

Ethnicity, Land and Conflict in Africa

The cases of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE ESCALATION OF LAND-BASED ETHNIC CONFLICT IN COUNTRIES LIKE KENYA HAS thrown the question of land use, ownership and access in Eastern Africa into the spotlight of researchers, academics, activists, policy communities and donors. As in other parts of Africa, land remains the artery of the mainly agrarian Eastern African economies and, expectedly, the focal-point of identity contests, especially within and between ethnic groups. Post-colonial land reforms have largely failed to comprehensively address historical injustices inflicted by colonial tenure systems to ensure broad-based access and ownership of this vital resource. This has gradually fuelled ethnic grievances and grudges. With the on-set of pluralist politics, genuine ethnic grievances and differences over land have been exploited by ethnic elites in the struggle for state power, complicating the crises of citizenship, poverty, development and democracy.

This project draws attention to the need for rigorous scientific research to establish the nexus between land, ethnicity and festering conflict in Eastern Africa. Field-based research is vital in informing intellectual debate, policy formulation and advocacy to ensure durable solution to this problem. This project, while acknowledging the prevalence of land-related conflict across Eastern Africa, focuses largely on four countries that offer important insights into the land-ethnicity-conflict debate in Africa and across the world: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda. These cases may be dramatically different in significant ways. But they also have notable commonalities with potential for providing comparative lessons and experiences to stimulate debate on land and ethnic-based conflict.

This project is framed as a two-level partnership. At the one level is a trio-partnership between the IDRC (supporting research), World Vision (supporting advocacy), and the Africa Policy Institute (undertaking research and analysis). The second tier consists of a web of API implementation networks, including research institutions and think-tanks in Eastern Africa and across Africa. One of the project's fortes is its emphasis on rigorous field research to generate regular policy reports and briefs and a final book-length report. Another is its strong policy and advocacy thrust to inform policy through policy reports, policy forums, opinion pieces, and one-on-one briefs with stakeholders. Finally, is its capacity-building outcomes related to training of junior researchers and setting of a network to follow-up on the questions raised by the project long after it is closed. Ultimately, the project aspires to contribute to the deepening of undertaking of the large crisis of the state, democracy and development in the African context.



I. INTRODUCTION

Across Eastern Africa, the question of the use, ownership and access to the ever-diminishing land and land-based resources has grown in importance. It is at the centre of the festering conflict within and between ethnic groups in the region. The escalating ethnic conflicts form part of what has been theorized as new patterns of wars¹ in post-Cold War world. These new wars in Africa and former Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe are widely described as 'internal' or 'civil wars' largely because they have involved a clash of ethnic or clan identities within the state. However, they have also tended to over across territorial borders, creating what Young rightly calls the 'bad neighbourhood' syndrome² and forming what has been controversially dubbed 'regional conflict formations' or 'complexes'.³ Admittedly, *ethnicity* on its own does not necessarily trigger violent conflict. Despite that, ethnic identity has become "a sort of universal shorthand that marks a host of much more complex issues" like elite competition for state power. Correspondingly, ethnic identities such as Tutsi, Kalenjin, Teso or Acholi have appeared in popular accounts of civil wars armor-plated in deadly combats that mirror Samuel

Huntington's "clash of civilization" on a global scale.⁴

Land and land-based resources has been elevated as a key resource in the development process and are everywhere perceived as critical to securing livelihoods. But paradoxically, the link between the "land question" and conflicts in the Eastern African countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania (and now Rwanda and Burundi) runs deeper than is often imagined. Historically, land provided the *raison d'être* for wars of liberation in countries like Kenya, and formed a key fault-line in the Rwandese genocide. In contemporary Africa, agrarian issues are at the heart of the on-going crisis in multi-party Kenya, which took a dangerous turn after the controversial December 2007 election. Land-related disputes have loomed large in Ugandan, where a conflict in the North has been ranging for over twenty years. The potential of identity tensions conflict haunts the on-going market-oriented land reform processes in Tanzania. These developments in the eastern Africa region point to an urgent need to refocus the *research, policy and advocacy* spotlight on the nexus between the land question and ethnicity as root causes of conflict—past, present and potential—in Eastern Africa. This is the gap that this study seeks to fill.

¹ Mary Kaldor, *New Wars and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.

² Crawford Young, "The End of the Post-Colonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics," *African Affairs*, 103, 2004, p.44.

