conflicts along colonial frontiers that divided the Horn of Africa between the British, Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italy in the late nineteenth century.

Ayalner Bogale and Korf, in their work states that, land use by pastoral nomads in the frontier region is closely linked to spatial and temporal variability of grazing and water resources. The colonial creation of the frontiers took no account of the ecological factors that had an overarching influence on land use by nomadic herders.\(^\text{15}\) Along the frontiers, a common assumption is that dependence on variable natural resources would predictably

\(^{12}\)Ibid, Jesse pg, 203.
\(^{13}\) Lewis, James Currey, A Pastoral Democracy, Prentice Hall, 2001, London pg 46
induce conflicts linked to resource scarcity. To the authors, resource scarcity induced inter-ethnic conflicts are more common along international borders used by nomadic pastoralists, where movement across the trans-frontier has a potential for creating conflicts between the pastoral groups and between the states and the pastoralists.

Mburu discusses the political legacies of conflicts along colonial frontiers that divided up the Horn of Africa between the British, Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italy in the late nineteenth century. However, missing from the literature is historical information on factors that induced inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts over resource borders.16 According to Bates, during pre-colonial periods the pastoral nomadic communities of the Horn of Africa had interacted across shifting grazing resource borders. Land use by grazing was extensive. Groups dispersed widely during periods of rainfall to gain access to freshly growing pastures for their multi-species livestock comprising cattle, goats, sheep and the camels. Communities from different ethnic groups were integrated in the grazing systems. Different groups, depending on the types of livestock species, evolved specialized systems of resource use that distinguished them from their neighbours.17

Azarya observes that inter-ethnicity was essential and was not limited to temporary encounters. Boundaries between indigenous groups were always permeable and occasionally indistinct. The suggestion being that communities either could intermittently or continuously share resource borders.18 In any case, enmities could be punctuated by long-term peace and cooperation. Warfare was, therefore, less frequent and far in

between. The history of cooperation and the dynamics of peace-conflicts would determine such relations. Such a social system that was mostly negotiated between different players changed with the establishment of colonial frontiers.\textsuperscript{19}

Markakis observes that colonial borders and frontiers reproduced conflicts. In the borderland regions, the relationships between the trans-frontier communities were defined in terms of sets of claims over resources. Whereas previously resource borders described cultural space where identities were negotiated, the colonial frontiers altered the meaning of resource access rights.\textsuperscript{20} Dorman and Wilson shares the same views that in the new political frontier, nationalities would also shift. The colonial states considered the shifting borders in terms of ethnic identities.\textsuperscript{21}

Trench argues that under the British colonial administration, water and grazing concessions were competed over by the groups belonging to the same alliance or their clients, on one hand, and immigrants, on the other. In other cases where the conflicts involved former alliances or their clients over key resources, the administration’s aim was to destroy the system of clients that had existed within the Somali people.\textsuperscript{22} In the new administrative order, the former clients would reassert themselves by claiming concessions on grazing lands and water points that they previously used as guests.

Through administrative realignments, resource ownership was redefined, rights changed, re-creating resource poor and resource rich communities. In other cases, the basis of

\begin{footnotesize}\begin{enumerate}
\item[19] Ibid Azarya, pg 203-207
\end{enumerate}\end{footnotesize}
resource divisions were based on religion that the colonial administration perceived as driving conflicts between the Moslem and non-Muslim groups. Imaginary lines on maps were marked to separate the grazing and water resources of religiously defined communities.  

Baxter argues that the frontiers along the Eastern sections of the Ganale-Daua Rivers and Daua-El Wak (wells), shared between Ethiopia and Kenya, and Jubaland-Wajir, shared between Somalia and Kenya, were areas of trans-frontier pastoral seasonal migrations. The colonial frontiers shifted and altered tribal territories hence Baxter suggests that if one examines the ethnic frontiers, from the outbreak of rinderpest to colonial partition, significant shifts had occurred. The period was one of wars, raiding, and tribal, clan and family migrations.

Resource based conflicts is considered to be the single most obstacle to peace and security in North Eastern Kenya. Conflicts in these environments are products of deep seated historical-structural issues such as marginalization, poverty and under development. The recent new pressures such as the rise of Islamists groups like Alshabab have worsened the communities’ susceptibility to armed violence and altered the nature of ‘traditional’ conflict. Ubah focuses on the identification and analysis of key conflict actors in the cross borders of Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia and examines the causes of conflicts in these areas. An extensive study of relevant literature and the implementation

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23 Ibid Donnan and Wilson, pg 104-108
of practical research had been undertaken, with the latter carried out through select individual interviews and focus group discussions with representatives from the tri borders of Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia.  

1.4.1: Conclusions

From the above study the Scholars have focused more on Somali irredentism and closeness to the porous border as the main curse but do not take into account the numerous efforts that have been put from the local level to the international arena for the communities to live peacefully in harmony. Where as they explain conflict in the border areas as being caused by irredentism and porous borders, it should be noted that not every conflict in these areas is cause by irredentism and that no conflicts can occur in any given place and there fails to be mechanisms to bring peace among the warring communities. Mandera area is not the only borderland where clans transcend the international border. Equally, Mandera is not the only area with a porous border. Kenya shares similar borders all round but no serious conflict has been reported, as is the case in Mandera.

The role of the colonial frontiers in creating structural scarcity that induced conflicts is missing from the analyses. The analyses need to take cognizance of the types of relations that existed between ethnic groups prior to the establishments of colonial frontiers in order to explore a comparative nature of resource-based conflicts. Such systems were symbiotic where groups managed non-competing land use, while where the systems of resource use were competitive there was likelihood of conflict along the shifting resource

26 Ubah, Hassan Abdi, implications of cross conflict in North Eastern Kenya, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2011, pg. 8-10
borders. The same communities exploited grazing territories across different ecological zones, thereby avoiding such potential competition. Thus, the production pursued by neighboring communities had both the potential to take care of local competition as well as promoting cooperation. This study intended to show how the colonial borders and the administration disrupted former alliances and created new ethnic order. Therefore a long lasting peace solution is important in ensuring that these communities appreciate the colonial borders and utilize them for the common good.

1.5: Justification

The researcher argues that there have been a lot of conflicts between the Garre and Murulle clans in Mandera Districts. And seemingly there has not been sustainable mitigation mechanisms in place to deal with these conflicts. Without access to these processes that are integral to the exercise of democratic rights, the Garre and the Murulle and their opinions remained hidden from view hence they solved their differences through conflict yet no comprehensive scholarship work has been done on their conflicts. There is little scholarly work on Garre and the Murulle conflicts yet factors such as these are likely to have a huge direct and indirect impact on the relationship between the two conflicting communities.

This study would contribute to knowledge by generating and documenting information about inter-ethnic communities’ conflicts in Kenya and the conflict resolution methods that have been applied, particularly on the conflicts between the Garre and Murrulle clans in Isiolo Mandera District. The understanding of the nature these conflicts would facilitate in the formulation of appropriate mitigation measures that are also long term to
liberate these clans from the perennial warring that have defined their lifestyles for decades.

The study would be useful to the Government of Kenya, and other stakeholders in undertaking effective intervention strategies against inter-ethnic communities’ conflicts. Other governments, policy makers and planners would also find the study helpful in formulating appropriate policies and programmes to control the conflicts among communities especially in North Eastern Kenya.

To the upcoming generation of youths and children, this study would guide their attitudes and habits towards embracing of peaceful coexistence with their neighbors hence assist in putting an end to the conflicts through mutual understanding on the nature of such conflicts and their impact on the social fabric of such communities. To the academicians and future researchers, the study would add onto the existing literature on the occurrence of conflicts in Kenya and particularly pastoral communities.

1.6: Theoretical Framework

This research is based on Homer-Dixon’s theoretical framework, which analyses why violent conflicts occur. According to the framework, conflicts can occur over various factors among them resources, such as grazing lands and water. The proponents of this theory argue that conflicts can be induced by scarcity of any need against the competing demands. These are divided into scarcity associated with resource degradation and scarcity induced by population growth. In Mandera District ecological scarcity, caused by

land degradation and climatic variability combined with political instability can induce inter-ethnic violence. Conflict created structural scarcity when violence was used to displace populations from resource rich to resource poor areas. This research discussed types of scarcity and precludes analysis of the state control that induced structural resource scarcity.

The study explains competing demands between the Garre and the Murulle in Mandera and analyses which competition drives the Garre and the Murulle to conflict. This study would reveal how colonial frontiers, created conducive environments for conflicts to occur. In most cases, it was the decisions made by the administration that created structural scarcity. This is precisely what Homer-Dixon called resource capture. Resource capture can be explained in two ways. Firstly, militarily and numerically powerful groups in the frontier might use force to dislodge the previous residents. The second type of resource capture is when through administrative re-arrangements of resource borders groups’ access to key resources is altered. This happens for reasons of political exigencies than for purposes of creating conflicts. It is the conditions created that the competing groups such as the Garre and the Murulle, used to stake rights to the grazing and water resources that resulted to conflicts.

1.7: Hypotheses

1. There are various drivers of the Garre and Murulle inter-clan conflict in Mandera.
2. Colonial frontiers and administrative control contributed to conflicts in Mandera.

29 Ibid Homer-Dixon, pg 35
30 Ibid Hussein, pg 9
4. Strategies for promoting peace and security between the Garre and Murulle are ineffective.

1.8: Methodology

This study adopted an exploratory design in an attempt to establish the strategies that have been used in bringing peace among the Garre and Murulle. As Babbie puts it, an exploratory study is undertaken when not much is known about the situation at hand or no information is available on how similar problem or research issues have been solved in the past.\textsuperscript{31} As such extensive preliminary work needs to be done to gain familiarity with the phenomenon in the situation and understand what is occurring before a model develop and set up a rigorous design for comprehensive investigation.\textsuperscript{32} In essence this study was undertaken to better comprehend the nature of the conflicts between these clans which have persisted for decades, establish the reasons as to why they have not been solved and how they can be resolved.

