

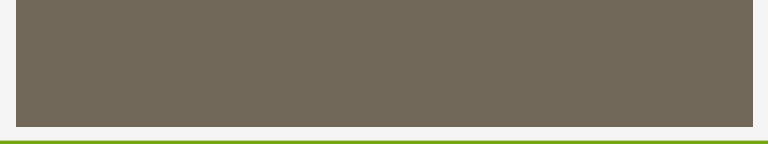
Sporadic Ethnic Violence

Why has Kenya
not
Experienced a
Full-blown Civil
War?

By M. S. Kimenyi & N. S. Ndung

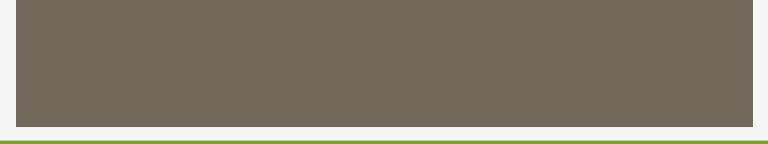
Bilge Nisa Buyukkasap



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- A civil war occurs when a trigger factor/combination of factors results in a “tipping point”
 - **Tipping Point:** factions in a society engaging in an all-out armed conflict.

Collier and Hoeffler

- “CH model”
- Systematic analysis of the casual factors of civil war initiation, duration, and recurrence
- Empirical support for «opportunity cost» explanation of civil war onset

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- Unlike the most of the countries in Africa, Kenya has neither been under military dictatorship nor experienced any major internal problem that could be referred as a civil war.
 - However Kenya had gone through «ethnic clashes» which
 - Didn't last long.
 - Localized in limited geographical areas
 - Did not involve rebel groups fighting to dislodge governments.



«example of peace and stability»

Ethnic Violence in Kenya

- Started in 1991
- Sporadic ethnic violence
- Serious threat to *the existence of a united Kenyan nation, the rule of law, and the institutions of private property, and market economy*
- **PARADOX!**

Why is «ethnic violence» a paradox?

- Didn't involve significant numbers of any ethnic community against each other.
- Although the targets are from specific ethnic groups, **the aggressors can be hardly qualified as an ethnic group.**



Causes of the Violence

- Ethnicity
- Land
- Politics



Ethnicity

- At least 42 distinct tribal groups
- Ethnic hatred linked to electoral politics and competition among the new arrivals in the region

Land

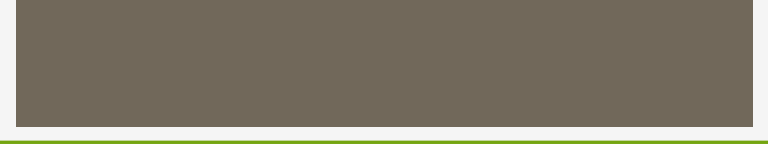
- Seen as the primary source of the ethnic clashes
- Political independence was negotiated without resolving the land issue.
- Positive correlation between violence and the amount of land that had been alienated by the colonists

But...

- The violence occurred in small-scale farms with large populations.
- Alienation of the lands is not related to the ethnic groups that are responsible for the violence.

Politics

- Failure of public institutions to accommodate diverse interests
- The lack of political models to deal with diversity in centralized states where competition for resources and power is prevalent leads to conflicts

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- Until 1991, Kenya was under a one-party rule and excessive centralization. Towards the end of 1991, people of Kenya had risen for a change of regime which resulted with a massive bloodshed by the government.
 - States in political transition experience more violence.

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- The government secretly employed ethnic militants to attack the supporters of opposition parties.

Introduction of democracy would affect their financial fortunes.

Opposition was keen prosecuting the members of government.

Pre-elections showed that the current government was likely to lose power.



Why Has
Kenya Not
Experienced
Civil War?



○ **Ethnic Heterogeneity?**

- these groups live together in urban areas.
- Problems are not large enough to trigger a war.
- Most regions are relatively homogeneous.
- The society is highly fractionalized. Most of the tribes contain subtribes in them. Safety in highly fractionalized societies is due to the high transaction costs of collective action.



○ Land issue?

- Only a small part of the country and a few ethnic groups are affected.
- Violence has not been directed at government.
- The inability to organize a counter to these ethnic clashes explains their sporadic nature.



○ **Economic gain?**

- no guarantees that those involved in the conflict would benefit themselves
- Those who takes a part in fighting face the cost but the benefits are spread among the group



○ **Political expediency?**

- The ruling party had to solve the problem of the instability that they created to gain the power in order to prevent production getting affected negatively.

conclusion

- Why the conflicts didn't evolve into civil wars can **partly** be explained by CH model.

Thank You!