³ Raimo Väyrynen, 'Regional Conflict Formations: An Intractable Problem of International Relations', *Journal of Peace Research*, 21, 4 (November, 1984), pp. 337-359; Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg, 'Armed Conflict and Regional Conflict Complexes, 1989-97', *Journal of Peace Research*, 35, 5 (September, 1998), pp. 621-634.

Conceptually, the project takes a political economy analysis land, ethnicity and conflict. Operationally, the study proceeds from a field-based research to rigorous and broad-based consultations

⁴ Samuel, Huntington, *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone, 1996.



ultimately aimed to underpin intellectual and policy debates as well as advocacy. The project has a two-pronged approach: the first strand is a rigorous comparative research thrust. Research will focus on the experiences of the four eastern African countries of Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania. The aim is to draw lessons to inform sound policy options in the search for lasting solutions to the transformation of land use, ownership and access. The second strand is a strong orientation to generate credible scientific information. Research findings are critical to sound policy and advocacy by non-governmental agencies and networks working to improve conditions in the human rights, social justice, humanitarian and governance spheres.

STUDY RATIONALE

Historical injustices relating to ownership and exploitation of land have for long been recognized as sources of identity-based conflict in Eastern Africa. However, the causal linkage between land and ethnic conflict in the region has not been sufficiently illuminated by contemporary research. Recently, land has been widely cited in cases of deteriorating ethnic relations, humanitarian, human rights and governance crises across the region, but more saliently in the post-2007 election mayhem in Kenya. Credible research information on this linkage is lacking. As a result, policy and advocacy work aimed at entrenching social justice, human rights, humanitarian concerns and democratic consolidation is not anchored on a solid scientific foundation. Further, the entry of multi-party politics from the late 1980s has fundamentally transformed land

into a political tool in inter-ethnic contestation for resources and state power in ways that have not been fully grasped. The premium of state power has been enhanced by shrinking non-agricultural opportunities and escalating poverty.

This has heightened existing land claims and contests within and between identity groups and between neighbouring entities and territories. The spectre of poverty has increased the importance of land and land-related resources such as water, pasture and tourist-attracting fauna and flora. Land is now the new axis around which ethnic-based conflicts rotate. The problem is complicated by the presence of cross-border ethnic identities (such as the Luo in Kenya and Uganda, the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania or Tutsi/Hutu in Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo). This explains the growing regional dimensions of ethnic conflicts and citizenship crises.

Yet, the link between the variables of ethnicity, land and conflict is not patently clear from existing knowledge pool in eastern Africa. Is there a connection between the explosion of violent conflict involving ethnic groups and existing land use and ownership patterns? To what extent have existing post-colonial development policy frameworks relating to land reform and resource allocation contributed to injustices and inter-ethnic exploitation and deprivation? Is there a way in which ethnicity can be transformed as a benign force to mobilize resources and broaden the space for social justice and cultural citizenship?



STUDY OBJECTIVES

The overarching objective of the project is to examine the causal link between the three variables of ethnicity, land and conflict. However, the actual field research is driven by specific objectives, namely, to:

- Trace the evolution of land tenure systems in Eastern Africa, and examine the extent to which unresolved land claims have been responsible for ethnic rivalry/tensions;
- Analyze the various policy initiatives and frameworks designed by the East African countries to allocate land and other resources and their impact on inter-ethnic relations;
- Examine the impact of democratization processes on land-related conflict, especially elite manipulation of ethnic sensibilities and identities in the struggle for state power;
- Draw the lessons from the comparative experiences of East African countries in dealing with land-related disputes.
- Examine existing regional and international mechanisms such as the East African Community, African Union and various United Nations instruments in finding durable solutions to the problem land-related ethnic conflict in Eastern Africa.
- Explore the potential of the findings and lessons generated by the research in shaping the

policy environment to reduce ethnic tensions and ensure social justice and equity in access to and use of land in Africa.

In addition to these objectives, there is an agreement over the need to draw insights from the comparative experiences of other African countries. In this regard, the experiences of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Cote D'Ivoire, which are facing similar challenges of identity-based conflicts over resources, are going to inform the study.⁵ While no field research is required on this, with the assistance of World Vision, experts from these countries were involved during the conference that launched of the study.