The target population for this study were the Garre and Murulle clans of Mandera District where secondary data was used in addressing the study objectives. The data involved documentary research on the government records held by the government authorities, the records held the by NGOs and churches, historical sites in the internet, archives and census reports was used in establishing the historical background of the target clans, the economic activities, cultural activities, the occurrence of conflicts, the contemporary issues surrounding the nature of the social conflicts between the


communities and more important the strategies that have been used in promoting peace and security between these clans.

After the data collection, it was subjected to content analysis which involved an objective and systematic identification of specified characteristics of information given retrieved from the data and segmenting the information on basis of similarities. The method has been chosen because it helps in understanding and making inferences on the subject of study. After which similar findings will be grouped together and summarized. Thereafter the method was used in summarizing and analyzing the data based on the objectives of the study. This method was considered because it enabled the inclusion of large amounts of textual information and systematic identification of its properties.

1.9: Chapter Outline

Chapter one contains introduction of the topic of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives, literature review, theoretical framework, justification of the study, the study hypothesis and methodology. Chapter two explores on the history of the Garre and Murrule clans, their lifestyles and livelihoods and the conflicts that have occurred between the clans for decades.

Chapter three examines the causes of conflicts between the Garre and Murrule clans of Mandera and demonstrates why the conflicts have persisted for so long. Chapter four concludes the study by giving a summary of the strategies that have been used to bring

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peace between the clans and what the security agents have done, where they have succeeded and where they have failed. In concludes with the conclusions and recommendations based on the findings.
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY OF THE GARRE AND MURULLE CLANS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents information on the history of the both the Garre and Murrule clans, it goes further to present information on the socio-economic lifestyles of the two clans. The chapter then presents information on the relationships between the two clans, the administrative authorities and the various conflicts that have occurred between the two clans since the post-colonial period.

2.1.1 A Brief History of the Garre Clan

The Garre people are part of the larger ethnic group known as the Somali. Although the Somali adhere to the same Islamic faith and share a common cultural heritage, they are divided by language distinctions and clan conflicts. The Garre are the majority and the most widespread clan in Mandera. They live in Mandera North, West, and Central and around Mandera town. The Garre are a diverse and complex clan consisting of two major sections, the Tuff and the Quranyowa. Garre clans communicate in three main languages among themselves in. These languages are the common Somali, the Rahanwein dialect of Southern Somalia, and the ‘Garre’ language of Mandera. Garre language is a Somalised dialect of Borana.\(^\text{36}\)

\(^{35}\) Hussein Mohamed Alio Inter-Clan Conflict In Mandera District: A Case Of The Garre And Murulle, 2004-2009, Department of History and Archeology, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012, pg 115 - 117

In the mid 18th Century, the Borana overran and dominated the Gabbra, Sakuye and the bulk of the Garre. The domination made the Gabbra, Sakuye and the Garre to abandon their earlier Somaloid speech in favour of Borana. Arabic is spoken as a secondary or trade language and is also spoken by other Somali people. In their relations with the Borana, some of these latter groups also adopt Borana practices, so that the totality of their public ritual is composed of two or three sub-complexes of diverse origins. Their neighbours include the Somali clans of Murulle, Ajuran, Degodia and the Borana Galla.37

The main Garre groupings descended from Mayle ibn Samal, and are thus equals to Irir and Saransor as sons of Samal, the original head of the Somali people. The Quranyowa section of the Garre claim descent from Dirr, who are born of the Irrir Samal. The Garre people are split in three countries namely Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. In Somalia, they live in the southern part, in Kofur near Mogadishu and El Wak District in Gedo Province.38 In Ethiopia, they live in Moyale, Hudet and Woreda of Liban zone, while in Kenya, the Garre inhabit Wajir North and Mandera, Garissa and Isiolo. The split in the three countries makes the conflict that affects them to take an international dimension.

This is because of the alliances, which are common among the Somali people. In the Kenyan part, which is the focus of this study, the Garre hold a vast territory, which is uneasily shared with Degodia and other Somali groups in the region. The Garre share the ancestry with other Borana tribes in Northern Kenya including the Sakuye of Saku, Isiolo

37 Ibid Schlee, pg 78
38 Ibid Hussein, pg 118 - 120
and Moyale, the Rendille of Laisamis, the Gabra of Marsabit North, and the Wa-Katwa Bajun clans of Lamu. While all Somali are Muslims.39

The British ethnographers who studied the Borana-speaking groups wrongly described the Garre as a sub-unit of the Borana or as being of Borana origin. The British colonial administration shared this view and drew a territorial boundary between the two broad categories of peoples they recognized in the area: 'Galla' and 'Somali'.40 In fact, many of the so-called 'Galla' are more 'Somali' than anything else. With these marked ethnic differences, the histories of violent clashes become a characteristic of the area. The conflicts become common between different Somali clans since the period of migration and settlement, through the colonial period and during the post-colonial period.41

Most Garre are nomadic herdsmen, seasonally migrating with their camels, sheep, and goats. They live in portable huts made of bent saplings covered with animal skins or woven mats. Their collapsible tents can easily be loaded on back of animals and moved with the herds. The wealth of most Garre is in their herds. Although the husband remains the legal owner of the herd, his wife controls part of it.42 Garre villages consist of several related families. Their huts are arranged in a circle or semi-circle surrounding the cattle pens. Villages are enclosed by thorn-shrub hedges to provide protection from intruders or wild animals. The men's responsibilities include caring for the herds, making decisions dealing with migration, and trading.

42 Ibid Lewis pg 89
The women are in charge of domestic duties, such as preparing the meals, milking the animals, caring for the children, and actually building the home. Like other nomads, the Garre scorn those who work with their hands, considering craftsmen a part of the lower class. The moving patterns of the Garre nomads are dependent upon climate and the availability of grazing land. If water or grazing land becomes scarce, the families pack up their portable huts and move across the desert as a single, extended family unit.  

The Garre are quite loyal to one another, spreading evenly across the land to make sure that everyone has enough water and pasture for his herds. According to Islamic law, a man may have as many as four wives. Each wife has her own hut where she raises her children. The children of divorced parents are usually split by gender, with the wife taking the girls and the husband taking the boys. Formerly, the Garre's diet consisted of almost solely dairy products. Today, however, maize, rice, and some vegetables are also included. Chewing kat, a mild stimulant, is a favourite social pastime for most Garre.

2.1.2: The Murulle Clan

The Murulle people belong to the Hawiye clan of the larger Somalia family. The written history of the Hawiye clan dates back to the 13th century writings of the Arab geographer, Ibn Sa'id, who describes Merca as the capital of Hawiye country. The 12th century cartographer Muhammad al-Idrisi also referred to the Hawiye when he wrote

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that Meccah is the region of the Hadiye. The Murulle inhabit the tip of the Kenya's North Eastern province which borders Ethiopia and Somalia. The clan transcends the international border with some of its members inhabiting the Gedo and Jubba River regions of Somalia.

Murulle are of the sub-clan of the Gugundhabe of the Hawiye Somali clan. Other members of the Gugundhabe are the Baadicadde and Jajeele. The Baadicadde and the Jajeele live in the larger Hiiraan region of Somalia. According to the Murulle oral traditions, their ancestor was a son of Gugundhabe together with Jiidle, Jibidle, Jiryar, and Jilideen. The Murulle clan is made up of four families namely the Sharmaarke, Yabarseyn, Rer Kulow and Naab Soor of which the majority live in the town of Mandera town.

The Murulle history in Kenya dates back close to 120 years after they migrated with their livestock from Somalia and settled in the tip of Kenya's Mandera District in or around 1895. They form part of the most populous clan group, which is dominant in rural parts of Mandera East. On their migration to Mandera, they were first hosted by the Marehan of Gedo first hosted reason for their movement was increase in population, which led to competition over scarce resources which subsequently resulted into frequent conflict with their host.

In their new settlement, their population increased both naturally and by boost from immigrations of new arrivals from Somalia. This is proved by Kjaerland, Gunnar who argues that according to the 1944 district records, ‘More Delo”Tira infiltrated into Kenya and Murulle sent agents to entice fellow tribesmen in Bardera to join them. The main reason for enticing their fellow tribesmen to join them was to make a strong alliance and build a military strength against their Garre enemies. This made the Murulle clan to dominate Mandera East, where they have become a political force against their Garre opponents.\(^\text{49}\)

The Murulle and their new tribesmen build a strong alliance and economic strength based on livestock keeping. Murulle livestock consisted mainly of camels, sheep and goats.\(^\text{50}\)

The pastoral economic livelihood would therefore become very important in influencing the relationship between the Garre and the Murulle. On some occasions, the two clans had a good relationship characterized by a history of sharing pasture and water points. Although the two clans were able to graze and water their animals together, the relationship was sometimes affected by severe drought. During the dry season, the two clans would compete for scarce water and pasture degenerating into severe conflicts. As time went by the two clans, relationship has deteriorated over time.\(^\text{51}\)

2.2: The Garre and Murulle Livelihood

The Garre and Murulle are nomadic pastoralists who migrate from one region to the other in search for pasture for their livestock and water. The movements cut across the

\(^{49}\) Kjaerland, Gunnar, Culture Change among the Nomadic Borana of South Ethiopia, California: Fuller Theological Seminary (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), June 1977, pg 345


international boundary between Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. This leaves them wandering from one country to the other.\textsuperscript{52} Although part of their population is settled particularly those based around water points where they show a tendency to make gardens, a number of them still move to and from the international boundary.

These migrations and movements of these ethnic groups which have been constant frequently acted as a source of conflict between the two groups. Although the migration of the Garre and the Murulle clan of the Somali people is as old as their settlement, the trend remained so even during the colonial period.\textsuperscript{53} The British colonial reports indicated that it was almost impossible to collect tax due to these people’s movement from one region to the other and always seemed probable, too, that those ethnic groups would evade all chance of taxation by migrating to the adjoining territories of Abbysinia or Italian Somaliland.

\textbf{2.2.1 Economic Activities}

The Garre and the Murulle are widely nomadic pastoralists who keep camels, cattle, sheep and goats. The importance of pastoral livelihood explains why the two clans were raiding each other\textsuperscript{54} for livestock. This was clearly indicated by the British colonial reports that there were frequent livestock raids between the Garre and the Murulle clansmen. Cattle raids therefore played a very important economic position among the Garre and the Murulle. Although the two clans frequently raided each other for livestock,

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid Cassanelli, pg 45-53
\textsuperscript{54} Kjaerland, Gunnar) \textit{Culture Change among the Nomadic Borana of South Ethiopia}, California: Fuller Theological Seminary (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), 2007, pg 108
no clan had an economic influence, which would compel other clans to obey their superiority in material terms.\textsuperscript{55}

The clan territoriality inhibits any meaningful economic cooperation with other clans. For example, it is very unlikely that two clans living in any contiguous areas cooperate in digging water wells, protect environment or jointly make security arrangement for the benefit of the respective communities.\textsuperscript{56} The social barriers between the clans and chronic mutual animosity made them mistrust others by holding perceptions and prejudices about the other clans. Mistrust and insecurity always marred inter-clan economic and trade transaction. Any time the Garre and the Murulle had a pending case, not yet resolved, communication and transaction between the two communities would become tense and insecure, until the case is settled. Trivial accidents and minor brawl could lead to a major confrontation, which may render economic and trade transaction stalemate for as long as many years.

2.2.2 Traditional Authorities

The Garre and the Murulle have complex linkage between their clans. These clans form the base of political culture, economic production dominated by traditional animal husbandry, and a traditional governance system.\textsuperscript{57} Among the two clans’ traditional structures of governance and their authority are not separate entities from clan culture and

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\textsuperscript{55} Abdurahman Osman The Role of Traditional Leaders in Decision Making: A paper presented at International Congress of Somali Study, 2001, Hargeysa, pg 36-78
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid Lewis, pg 130-135
\end{flushleft}
the mode in which clan relationships are maintained. Traditional structures of governance among the Garre and the Murulle are therefore, nothing else than expression of the society’s culture and tradition, which are seen in the clan’s hierarchical order. The Garre and the Murulle have a customary law through which the clan is the main political and legal instrument by which inter clan and intra-clan issues were discussed. Through the customary law, conflicts are resolved and resources managed to avoid further conflicts.

Moreover, fundamental cultural elements of the Garre and the Murulle are further influenced by the Islamic religion and lifestyle. The two clans have a strong following of Islam which has shaped their values and norms. The two clans have fused their culture with Islam their becoming a conservative Islamic society. But most important is that the Garre and Murulle have a traditional governance authority which consists of a chief and hierarchical clan heads operating under the chief’s authority. The chief and the clan heads make decisions, which were executed and propagated to the lowest level of the community and at the household level. They formed a council which deliberate decision on issues that would include divorce, waging of wars against a rival clan, managing water access, pastureland and revenge to pay back the evil committed against the clan members.

59 PDRC, Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy, PDRC Publication, 2004, pg 22
60 Ibid, PDRC, pg 78
Among the two clans, the council of elders stood supreme and nobody challenged its decision. The clan council’s decision is obligatory to all members to abide. To ensure that the elders decision is enforced the clan’s governing law has three fundamental principles that must be maintained.62 These principles include the clan members’ cohesion in the face of any challenge that they may face. Such challenges may be political resource or social. This research also observed that, the council also has a big influence on election of politicians. They also manage competition with other clans for power ascendancy and matters related to pasture and control of grazing land, water sharing with other clans, livestock rustling, raping of women, physical clash between camel herders or facing real external aggression.63

Secondly, the council of elders ensured clan members obedience of customary laws governing conflict resolution and maintaining of order among clan members. This also ensures that the external relation with other clans is maintained. The council ensures obeying and respecting specific treaties, accords and agreements entered into with other neighbouring clans on the use of natural resources and maintenance of security and on procedures of blood compensation and other issues of relevance.64 Thirdly, the council ensures that clan members’ recognition of the hierarchical authority endowed upon the members’ traditional head, the chief and sub-clan elders. The chief and clan sub-heads always sit jointly in meetings. This is the highest political and decision-making body. They enjoy full power delegated by the clan’s male members to advocate on behalf of the

63 PDRC, Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy, PDRC Publication, 2004, pg 23
64 Schlee, Gunther , Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, pg 47
community for all matters that affect or influence their interest of the clan. The lower institutions such as the family cannot challenge the elders’ decision.65

In regions of the Garre and the Murulle, the actors in the traditional structures are not trained, educated or intended to be the state leaders. However, they remain useful conduit of the government policies to resolve inter-clan conflicts, security matters or as an instrument for peace making in times of political crises between opposing political factions. In this arrangement, the leaders play a very useful and effective role of managing the conflicts. Their role is extremely effective in solving conflicts of all kinds in the two-clan setup.

Although the chief is a powerful agent of peace among the Garre and the Murulle, unlike chiefs in other parts of Africa, their chiefs do not have powers over land. They cannot assign land to anyone from their clan members. In the first place, the chief does not have designated land or power to manage grazing land except in area of security and peacemaking when disputes arise over use of grazing land or water wells between two clans. The chiefs position among the two clans is mostly ceremonial and approves what the council of clan elders proposed to them.66

Women among the two clans were excluded from all decision making powers and are not allowed to participate in the elders meetings. The role of women is restricted to that of supporting men’s views, ideas and decisions without participating in the processes.

66 Lee V. Cassanelli & Catherine Besteman, *The War Behind the War*, London: HAAN Associate, 2000, pg 23
leading to the decision. Women were not allowed to assume obligation for the clan because they move from the clan to another clan for marriage or within the clan for the same reason. Therefore, their presence is considered temporary in the clan, and as such cannot be counted on. The other factor why the Garre and the Murulle do not involve women in clan governing affairs is the believe that women are not strong enough to take part in fighting when the clan is confronted with external aggression or waged war against another clan, as they are seen to be weak physically. As such women do not, mostly, own property in these clans but can take care of the family livestock.

They are also not obliged to contribute to blood compensation, as they do not receive any share from blood compensation receivables. Traditionally, women’s role is to bear and rear children and be housewives, and that excludes them from taking part in the clan political, economic and military decisions. However, owing to rural migration and persistent inter-clan conflict between the Garre and the Murulle, women are having new roles in urban areas as breadwinners for their family. They engage in formal and informal businesses and trade.

They now sit in open market places selling items, working as housewives, paying school and medical fees, and travelling from place to place seeking employment and business opportunity. Their role is changing fast, but still denied to access full political participation. The men’s attitudes towards women among the Garre and the Murulle is

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reinforced by two main factors or tenets, namely customary tradition and Islamic Sharia which are both seen to be gender biased.

Although the Garre and the Murulle have a rigid social structure based on customary tradition and Islamic Sharia laws, the introduction of the colonial system of governance in the beginning of the 20th Century and the application of laws based on foreign cultures, different political concepts and alien doctrines did not spare the efficacy of the traditional legal system. The colonial administration allowed elders to deal only with issues that were not against the colonial interest, law and order, or the security in general, such as resolving clan disputes, sharing pasture and water wells, administering marriage and other minor problems.

During the colonial administration, the traditional leaders had also lost their political power and respect they enjoyed, as they became salaried persons working for the interest and policy of the colonial administration. To ensure that their interests were well taken care of, the colonial government promoted competition among elders by grading traditional leaders, in terms of scale of salary and importance. They were also promoted according to loyalty that each showed to the colonial administration and the numerical strength of his clan. This policy had further undermined the respect of the Garre and Murulle elders.

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2.3: The History of Conflicts between the Garre and Murulle

The fight between the Garre and the Murulle did not just begin in the post-colonial period. The region experienced conflict long before the coming of European colonizers. The Garre and the Murulle engaged in the wars of occupation of the greater Mandera District. They became the first two groups to fight for control of Mandera district soon after their arrival from Ethiopia. The two clans first settled near the ancient trading city of Luq in the middle reaches of the Galana- Juba system. While at Galana they engaged in fighting, as the Garre struggled to control the territory.

During these battles, many Garre and Murulle fighters died and property destroyed as villages were burned down. The Borana who made alliances with the Murulle also incurred some loses hence they were forced to move to two new defense bases, one between present day Rhamu and Ashabito, and the other at El Wak wells under their leaders Qubla Hallow, Golich Ergemsa and Boru Hache. Fearing the ruthless leadership of the Garre, most of the Borana migrated to Moyale where they are still powerful, while the Murulle remained in Mandera where they engaged in frequent fights with the Garre people.

The Garre domination of Moyale was short lived. Soon more of the Murulle people, under their charismatic leader Adan Hirsi, came from Hiran region of Somalia and first settled in Gedo region as Shegat. The arriving Murulle passed through the Marehan

region while on their way to join their kin in the current territory in Mandera. Anxious to be free, for they were formerly ‘shegat’ to the Marehan in Jubaland, the Murulle obey Government orders probably better than the Garre and like the Degodia, they are better organized and more cohesive and friendship with the Garre. Their initial request was turned down by the Sultan of the Garre, Ugaz Gababa, who turned away both Murulle and Degodia. After elders’ consultations, the Garre allowed Murulle to settle and graze their animals in Mandera alongside the Garre towards the close of 1890s.

At this period the British were already penetrating into the interior of Kenya and Mandera was not spared of the British influence. The Murulle were initially grateful to Shaba Aliyow for accepting them and lavished praise songs on him. However, the Murulle people soon changed tune, singing protest songs, due to the increasing influence of the British. In 1895 the British declared Kenya a protectorate therefore becoming the overall authority which now challenged the Garre power in Mandera. The presence of the British offered security to the Murulle hence they did not see the need of further submission to the Garre. Secondly, there was a rapidly expanding number of the Murulle and the Degodia whom the Murulle had made alliance with, coupled with their fast expanding herds of livestock.