The main objective of this project is to undertake field research to establish the cause link between ethnicity, land and the flare-ups of violent conflict in the Eastern Africa. The study's goal is to bring the lessons from the experiences of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania to underpin durable policy solution to land-based conflict. More specifically, the objectives of the project are to:

- 1) Trace the evolution of land tenure systems in selected East African countries, and examine the extent to which unresolved land claims have been responsible for ethnic rivalry/tensions;
- 2) Analyze the various policy initiatives and frameworks designed to allocate land and

⁵ Val Percival and Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict: The Case of South Africa," *Journal of Peace Research*, 35, 3(1998), pp.279-298; International Crisis Group, *Blood and Soil: Land, Politics and Conflict Prevention in Zimbabwe and South Africa*, Brussels: International crisis Group Press, 2004.



other resources and their impact on inter-ethnic relations;

- 3) Examine the role and impact of elite manipulation of the ethnic sensibilities and identities in the power contests on the state.
- 4) Examine existing regional and international mechanisms such as the East African Community, African Union and various United Nations instruments in finding durable solutions to the problem land-related ethnic conflict in Eastern Africa.
- 5) Draw the lessons from the comparative experiences of East African countries in dealing with land-related disputes.
- 6) Explore the potential of the findings and lessons generated by the research in shaping the policy environment to reduce ethnic tensions and ensure social justice and equity in access to and use of land in Africa.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the objectives outlined in section 3 of this proposal, this project has four central planks. The first is a high-level of consultative workshop on Ethnicity, land and Conflict to launch the project and to define the methodological approach. The second is an extensive field research on the four case studies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda, but also drawing from the experiences of countries in other parts of Africa. The third is publication and dissemination of policy reports and briefs, opinion pieces

and final book-length report or monograph. The final plank is research capacity building by training fifteen junior researchers within the context of API's annual *Ukumbi Research Capacity Institute*. The project primarily focuses on research, but it also have a strong policy/advocacy orientation to it.

Concepts and Theories

From a conceptual standpoint, this project springs from the widespread view that Africa's protracted ethno-political conflicts are both the outcome and an indirect cause of the much-debated crisis of the African state. Part of the problem is that the post-colonial nation-building project unfolded as a parochial and hegemonizing process. It thus advanced and promoted the monopoly of a single or a coalition of dominant ethnic groups over state power and resources.

Most of Africa's protracted ethno-political conflicts manifest the resistance by ethnic groups in the margins of wealth and power to what Frantz Fanon theorized as "ethnic dictatorship".⁶ Thus, the conceptual links between ethnicity and conflicts lie in the demands by the marginal and dominated ethnic groups for inclusion and participation in the economic and governance processes. More generally, where states have responded to these demands for inclusion by resorting to violence, marginalized groups have resorted to armed resistance to counter state-sponsored violence.

Critical to this project are three forms of demands which have characterized resistance to ethnic marginalization. The

⁶ Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press 1968, 183.



first are *irredentist* or separatist demands. These are best exemplified by the determination by Somalis to break away from Ethiopia, Djibouti and Northern Kenya to join their kith and kin in a hypothetical "Greater Somalia" or the struggle by Ewe-speakers in Togo to be reunited with their ethnic folks in Ghana. The second are *revanchist* or 'autonomy' demands. The quest for regional autonomy is exemplified by the fight by the ethnic Diola in Senegal for the independence of the Casamance region from "colonization by Wolof-dominated Senegalese state".⁷ Third are efforts by ethnic groups like the Baganda in Uganda to recover their lost territory and status by hewing a Buganda nation within Uganda, which was thwarted by Uganda's central authority. Fourth are demands for secession or territorial claims seen in the Biafra in Nigeria or South Kasai in the former Zaire (the Democratic Republic of Congo). Both demands degenerated into civil wars. More recently, Africa has witnessed growing demands from Chad to Ethiopia, Sudan (Darfur/South) to Niger by ethnic minorities for greater autonomy in their ethnic heartlands. However, while demanding for autonomy and more investment in socio-economic and infrastructural development, these groups have not sought to exit or secede from the state.

With the return to political pluralism, these demands have become inextricably linked to, and actually accentuated by, the imperatives of power struggles between the various

ethnic elites. In countries like Kenya and Uganda, the demise of one-party dictatorships has expanded space for ethnic groups to express demands for greater inclusion in the share of state wealth and power. Paradoxically, while this has seen the expansion of democracy, it has also raised the stakes for national stability.