By the first decade of the 20th Century, the Murulle and the Degodia clans joined hands and rebelled against the Garre clan. The rebellion degenerated into a war that ended with

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74 Ibid Mburu, pg 79
the expulsion of the Degodia and the Murulle from Garre land. At the period of expulsion of the Murulle from the Garre territory, Ali Buke was the leader of the Garre. This is the reason why 1912 is known in the history of the Garre as the year of Ali Buke. After their defeat and expulsion from the Garre territory, the Murulle and the Degodia went to Wajir and Oddo but came back in 1916.78

The Garre under Gababa Mohamed as their chief organized and waged an attack on the returning Murulle and the Degodia. The attack led to a full war at Korma and Awabone in 1916. In this war more than 30 Tigre who were in alliance with the Garre were killed and 50 Garre while 43 Murulle and Degodia were killed. In 1917 another war broke out.79 This time the Murulle and the Degodia were completely defeated, losing 50 men, According to the colonial records, ‘Murille are Hawiya of the Jidle branch, the first migrants came with the Degodia from Jubaland some 20 years ago. They obey orders and have provided more than their share of baggage -camels and meat stock without fuss and without need for sending police probably –they were roughly treated by Marehan when they were Shegat, and so are anxious to stay here.80

During the year they were constituted as a separate section under their own chief Adan Hersi, and are now shegat to neither the Garre nor the Degodia. Between 1925 and 1926 the Murulle and the Degodia made a comeback and attacked the Garre. They looted the Garre property and took with them more than 2500 camels. During these battles, the

79 Ibid Kjaerland, pg 56
Garre made alliances of their kin from Ethiopia. Their kin from the Ethiopian side send in warriors to assist them against the Murulle and Degodia. Due to the Garre strength the Murulle and Degodia were overpowered hence fled to Ado in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian side was not favorable to the Murulle and the Degodia. The region was dry with no enough pasture for their livestock.\(^{81}\)

To save their livestock from drought the Murulle and the Degodia initiated dialogue with the Garre in 1930. Following the dialogue, they were allowed grazing rights in Rhamu by the Sayid Ali of the Garre after they had paid him a Shaben of one hundred camel calves and given one hundred girls into marriage to the Garre. Although the Murulle and the Garre had made dialogue and agreed to share their pasture, the peace was short lived. As the number of livestock increased, the two clans began competing over pasture leading to frequent fights. The conflict would continue throughout the colonial period and increased in tempo after independence.\(^{82}\)

The conflict between the Garre and the Murulle was a common characteristic during the colonial period. The British even worsened the conflict through their divide and rule policy. The colonial administrators were dragged into the existing clan rivalries in Mandera. Although the situation was a discouraging to the local people particularly to those whose relatives were killed and property destroyed, it seemed to be a blessing to the British colonial administration which believed in the divide and rule policy. The colonial


\(^{82}\) PDRC, \textit{Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy}, PDRC Publication, 2004 Pg, 23
administrators noted the trend that territorial disputes were taking in the northern part of Kenya and capitalized on the cracks of the Somali clan system.83

From the colonial records, it is clear that they took their time to understand the dynamics around the rivalries and acted accordingly.84 The British monitored the relationship particularly at the imposed boundary at Wante or Alango minimizing contact and conflict between the two clans. However, the environmental changes affected the prevailing peace. As drought persisted in 1945, the two clans started pressing urgently and consistently for more salt, water and pasture areas in other clan territories. Their own salt areas were close together and far from the best grazing area in the Gaari Hills. They both wanted the British to allow them access Tessissa. The British did so but soon in September and October, the two clans began quarrelling over who should control the area.85

The relationship between the two clans would worsen when the British began changing the clan boundaries. In 1953, the colonial administration extended the ethnic boundary of the Murulle to include grazing within 12 kilometres radius of El Wak. Some parts of El Wak were claimed by the Garre clan. The Garre resisted the decision. Feeling that the two clans might start fighting, the British organized a peace meeting, which led to a concession over use of pasture between the two clans.86 In return for this concession, the Murulle agreed to admit Garre cattle and goats into the Gaari Hills during the rains.

83 Lee V. Cassanelli and Catherine Besteman *The War Behind the War*, London: HAAN Associate, 2000, pg 64
Although the concession was meant to ensure peaceful existence of the two clans, quarrels over grazing rights re-emerged immediately the British altered the boundaries that eat into the Garre territories. The quarrels provoked the colonial government to introduce and enforce strictly defined exclusive clan grazing areas with lines drawn on maps.  

In the colonial system of indirect rule, clans and their traditional hereditary leadership were recognized and respected. The communities throughout Mandera remember these boundaries with nostalgia making it hard to accept any alteration hence they are always ready to go to war to defend them. This explains why the two clans have frequent conflicts. The worst fighting would be experienced after the formation of the Northern Frontier Defense Liberation which was calling for succession of the region to join the larger Somalia. NFDL was distributing arms to all Somali supporters of irredentism in Mandera District to fight the Kenyan government. The weapons were not only used against the government but also clans used them against each other. At this level, the warfare had changed into use of modern and more destructive weapons, which intensified the war between the Garre and the Murulle.

The impact of the conflict was so high that Abdinoor Gesay a Murulle attempted to mediate and bring harmony in 1967 but failed to strike an agreement, which would end the animosity between the two clans. After a failed attempt by Abdinoor Gesay to bring harmony, both Garre and Murulle members asked for the intervention of the NFDL

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89 Ibid Mburu, pg 117
The Front organized a peace meeting in Banisa in 1967 that involved religious leaders and elders for one month until they reached a peace agreement. Because of the agreement, the Murulle and the Garre managed to stay together, sharing pasture and other resources amicably.\(^{90}\)

The geography and politics of the region have long contributed to a feeling, both in Nairobi and amongst the local population, that the region has little meaningful connection with the rest of Kenya. Even today, the citizenship of many in the Mandera triangle is questioned by the state. In 1960s the Somali had a feeling that they should be merged by the large Somalia but the Kenyan independence government rejected the idea leading to the outbreak of the Shifta war.\(^{91}\) Although the Somali people living in Mandera proposed merging with the larger Somali state, the British did not follow the commission’s findings, acquiescing instead to demand of Kenya Nationalist during the talks that led to Kenyan independence in 1963, led by Jomo Kenyatta that the NFD remain part of Kenya.\(^{92}\)

This sparked an armed struggle for secession in the NFD, popularly known as the Shifta War. The newly independent Kenyan government immediately declared a state of emergency in December 1963. Although Somalia formally renounced its claim to the NFD thereby formally ending the Shifta War in 1967, the state of emergency persisted until 1991. This meant that the region had two separate legal regimes. The emergency


\(^{91}\) Ibid Farer, pg 14

laws reinforced in 1966 by the North Eastern Province and Contiguous Districts Regulations, enhanced powers of search without warrant, arrest, and detention for up to 56 days without trial, the death sentence for unlawful possession of firearms, and the creation of special courts. The regulations also created prohibited zones along the Kenyan-Somali border where unauthorized entry was punishable by a life sentence.  

2.3.1 Shifta War

As Kenya neared independence in the early 1960s and as the issue of Somali unification became a potent and sensitive political consideration for the emerging Kenyan state, President Jomo Kenyatta sought to downplay the significance of the secessionists in the NFD by describing them as ‘hooligans or armed guards or youths called “shifta”. Those people who go raiding here and there’ in this respect, the secessionists were regarded simply as bandit rebels at odds with state authority.  

The term shifta can be used to describe various types of behaviour, including highway robbery, extortion, kidnapping, and political and personal conflict. Shifta means bandit and the term was “deliberately used by the government to reduce the political significance of the secessionist war.”  

Ayalneh Bogale and Korf, B. “To share or no to share?” in the Journal of Development Studies vol. 43, zuich,2007,pp.243
law’. The prevalence of shefta in the Ethiopian highlands and Eritrea contributed to the emergence of the equivalent term shifta to the English spoken in Northeast Africa, and this is used in reference to any armed band that is at odds with the state.\textsuperscript{96}

Markakis also argues that banditry encompasses a challenge to an economic, social and political order and is a resistance to the encroaching power of an outside authority. As such, bandits are ‘potential rebels’.\textsuperscript{97} During the 1950s, the term was similarly applied to describe the frequent raiding and poaching of livestock across the Kenya-Ethiopian border that resulted in the loss of life. The term is used pejoratively and is associated with violence that combines partisan warfare with organized livestock stealing. Shifta has also acquired nationalist overtones and emerges from a tendency to connect banditry with subversive interstate and anti-state activity in the Horn of Africa. In Kenya, this is mirrored by the strong causal link between the ‘Shifta War’ and Somali irredentism, and in this sense, shifta can be considered nationalist guerrillas.\textsuperscript{98}

For Kenyatta the secessionist movement that developed in the NFD had the potential to subvert domestic and regional political authority. Despite being the leading political force in the negotiation of Kenyan independence in December 1963, the authority of KANU rule was by no means certain. It was challenged specifically on two fronts. Regionally, the Somali Republic was laying claim to the Somali inhabited areas of the NED on the basis of the right of all people to national self-determination. This claim had been given

\textsuperscript{97}Ibid Markakis, pg 59
some legitimacy following the conclusions of a 1962 commission of enquiry, which reported that over 87% of the population of the NED favored unification with the Somali Republic.99

Furthermore domestically KANU’s authority was challenged by the idea of majimbo, a form of federal government advocated by the official opposition KADU that would decentralize political power in Kenya to its constituent parts. Not only did Somali political aspirations challenge Kenyan territorial integrity, it lent weight to the federal argument as a possible political compromise. The Somali were therefore anathema to Kenyatta and regarded as illegitimate and criminal: the embodiment of shifta.100

The Kenyan government’s security operation into the North Eastern province continued well into the 1980s, after the so-called “Shifta War” ended, partly due to the identification of Somali communities as sources of cross-border arms smuggling, banditry, and lawlessness. The security operations in Mandera District during the shifta war and the stern security measures in the region helped to restore calm between the Garre and the Murulle clans. At this period, the entire Somali clans were challenged by the common enemy; namely, the central government in Nairobi. The security operations acted as a unifying factor meaning there were no major incursions between the two communities, which would eventually be resumed after 1980s.101

99 Hussein Mohamed Alio Inter-Clan Conflict In Mandera District: A Case Of The Garre And Murulle, 2004-2009, Department of History and Archeology, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012, pg 90 - 93
100 Ibid Hussein pg 85
101 Ubah, Hassan Abdi implications of cross conflict in North Eastern Kenya, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2011, pg, 80
2.3.2: Perennial Clan Based Conflicts

Clan-based conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle broke out at different times during the postcolonial period. The Murulle and Garre had lived together peacefully from independence days up to the 1980’s. All this time, they shared pastures in all parts of the District, lived side by side in towns, such that Bulla Afya estate of El Wak which was a predominantly Murulle sub-location.

Between 1983/4, there were three explosions of violent conflict between the two clans after leader from Garre dominated the area. The conflict prompted the eviction of the Murulle from El-Wak town. New Murulle and Garre violent rivalry, which re-started in the 1980s, were sparked when a member of the Murulle clan, a minority in the constituency, won the Parliamentary seat for Mandera East Constituency against the Garre majority. As a solution to the conflict, the constituency was split into Mandera Central and Mandera East, allowing each group to have their own constituency. This led to some relative peace, which lasted to 1996 when the KANU regime started creating locations and sub-locations. The boundaries to these new administrative units were bitterly contested leading to armed violence.

The crisis in Somalia since the fall of Siyyad Barre in 1991 also has been a source of friction between the two clans as it has affected the power relationship between the proximate clans on the Kenyan side with each clan trying to forge military alliance with their counterparts in Somalia. The two warring clans of Murulle and Garre accused each

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other of harbouring and supporting foreign militia and mobilized their members to fight in case of any attack. This created more conflicts in the region. Fighting between the clans typically became random killings of members of the rival clan members. Such killings targeted vulnerable members of the opposing clan going about their normal day-to-day activities.¹⁰⁴ Local people sent desperate messages to the District Commissioner’s Office, reporting credible threats from armed bandits.

Because of lack of response from the government security organs, the attackers from each clan got bolder. The residents were left with no option rather than to create and support their own local militias/vigilantes for defense against attackers from the rival clan. Soon the vigilante groups turned into raiders of the rival community, thus spawning hatred between the two communities. Selective action, such as assassinations by a handful of bandits, made clans hate one another, and even lead to frequent conflicts between the two rival clans. As the logic of fighting and war took over, group hatred, nasty poems and provocative songs found resonance.¹⁰⁵

Clan chauvinists glorified the ‘bravery of their sons’, escalating tensions, attacks and counter-attacks, in a vicious cycle of violence. Between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Murulle and Garre, lives and property were lost through assassinations and militia raids. There was no serious attempt by the state to apprehend the culprits, some who were well known. For instance, Bishar Ismail, Fai, Matan, Jibrael, Abrisha, Fardanow and Masarre had been accused of financing and promoting

militia group’s activities in Mandera. The mood of intolerance also pervaded areas such that the minority Murulle in Garre towns started leaving the western parts of Mandera and settled in Mandera town. The tension between the two communities got so bad that clashes were a daily occurrence. For instance, in 1983 the Murulle and Garre clashed over shared pasture and water in Wargadud, Sotowaoro, and Lafey.106

In 1984, Abdi Hussen Gado was killed in his house in El Wak. Soon after, ten people, including an old man, were killed brutally and their tongues were cut off. Cutting off the tongues is seen by the Somali people as a sign of intimidation to the enemy, which is meant to tell them to keep quite if they do not want to be humiliated further. According to the oral informants, the action was deliberately provocative as it was interpreted to mean, “You who talk forcefully, do whatever you can.” In 1985, six people were killed around El Wak Town. The dead included two brothers and more people looking for their lost camels. The killers hanged the dead on a tree as a warning. And two pupils were killed in Jabibar area as they went for their holidays. In 2000, a Garre man was killed in Wargadud, leading to a major clash between Garre and Murulle.107

The Murulle warriors posed as Garre and killed a Degodia in El Wak. The incident led to a major clash that claimed lives of forty Garre and twenty Murulle in El Golicha. In 2002, a pregnant Garre woman died from injuries after an attempted rape where her breasts were

106 GoK, Ministry of Livestock, District Livestock Production Officer (DPLO)-Mandera, Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009, pg 89
cut off. Three days later a student from El Wak Secondary School was killed on his way home. In 2004, two Murulle were killed in the Ade Lencha.\textsuperscript{108}

In the killing a family of three was killed on the same day (a man, a woman and her child). Another man was killed near a Murulle settlement. In response, the Garre militia killed two people and injured another two in a dawn raid in Lafey. Similarly, six Murulle men were killed in September 2004 at Gaari dam while watering their animals. Later in the same year, suspected Murulle attackers killed five Garre in Rhamu. On December 19th, a Garre relief worker was killed by suspected Murulle gunmen at Fino-El Wak road junction.\textsuperscript{109}

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter documented the history of the Garre and the Murulle. The chapter analyses the two clans’ traditional structure based on a customary law, which safeguards certain commonalities that serve the collective interest of the members of both clans. The chapter also documented the economic and social life of the two clans. The chapter indicated that the local community among the Garre and the Murulle accepts the jurisdiction of the traditional authority in resource management, which also embody as a tool for conflict prevention; and conflict resolution. There is an implicit low level of communication between the traditional authority and their community members cemented by the participatory aspect of the structure. The chapter also noted that the traditional structures

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid, UNDP, pg 234
do not enjoy the power and the resources of a state but by the power of decisions reached under a tree in the pastoral areas.

The chapter also traced the origin of the two clans by noting that there are folk genealogies tracing certain Somali clans such as the Garre and Murulle to the Arabian Peninsula and associating their ancestors with the Sharifs, the family of Prophet Mohammed. Linguistic, cultural and historical evidence, however, indicates they came originally from the southern highlands of what is now Ethiopia. Although the Somali history is far from being clear, this chapter detailed the history of the Garre and the Murulle clans of the Somali people. The Garre and the Murulle, as other Somali peoples, were never under any unified political structure. Sporadic attempts such as the Gareen dynasty from the Ajuran in Central/Southern Somalia in the 1500s and the Bartire around Jigjiga, Ethiopia, in the late 1700s were overthrown violently by other clans. The chapter has revealed that clans are the basic point of cultural and political identity for the two Somali clans. Clans are genealogically based and cut across language lines. Due to the clan allegiances, climactic change, changing demographics and inappropriate national and international interventions, pastoralist access to rangeland has diminished thus prompting intra-pastoral tensions and conflict.
CHAPTER THREE: THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GARRE AND THE MURULLE

3.1 Genesis of Conflicts between the Garre and Murulle Clans

It is important to note that the conflicts between the Garre and Murulle clans reflect the common nature of conflict that exists between many pastoral communities in North Eastern Kenya and Africa in General. The Murulle and the Garre recorded high levels of death and casualties from the conflict that has persisted for decades, making their regions of residence one of the most affected in the entire North Eastern region.\(^{110}\) There has been a marked increase in the number of attacks and their intensity on civilians is alarming. In addition as the two clans’ battle with one another, their neighbours have been plagued into the conflict through traditional alliances that exist between many of the pastoral clans. The conflict comes along with devastating effects on human life, stability and development.\(^{111}\)

3.2.1 Conflict over Resources Particularly Pasture and Water

Mandera District has been continuously affected by recurring drought that has seriously undermined the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists who live in the district. The intense dry spells have in turn led to intense competition for scarce resources that have resulted in clashes of the two clans. The area has also been affected by growth in population and encroachment on other community’s lands.\(^{112}\) The conflict over grazing and water sources has in turn resulted in large scale loss of human as well as livestock lives which

\(^{110}\) GoK, Ministry of Livestock, District Livestock Production Officer (DPLO)-Mandera, Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009


\(^{112}\) Mburu Nene, Bandits on the border: the lost frontier in The Search for Somali Unity, Asmara: Red Sea Press, 2005, pg 45
together with small sedentary agrarian practice along the Daua River form the very important livelihood of the people of Mandera District. As it is with other pastoralists, the Garre and the Murulle have large numbers of livestock. According to the livestock census done in February 2008, the number of livestock kept in the larger Mandera District was about 230,000 cattle, 180,000 camels, 330,000 sheep, 300,000 goats and 31,000 donkeys.113

Due to such large numbers of livestock, the resources that support livestock, such as pasture and water are often at the centre of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. Permanent water sources are rare and the amount of water available from boreholes and springs is limited. During drought, there is overcrowding at the few permanent water facilities, such as boreholes, whose engines tend to be overworked or clogged due to siltation, leading to frequent breakdowns.114 Since running a borehole pump is very expensive due to high prices of fuel and spare parts, the cost of maintaining borehole engines are passed on to the poor livestock owners who have to pay Ksh. 5/ when watering their animals. Keeping in mind that these people have large numbers of animals Ksh. 5 multiplied by the number of animals might run into thousands of money, which the locals find hard to raise.115

The elders in the communities maintain a tight schedule whereby villages have designated days for watering their animals. If they miss out they have to wait sometimes for days. This is meant to ensure that competition over access does not get out of hand.

114 GoK, Ministry of Livestock, District Livestock Production Officer (DPLO)-Mandera, Nairobi; Government Printer, 2009
The boreholes get so crowded to the extent that some pastoralists have to wait for more than two days to water their animals. At such times, a small misunderstanding between herders always led to a major fight. When there is overcrowding at water points, clan ownership becomes an issue, especially when the water point is near a boundary between two clans.\(^{116}\) The clans soon start laying claim by restricting others from accessing the water points. Similarly, if a new borehole is sunk the issue of ownership emerges depending on the location of the borehole. Clans frequently engaged in heated debates over ownership, which degenerates into war hence becoming a threat to the prevailing peace. The sinking of a borehole in Alango is a case in point. When the government decided to sink the borehole, leaders from the two communities, including the District Livestock Development Officer, were not involved in choosing the site. When the borehole was completed, the Garre and Murulle both claimed ownership. The claims soon led to skirmishes between the two clans in 2007.\(^{117}\)

Apart from water causing conflict between the Garre and the Murulle, pasture availability fluctuates with seasons and differs between areas. The pastoralists know and prefer to graze their animals in specific areas where there is pasture and where water is salty. As pasture became scarce in the dry season, the pastoralists traditionally migrated with their herds as a coping strategy.\(^{118}\) For instance, in 2007, Mandera experienced prolonged drought, which led to migrations in search for pasture and water. The migrations involved occupying other clans’ territories, which resulted into conflicts between the two-clan groups when they moved to other communities, territories. For instance, the Murulle

\(^{117}\) UNDP, Kenya, Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera”, in Amani Papers Volume, 20091, No. 2, pg. 18-30
cannot access water in the El Wak complex, while the Garre cannot access the pastures and boreholes in Fino and Lafey.¹¹⁹

These points are clan affiliated hence movement by another clan into the region often resulted into violent conflict. Disagreement over who owns which territory, who settled first, who controls access to particular areas are intricate and beyond the conservative administrative set up in Kenya. With their militia, absence of government, and perpetuation of ancient means of production, disputes are sorted out by who can bring the largest and meanest warrior force.¹²⁰ For instance, the colonial district records indicated that; “In 1950, movements of Murulle were difficult to control, due to deficiencies in rainfall. They grazed in Oddo (Ethiopia) in January, February and March, crossed into Somalia in November and in December headed for Goochi in Kenya.