Yet, ethnic groups need not be seen as constituting an entirely venal or negative force. The historian, John Lonsdale, has distinguished between the 'moral ethnicity' and the venal 'political tribalism'. Lonsdale's distinction highlights the benign and negative aspects of ethnic identities.⁸ (1994). Ethnic-based social movements have also served as counter-hegemonic forces to the centralizing and domineering forces of the secular nation-state.⁹ In many respects, ethnic movements have served as useful players in civil society, oftentimes localizing the struggles for citizenship in ways that have created moral communities and mobilize resources and broaden the space for national citizenship.

The State of the Art

Empirical research, largely inspired by land crisis in Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia,¹⁰ has centered on the impact of

⁷ P. S. Douma, *The Origins of Contemporary Conflict: A Comparison of Violence in Three World Regions*, The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2003.

⁸ John Lonsdale, "Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism" in P. Kaarsholm and P. & J. Hultin (eds), *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Roskilde: Roskild University Press, 1994.

⁹ D. Eyo, "Community, Citizenship and the Politics of Ethnicity in Post-colonial Africa" In E. Kalipeni and P. Zeleza (eds), *Sacred Spaces and Public Quarrels*, Trenton: Africa World Press, 1999.

¹⁰ See, International Crisis Group, "Blood and Soil: Land, Politics and Conflict Prevention in Zimbabwe and South Africa, Brussels, International Crisis Group, 2004. Dr Peter Kagwanja was part of



titling, registration and privatization on tenure security in Africa. As a result, existing literature has devoted little attention to the link between identity (ethnicity, race and gender) and land conflicts in the context of the on-going crisis of democracy. This project is an attempt to the attention of researchers, academics, policy-makers and donors to the importance of the link between ethnicity, land and conflict to the understanding the current crisis of democracy and development in Africa. This project examines this linkage in the specific context of Eastern Africa by using the case studies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda. More generally, it draws from perspectives by works from other parts of Africa to shed light on this urgent question.

The eruption of ethnic-based violence in Kenya after the controversial 2007 elections drew world attention to three way crises of land, ethnicity and conflict that now bedevils peace, security and democracy in Africa. However, East Africa leading economy has suffered bouts of land-based ethnic violence since the on-set of multi-party democracy in the early 1990s. Despite this, extant literature on Kenya's 'land question', largely driven by the 'developmentalist' discourse, has tended to market the country as a successful model of agrarian reforms.¹¹ Its market-oriented reform of the tenure system since the 1950s is unduly eulogized as the 'most ambitious' and 'successful' in Africa for 'peacefully'

the team that produced and undertook advocacy work on this project.

¹¹ Thomas J. Miceli, C. F. Sirmans and Joseph Kieyah, "The Demand for Land Title Registration: Theory with Evidence from Kenya", *American Law and Economics Review*, 3, 2 (2001), pp.275-287.

opening up the former 'White Highland' to all races.¹² Lost in this debate is how the post-colonial land reform polarized Kenya's ethnic interests. What immediately attracted analysts from a conflict perspective is the triad conflict involving herders, farmers and wildlife with roots in competition over scarce land and water resources. Nevertheless, the problematic connection between land and ethnicity has been thrust to the fore by deadly cycles of 'ethnic clashes' in recent years, traced to elite exploitation of genuine land-based ethnic grievances and grudges. This has also highlighted the divisive issues of ethnic equality and socio-economic justice in access to resources, especially land. The impact of the slide from nationalism to ethnicity on land and democracy issues is interesting to investigate. It is also critical to enquire why Kenya has descended to ethnic-based land conflict despite the major role by international players to underwrite a peaceful land reform on the basis of a liberal property rights regime.

Access to land is usually not seen as a problem in Tanzania. Unlike in Kenya, the land question in Tanzania has taken a lesser ethnic dimension, partly explained from the success of Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa ideology in forging an identity based on 'Tanzanian nationalism'. Despite this, there are identity-based claims to land linked to different types of and claims to land rights depending on whether they are indigenous or guests/immigrants, men or women. Recent research has shown that increasing competition for land and pastures is giving rise to a new tendency

¹² See for example, Angelique Haugerud, 'Land Tenure and Agrarian Change in Kenya', *Journal of the International African Institute*, 59, 1 (1989).



of double safeguarding of land rights: formalisation of customary rights and legitimisation of 'modern' rights.¹³ These processes of formalization and individualizing of land titles are likely to trigger ethnic sensibilities, and potential conflict. This potential looms even larger because of increasing exclusion of vulnerable groups like the poor and herders as a result of their land use patterns. Also excluded are women due to prevalent gender inequalities.¹⁴ Will Tanzania's recent embrace of liberal market policies erode nationalism and set it on the path to intra and inter-ethnic polarization and land-based conflicts?