From the argument above, drought spells have over time led to loss of large numbers of livestock, resulting in depletion of herd sizes. One of the means applied to replenish lost livestock is mounting raids on neighbouring pastoral groups. The raids are not limited to the hinterland but are sometimes carried out across borders. In the Somali cluster, there have been occasions where the Borana have raided the Garre and the Gabra raided the Murulle.¹²¹ Raids are also carried out to avenge the loss of livestock or acquire livestock for the payment of dowry. Marriage is very important in any African society because it enables a person to acquire some status in society, yet marriage can only be made possible if one has livestock for dowry. In case the livestock has been disseminated, the

¹¹⁹ Ibid Markakis
¹²⁰ Ibid UNDP pg 30
only alternative left is to raid the neighbouring clan, which uses all its machinery to defend their animals. The defense involves fears fighting. 122

3.2.2 Politically Related Conflicts

Politics is largely cited as one of the major cause of conflict in Mandera District. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera District. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others. For instance in 1988 when Mandera Central constituency was curved out from the then larger Mandera East constituency the Garre felt that part of their territory was being moved to the Murulle side. 123 Although the creation of the new constituency was meant to bring some sought of balance by creating room for at least one MP from the two clans, politicians rallied their people not to accept the new boundary at Alango. The politicians fuelled the conflicts for their own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others. The clan became central to the political environment in Mandera. This is because of the belief that political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women. The clan affiliation therefore became very instrumental fermenting clan violence in Mandera District during election years. 124

Clan affiliation resulted into the politics of exclusiveness, excessive rivalry between clans as they struggled for their favorites sons to ascend into the national assembly and glory, power, resources and belonging. The political clan affiliations explain the characteristics

122 Ibid Hussein pg 110
124 Ibid UNDP, pg 46
of violence in Mandera. However, in the face of clan chauvinism, harmonious relationships are destroyed. Chauvinists ally themselves with politicians who are seeking votes, and in an atmosphere of divide and rule and complete impunity, violence produces strange relationships. Every election in the district generally reflects the characteristics of the clans in the district. For instance, there are three Garre councilors; two are Murulle, one from the Degodia clan, and one from the Corner ethnic groups in Mandera town.  

There is intense competition for power between clans in Mandera. Apart from the council politics, the Kenyan Member of Parliament has gained great power over the last decade. Their remunerations and allowances have increased tremendously to rival the best-paid parliamentarians in the world. MPs control quite a number of so-called decentralized funds at the constituency level, increasing their power of patronage. To gain or retain their popularity, politicians take some populist stances, which may be unacceptable. Many promise to push out of their constituencies opposing or rival clan. For instance, aspiring a candidate for the Mandera Central seat is reported to have promised to expel Murulle from the constituency if elected. The Murulle people had a feeling that they would struggle to regain control of all their historical territories. Such utterances frequently led to the clashes of the two clans.

127 Ibid Menkhaus, pg. 108.
3.2.3 Administrative Boundary Issues

The conflict that erupted in 1988 in Mandera was caused by issues related to administrative boundaries. The Government of Kenya not only created a new constituency but also decided to create many locations without considering the location of resources and how the residents of the new entities would share them with their neighbors. These locations and sub-locations led to conflicts over who owns these resources. Part of the problem was that the splitting and subdivision of the larger administrative units created new winners and losers, and facilitated the emergence of rivalries at lower levels.

The fact that access to and utilization of major resources, like water and pasture, were determined by administrative boundaries, creation of divisions, locations and sub-locations and the posting of chiefs was an extremely sensitive issue. Corrupt and influential local elites took the opportunity to influence the process in order that their areas got more locations, and chiefs of their choice thereby appointed. The Provincial Administration did not demarcate the boundaries of the locations, but relied on the use of the centers from where such locations were administered for their identities. The local administration adopted an ad-hoc and flexible understanding of boundaries that was only threatened when key resources like dams, boreholes, and trading centers were contested.

129 Mburu Nene, Bandits on the border; the lost frontier in the Search for Somali Unity, Asthmara: Red Sea Press, 2005. Pg 76
For instance, in 1994, The Provincial Administration tried to integrate Garre and Murulle administrations in the commonly used areas, by having a chief from each clan administering in areas dominated by the other clan. The Garre were to have a chief in the Murulle controlled areas of Warankara and Lafey, while Murulle were to have a chief in the Garre controlled areas of Wargadud and El Wak. The leaders argued that this administrative arrangement would help bring the two communities together, but Mr. Isaack Abdi Hassan Councilor from Murulle and Mr. Mohamed Salah Ali Councilor from Garre strongly opposed the initiative.\(^{131}\)

They agitated against it and wrote letters to various government offices and mobilized opposition to the idea, arguing that the two communities have different languages. The administration ignored their objections and proceeded to deploy the chiefs as planned. But almost immediately, some of them requested for transfer. Because of political influence, the local people turned against the new chiefs from the other clans.\(^{132}\) The Murulle Chiefs in Wargadud were expelled and therefore moved to Warankara. In response the local people felt that the incident portrayed the lack of commitment by the administration, for had the government exercised its administrative authority, the community would not have expelled the chief. The communities of Mandera were in a confused state about ethnic, community, administrative and electoral boundaries.\(^{133}\)

\(^{131}\) Ibid UNDP, pg 231
\(^{132}\) KRCS KENYA: 1,500 families flee from inter-clan violence in Mandera’, NAIROBI: IRIN, 2009, 17 March, pg 36-74
3.2.4 Proliferation of Weapons in Mandera District and Insecurity

A proliferation of weapons in Mandera has also been blamed as a cause of conflict in the district. As the warlords continue to pursue their personal objectives, the state of affairs in Somalia there was high flow of weapons into Kenya due to the porous nature of the border. Hargesia and Burao in Somalia have become flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya. The abundance of weapons changed the face of criminal activities in the region as cattle rustlers, bandits and rebel groups acquired weapons from Somalia. Cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict making large areas of the Horn ungovernable.\textsuperscript{134}

Furthermore the easy access to firearms accelerated the conflict in Mandera. The weapons are easily traded across adjacent borders of neighboring war-torn countries. Access to arms coupled with poverty increased the scale of cattle rustling, the rate of fatalities in conflicts over pasture and water, and fosters highway banditry. Secondly, the general lack of security since the collapse of the Siyyad Barre regime in 1991, forced herdsmen to obtain arms to protect their livestock. The exact causes of conflict differed from area to area, depending on the conditions of the soil and the amount of water and rainfall. Furthermore, the arid lands are inhabited by various ethnic groups that adhere to different values and socio-political systems. Consequently, their patterns in natural resource usage may be at odds with one another hence leading to eruption of conflict due to environmental pressure.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{134} John. C. Wood (\textit{When men are women, Manhood among Gabra Nomads of East Africa}, Wisconsin University: Press Wisconsin, 2009, pp. 23 33

Proliferation of arms was further exacerbated by regional factors or events taking place in the Horn of Africa. The position of Somalia and to some extent Ethiopia is a major factor in the conflicts in Mandera. The inter-clan relations across the border with these countries are a big challenge to security in Mandera. The cross-border clan relationships, coupled with lack of proper governance structures in these neighboring countries, especially Somalia, has exacerbated the Mandera conflict in two ways; one, the clan support for each other, and two, cross border militia engagements and participation in the clashes.¹³⁶ The Somali militia groups have, on various occasions, invaded adjacent Kenyan towns and settlements.

This situation has led to serious insecurity on Kenyan side as well as promoting security lapses on the Kenyan security management processes. The Ogaden war and the 20 years old civil war in Somalia have ensured a constant supply of arms, ammunition and militiamen to help execute the conflict across the border in Kenya. After the army coup in Somalia in 1969, in which the Somalia’s President was assassinated and the Prime Minister Egal was detained, the coup leader Mohamed Siyyad Barre turned east to USSR, Iraq, Syria, Libya, East Germany and North Korea from where they received vast amounts of arms and training for the soldiers, making Somalia Army the best-equipped army south of Sahara. The new regime revived militant pan-Somali nationalism, and joined the Arab League of States.¹³⁷

It supported the Western Somali Liberation Front, a guerrilla outfit that was to liberate the Somalis in the Ogaden. In 1977, Somalia invaded Ethiopia and quickly captured the entire Ogaden area. However, the USSR was disturbed by the brazen Somali mechanized assault on the weak. The Ogaden war is significant to the conflict in Mandera in the sense that many of the small arms used in the war were never mopped up by either Ethiopian or Somali governments. Hence, they found their way into northern Kenya to be used in local conflicts. Again, many of the veterans of the Ogaden war often participate in the conflicts in Mandera in alliance with the local clans.\textsuperscript{138}

3.2.5 Terrain Challenges

The terrain on the Mandera side, inhabited by Somali communities of Garre and Murulle, is subject to less rainfall and has, therefore, less pasture. In times of drought, these communities are forced to migrate across the district boundaries to seek water and pasture for their herds on territory that is mostly inhabited by their opponents.\textsuperscript{139} In Mandera the land is still held on customary trust. No individual land titles exist and the land is held in trust, administered by the District council. According to the official law, nothing prevents the Garre and Murulle from ignoring customary claims and moving to the grazing areas owned by other clans unless the District council prevents them. Similarly the terrain is so rugged that it becomes very hard for the security forces to maneuver and stop any conflict before it escalates out of hand.\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{138} UNDP, Kenya, “Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera”, in Amani Papers Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30
Government representatives and NGOs are made to observe the mediation process and produce reports to both warring clans on how to end the conflicts. Aggrieved parties are always paid some blood money or compensation for their losses incurred by perpetrators clans. Impartiality regarding the issues in the disputes is addressed independence from all parties to conflicts by the mediator. The respect of, and acceptability of all protagonist and the outcome of the peace meeting is accepted by all and their clans.\(^{141}\)

The knowledge and the skills to deal with the issues at hand are crucial. Possession of required physical resources to implement the outcomes of the meeting and internal support for both warring community members is priority for sustained peace. No parties or groups are allowed to put pressure on the other groups to accept their own demand or proposal of one side. The failure to adhere to the above mentioned mediation rules and the subsequent peace initiatives resulted in frequent conflicts that led to deaths, destruction of property, collapse of the infrastructure, economy and even the society itself. In addition, the conflict has disrupted education and health care and inflicted serious physical and psychological wounds on the survivors of the inter-clan conflict.\(^{142}\)

### 3.2.6: Acts of Crime and Banditry

Most cases of armed conflict in Mandera district involved acts of crime and banditry on many occasions. The crimes can easily take a clan angle depending on the prevailing environment. For instance, the murder of members of the opposite clan or clan chiefs


\(^{142}\) Ibid, pg 153
may sometimes trigger reprisals and counter-reprisal killings that spiral into a cycle of inter-clan violence. The relationships are so fragile that a simple rumor of a clan member having been attacked or a normal crime having been committed easily takes a clan-based dimension. In such circumstances, crime is defined on ethnic lines but not as a crime. This contributes to straining of clan relations and rising tension serving to build up large armed communal clashes.\textsuperscript{143}

Clan elders using customary laws that usually entail the payment of blood money usually mediate murder cases. In cases where blood money payment is delayed or clan elders are found deliberately dragging their feet, clashes erupt between rival clans as well. Violent incidents were high in the district where the Garre, Murulle, Gabra, Borans and Burji. Some of the inter-clan conflicts in Mandera are attributed to incidents of crime in Kenya, Somalia or Ethiopian side. In response to a crime incident, the affected clan may stage a retaliation act, which in turn can degenerate into conflict between the affected clans. This proves the point that, since most of the pastoral communities straddle both sides of the border, conflict between communities on one side of the border has a spillover effect on the other.\textsuperscript{144}

3.2.7: Weak Government Presence

Weak government presence is another cause of conflict in Mandera District. The government of Kenya has been unable to fully penetrate and control all parts of Mandera. Some areas of the District are so remote with barely any government institution hence

\textsuperscript{143} Mburu Nene, Bandits on the border: the lost frontier in \textit{The Search for Somali Unity}, Asmara: Red Sea Press, 2005, pg 40

\textsuperscript{144} John Kamau, “Where is the envelope on the Wagalla massacre?” in \textit{the Daily Nation}, Nov 28, 2008
leaving the people to their own governance. This makes them make decisions that lead to violence. Violence and lawlessness are particularly acute in remote border areas where the Kenyan state has never exerted much authority or presence. When they have, state authorities have sometimes been the catalysts of insecurity rather than promoters of peace. On the Somali side of the border, the central government collapsed in January 1991 and has yet to be revived.\textsuperscript{145} In Kenya, the vast, remote, and arid frontier areas bordering Somalia and Ethiopia have never entirely been brought under the control of the state in either colonial or post-colonial eras. This left Kenyans at the mercies of criminal elements who took the laws in their hands.

Since independence and subsequent eruption of the Shifta war, the Kenyan government has been reluctant in establishing strong administrational presence in the entire North Eastern Province. There, government outposts are essentially garrisons. Police and military units are reluctant to patrol towns after dark, and are poorly equipped that on certain incidents they are badly outgunned by local militias in Mandera District. Even the security personnel are never safe. The broader nature of the crisis of Kenya’s border areas was made worse when tensions between the Garre and Murulle in Mandera exploded frequently. The region is always characterized by massacres.\textsuperscript{146}

Equally, the administrative infrastructure in Mandera is characterized by low capacity that has been exacerbated by the declaration of new districts in the region. Transport and communication are a major problem for the local security forces due to challenging

\textsuperscript{145} Mburu Nene, ‘Bandits on the border: the lost frontier, in \textit{The Search for Somali Unity}, Asthmara: Red Sea Press, 2005

terrain, bad roads and long distances between settlements. Distances from one village to another average are more than twenty kilometres. Mandera Central District has only one four-wheel drive vehicle which is shared by the District Commissioner’s office and the District Police Department. There are only two police stations, at El Wak town and Rhamu. The failure by the local security forces to prevent escalation of clan conflicts points to lack of, or inadequacy, of security intelligence system on the ground. Conflicts build up over time, and a working intelligence system should be able to detect them in good time. For example, ‘Proxy indicators’ may highlight preparation for conflict by a clan, for an effective militia cannot be organized secretly.

3.2.8: Presence of Ethnic Militias

Both Garre and Murulle in Mandera District have armed militia, which act as a standing army and are used during the times of conflicts. This is because the government sponsored disarmament initiative did not achieve the objective of ridding the region illegally owned weapons. The local people kept their guns. Those that the elders handed over to the security forces were from Somalia to avoid further communal punishment. The army operation never netted local militia because they had already fled by the time the operation was starting. Each clan fully supports its militia. The militias receive material support from successful business people and politicians to enable them arm. Often the support comes in the form of money, guns, ammunition, uniforms and food.

Similarly, clansmen in the Diaspora are also another source of donations during the conflict.149

Apart from donating money, the Diaspora clansmen take their campaign a notch higher through the use of the cyberspace and other mass media do not only spread the money but also the hate information about the enemy clan. The community contributes money, food, water, transport and clothes for use in the bush as well as ‘miraa’ or ‘khat’. The women, apart from giving financial support, also prepare food for the militia, especially the dried Somali meat, which can last for several weeks in the bush. The women also compose the songs and poems used to mobilize support for the clan ‘war effort’. The militias also slaughter the animals they raid for food. Similarly, modern militia leaders have turned conflict into a business, ‘because there is, a lot of money being contributed both by local community members and those in the Diaspora.

The youth dominate the clan militias, largely because they are strong and are able to survive the rigours of the bush. Most of the youth in Mandera are unemployed and idle, as such, they readily avail themselves for the cause of the clan. Many of them are mildly addicted to Miraa and other drugs. The guaranteed income from the incentives that come with participating in the militia activities, apart from getting recognition as defenders of the clan, is readily welcome. These militias groups consisted of boys who have been brainwashed by propaganda which is fed to them about the enemy clan and by the money that they are given by businessmen and politicians.150

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The two militias often get assistance from across the borders in Ethiopia and Somalia. The two clans frequently mobilized their jobless youth not only from Kenya but also from across the Kenya/ Ethiopia border to assist. The youth in the militia are inducted, trained and directed by a core vanguard of ex-military or guerilla. It was, the Kenyan Somali youth are not as experienced in handling firearms as their Somali or Ethiopian counterparts, who swell the ranks of the militias whenever there are clashes. The Garre from the western side of the District are experienced in handling guns quite well. Some of them are said to be remnants of the former Somali national army. The Murulle also do not take many of their children to school, and as such, many of their youth are easily recruited into the clan militias.

3.2.9: Propaganda

The prevailing culture of violence and the condoning of clan hatred is justified and propelled by stories of victimization and rights denied by the other side. The similarity of propaganda like statements, similar narratives, same justifications, and repeated recital of one sided incidents in far flung and distant villages was striking is a common phenomenon. Women, youth or elders randomly use their skills of same impassioned deliveries and repeated the same deep-felt stories. This widespread feeling means it would be a mistake to treat the conflict as propelled by disgruntled elements. There are

stories and counter-stories told and retold in the pastoral villages, which contradict one another.\(^{153}\)

Each talks of how their clan is attacked, but how brave its sons are who have to be restrained from annihilating the enemy, how it has to defend itself, and how its pasture and land is being taken over. None of them is necessarily wrong, but exaggerations abound when it comes to demonizing the behavior of rival clans. There are set ‘narratives’ from each side that have been fine tuned and stage managed to be like set-pieces in a battle.\(^{154}\) These positions are used to justify, explain, and advance clan positions. Somali, like many pastoralist groups, take pride in warrior hood and laud their prowess in battle. Like in many other societies living in violent conflict, Somali clans indulge in demonizing their enemies. The Somali take pride in being a wholly Muslim people with ancient links to the Arabia of the prophet. Frequently, they will misuse this tradition to look down upon neighboring groups as uncultured.\(^{155}\)

### 3.3 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. It began by assessing the factors that caused the conflict between the two clans. This chapter sought to discuss the conflict and its dynamics in the Somali cluster of the Garre and the Murulle. The chapter identified the main sources of conflict in Mandera District. Of all the conflict generating factors, the most important ones are pastoral rangeland disputes,


environmental stress and politics. Each of these sources of conflict inflames and exacerbates the other and none can be properly understood in isolation from the other.

The chapter also revealed that the conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle are characterized by raiding assaults and banditry incidents. Moreover, reprisals and counter-reprisals are the dominant features of the conflicts. The conflicts are also cross border because of clan affiliations and pastoral groups living both in Kenya and Ethiopia. The chapter revealed that the conflict scenario is complex in a way that a conflict breaking on one side of the border has a spillover effect on the other side because of kinship ties.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Strategies for Promoting Peace

The Garre and Murrule clans have a long history of conflicts; that have led to the displacement of people, burning of houses, closing of schools, disruption of livelihoods for both communities and lose of lives. Various interventions were undertaken to reduce the escalation of the tension into a bigger problem among the warring clans. The District Peace committee Mandera East, Central District and Mandera West, North, mobilized both warring clans together with prominent business people, religious leaders, and representatives from the Provincial Administration as well as other peace actors in the district with the view of ending the perennial inter-clan conflicts between the two clans.

4.2 Local Methods of Promoting Peace and Security between the Garre and Murrule Clans

The Garre and the Murulle conflict have been internationalized and this creates more actors in the process. As such deliberate efforts to foster lasting peace have been undertaken by local leaders from the feuding clans. The effort has broadened to involve the clans from Somalia and Ethiopia which cross over to support their kin in Mandera. One of the strategies that have been used extensively in trying to find a solution to the conflicts has been through mediation.156

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156 USAID Mandera - Gedo Cross-Border Conflict Management Initiative, fact Sheet, Kalson Towers 8th Floor; Nairobi, Kenya, 2005, pg 3
The local leaders especially elders from both sides have been spearheading numerous meetings where the two clans and meet and discuss the issues that cause conflicts between them. During the mediation, they have always agreed that the mediation is to act on behalf of the whole community and that both members of the clans should be involved in thinking systematically together for long term solutions to the conflicts. A person is given the mandate as the mediator to build trust by building bridges across the dividing lines, and be innovative by utilizing the available opportunity in order to transform conflicts into peace.  

The rules that have been passed during such meetings are that during the mediation, the minority clans in Mandera are made to act as third party, because they don’t have interest in the conflicts, these minority clans are Corner tribe, namely the Degodia, or the Ogaden, prominent religious leaders like Sheikh are appointed to be mediators and their ruling or decisions are accepted by both parties to the conflicts, that is why the Umal accord of 2005 was named after Sheikh Umal of Jamia Mosque imam because of his role in the mediation to end conflicts.

At the same time the government representatives and NGOs are made to observe the mediation process and produce reports to both warring clans on how to end the conflicts. Aggrieved parties are always paid some blood money or compensation for the losses incurred by perpetrators clans. Impartiality regarding the issues in the disputes is

158 Ibid USAID, pg 47
addressed and respect and acceptability of all protagonist and the outcome of the peace meeting is accepted by all and their clans.\textsuperscript{159}

During the process the knowledge and the skills to deal with the issues at hand is crucial. Possession of required physical resources to implement the outcomes of the meeting, internal support for both warring community members is priority for sustained peace and there are no parties or groups allowed to put pressure on the other groups to accept their own demand or proposal of one side.\textsuperscript{160}

\textbf{4.3 Government Interventions in the Conflicts between Garre and Murrule Clans}

The perennial conflicts between the Garre and Murrule clans have raised a lot of concerns from the government and other stakeholders and peace actors so that proper and timely interventions have been undertaken to avoid possible escalation of these skirmishes and prevent ugly images from inter clan feud. In response to these conflicts the government has beefed up security in the region. Further to that the government has appointed a ten-member team comprising of representatives from warring clans, various groups and government agencies in the area.\textsuperscript{161} They formed ten (10) member team from Nairobi five selected from both parties to conflicts and mandated them to broker peace and return normalcy, law and order to the area, because the early peace initiative that was initiated by Members of Parliament from the area had failed to materialize, therefore there was urgent need to address the conflict before it escalated.

\textsuperscript{160} UNDP and GoK, Training Resource Guide on Conflict Prevention and Transformation, Nairobi; NSC, 2009, pg 89
\textsuperscript{161} Mohamed Kahiye) Warring clans vow to stop killings after week of marathon peace talks, the Mandera Times, 2008, pg 68
The Government also provides logistical, financial, and personnel to provide a conducive environment for elders to undertake peace building, conflict prevention and social reconciliation among the warring pastoralists in Kenyan side of Mandera District. The objective is to have long term peaceful and cohesion and coexistence are realized between the parties in the dispute. Also the efforts were to find out the causes and grievance of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma.\(^\text{162}\)

The ten member committees of elders are also joined by other local leaders and elders from the area with the local knowledge and weld much influence from both communities’ together with Mandera mediation council and religious fraternity to face task ahead of them. The elders meet at arid land conference hall in Mandera before they depart to the hot spot areas of tension and conflicts in order to brain storm and develop common working strategy for peace building and social reconciliation for the assignment that is given to them by the government authorities.\(^\text{163}\)

The delegation team with about 40 elders starts going round each villages in the hot spot areas of Mandera District. They meet different District Commissioners from different districts within the District. They engage in a fact-finding mission as a means of obtaining a clue of the conflicts. For instance, the team meet with District Commissioner of Mandera Central and East together with his security team members and district peace committees together with local elders from the district to discuss on the interventions to conflict in the area. During the once of the meetings, it was made clear that the tension

\(^{162}\) Kratli, S. & Swift, J. Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya: A Literature Review. IDS University of Sussex, UK, 2009, pg 56,

and build up was originated from border areas of Mandera central and East over drilling of Water borehole in Alungo trading center which both clans disputed over its ownership and the spillover effects of the conflicts affected other peaceful communities in Mandera districts that are not party to the conflicts, the spillover effects had tremendous repercussion on clans living in Mandera.\(^\text{164}\)

The Chairman of Mandera East peace committee informed the elders present that, all the tension, mistrust, animosity and displacement occurred over Alungo Borehole, and those IDPs from the affected areas may want to rise conflict and peace temperatures and leads to hostility among the communities living in the region. The conflicts were also found to have started over resource sharing and land boundary by pastoralist groups and spread by the rumors that fear of attack from the armed groups which created displacement of people from various centers.\(^\text{165}\)

The team also preach prayer of peace dua so that the Almighty Allah can lead them to right direction and path and make those who hide in turmoil and mayhem to change their mind and heart for seek of peace and harmony of the communities. Also during the peace baraza the women populations come to listen at the peace baraza are told to encourage their sons and husband to work for peace and harmony whenever they are.\(^\text{166}\)

\(^\text{164}\) Ibid Mahamud and Ruto, pg 108  
\(^\text{166}\) KHRC) Mandera Conflict: a Peaceful County for a Healthy and Educated People Inter-Agency Kenya Initial Rapid Assessment (KIRA) Report, Nairobi – Kenya., 2013, pg 139
The team recommended that the fighting groups to observe immediate cease fire by reconciling with each other and come to the common goal of Peace Building Conflict preventions and social reconciliation with each other for sustainable peace to be achieved between two warring clans. Both parties should preach peace to their followers and local people so those peace messages are disseminated across border to everyone in the affected areas so that fruits of these peace agreement may bear results. That no party should take any hurting action (act of belligerence) that are likely to reverse the gains made or perpetration against the other in disobedience to the reconciliation and peace building and conflicts resolution effort by peace elders and that, there should be a peaceful cohesion coexistence and harmony among the Kenyan communities living in Mandera.167

167 GOK, NSC-PB&CM). A report of the District Peace and development committees’ TORs Harmonization workshop held at Sportsman’s Arm Hotel, Nanyuki- Kenya. NSC-Peace building and conflict management, 2000, pg 79
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

The persistent conflict between the Garre and the Murulle is aggravated by their dire environmental hardships, hunger and poverty, for two reasons. First, the Kenya government’s weak institutional presence offer sanctuary and succor to banditry groups in the North Eastern region. The absence of effective local authority not only allows the use of modern weapons infiltration, but also permits the activities of paramilitaries in Mandera Districts terrorizing the local populations. Second, widespread conditions of conflict and poverty create a breeding ground for feelings of alienation, offering recruits to the cause of clan militia groups.\textsuperscript{168}

Mandera is the kind of environment where frustration and radicalism could thrive. The District experiences a large number of weak and failing states institutions, porous borders, widespread poverty, political repression and the Somali irredentism feelings, where the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate forms of political dissent has been blurred.\textsuperscript{169}

The study concludes that most of the time Garre and Murrule clans’ fight over water, pasture and land due to resource scarcity, government and other peace actors have tried to provide peace dividend project in the affected centers by clan conflict. These peace dividend projects tries to bridge warring clans to own resource like water, pasture

\textsuperscript{168} Ibid Gok, pg 100
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid Mbura, pg 40
together and build good relation so that long time peace and community cohesion is achieved through such project. Also during the dry spell the government of Kenya through ministry of Northern Kenya development and other arid lands, in conjunction with ministry of livestock development try to provide livestock off take programmes so that communities that are affected by drought and conflict are assisted to avoid communities raiding each others livestock’s to re-compensate what was lost during drought and inter-clan conflict.

These livestock off take programme are some of the measures that are employed by the government to ensure pastoralists communities are supported during the times of calamities, such as conflict, drought, disease so that communities become more resilient to manmade and national disaster and catastrophe in the conflict prone areas of northern Kenya. The government also formed pastoralists peace initiatives which will look at the interest of the pastoralist communities during the times of conflicts, these initiatives will work hand in hand with peace committees and other cross border locations and local chiefs.

The peace efforts by the government of Kenya and local elders from both warring clans prevail up on both sides and led to adopted and signed memorandum of understating as peace agreement that was supported by the locals and the all leaders in the mediation team. Therefore, both conflicting parities realized some peace as community leaders swore to up hold peace effort. It’ also enables those displaced from their homes be resettled and schools to be reopened in all affected centers and government to engage
Somalia – Ethiopian administration to iron out the root cause of inter clan conflicts along the borders by pastoralists groups. The mediation team also give suggestions that would enhance security and peace in the affected areas of Mandera.

5.2 Recommendations

Therefore the study recommends that for the security officers to work efficiently in the Mandera area, they need all terrain designed armed cars which they do not have to facilitate their movements and operation when dealing with conflicts. Deliberate efforts to foster lasting peace should be undertaken by leaders from the feuding clans to try and find a lasting solution to the conflicts between the two clans.

Some of the long-term measures for promoting peace and security in Mandera are the use of inter governmental diplomatic measures at National level to solve the Armed militia problem both in Kenya border and Somalia side. Involve the Sultan of the Garre and the Sultan of the Murulle as key personalities to address the conflict in Mandera. Facilitate consultation of peace meetings dialogue between elders from both communities in both areas to discuss the way for ward and emerging issues related to this tension and support from Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia until the peace dialogue bear fruits for all sides and strengthening of peace actors and peace committees to respond to issues of emergency and rapid response.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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75