Unlike Kenya and Tanzania, Rwanda's ethnic polarization over scarce resources, particularly land use and ownership harks to its feudal past.¹⁵ This was overlaid with unique patterns of colonial exploitation and manipulation of ethnic identities.¹⁶ Ethnic polarization, especially between and within the Hutu and Tutsi categories, took a deadly turn in the context of land scarcity, diminished non-agricultural income sources and poverty in the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁷ This

has led to inequalities in land distribution, dispossession through (illegal) land market and shifting indigenous tenure arrangements, ultimately contributed to land disputes, landlessness, disharmony and violence which triggered the 1994 genocide.¹⁸ Can post-genocide Rwanda's experience provide lessons for African countries where land-based ethnic cracks are beginning to appear such as Tanzania and South Africa or those which have gone through flare-ups of land-related racial or ethnic conflicts like Kenya and Zimbabwe?

Uganda has a unique and long-standing informal property rights system. But the country has not been spared by land-related identity conflicts.¹⁹ Contemporary literature has drawn a causal link between land and the prevalence of ethnic/regional conflict, especially in the Northern part of the country. Conflict, in turn, has eroded the property rights of social categories such as women.²⁰ In this regard, analysts like Lynn Khadiagala have proposed community-based institutions as more inexpensive, expedient and culturally appropriate vehicles of ensuring the rights and justice, especially of women in regard to land access.²¹ Research on land reform has focused on Uganda's entrenched informal property rights

¹³ R. Odgaard, 'Scrambling for Land in Tanzania: Processes of Formalisation and Legitimation of Land Rights', *The European Journal of Development Research*, **14**, 2(December 2002), pp. 71-88.

¹⁴ Dzodzi Tsikata, 'Securing Women's Interests within Land Tenure Reforms: Recent Debates in Tanzania', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, **3**, 1-2 (January 2003), pp.149-183.

¹⁵ Catherine André and Jean-Philippe Platteau, 'Land relations under unbearable stress: Rwanda caught in the Malthusian trap', *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization*, **34**, 1 (1998), pp1-47.

¹⁶ Catherine André and Jean-Philippe Platteau, 'Land relations under unbearable stress: Rwanda caught in the Malthusian trap', *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization*, **34**, 1 (1998), pp1-47.

¹⁷ Herman Musahara, 'Land and Poverty in Rwanda,' paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Hotel Novotel Umubano, Rwanda 22-23 November 2001, available at <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/povland.rtf>, accessed on 2 May 2008.

¹⁸ S. van Hoyweghen, 'The urgency of Land and Agrarian Reform in Rwanda', *African Affairs*, 98, (1999), pp.353-72.

¹⁹ K. Deininger, R. Castagnini, 'Incidence and impact of land conflict in Uganda', *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, **60**, 3 (2003), pp. 321 – 345.

²⁰ Aili Mari Tripp, 'Women's Movements, Customary Land and Land Rights in Africa: The case of Uganda', available at, *African Studies Quarterly*, 2004, available at <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v7/v7i4a1.pdf>, accessed on 3 May 2008.

²¹ Lynn Khadiagala, 'The Failure of Popular Justice in Uganda: Local Councils and Women's Property Rights', *Development and Change*, **32**, 1 (January, 2001), pp. 55-76.



regime.²² Studies of the 1998 Uganda Land Act have tended to signpost Uganda as a case that can shed light on how to normalize informal property rights system to avoid conflicts in Africa and in the developing world.

In a word, as the fore-going review of the Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda typologies shows, this project has the potential of generating useful lessons to inform further research and guide policy formulation in response to land-related ethnic conflict, now hampering democratic transformation and development.

IMPLEMENTATION AND OUTPUTS

The project implementation part of the project has two components: a consultative workshop, which was held in December 2008, and meetings on methodologies relating to each case study.

Consultative & Methodology workshops

At the start of the project is a consultative workshop structured around the three components of ethnicity, land and conflict in Eastern Africa. The meeting, held in December, brought together a critical mass of participating researchers, academics, policy makers, practitioners and activists. This component of the project was meant to provide some clarity on the vital link between researchers and the final consumer of research—policy makers, government and civil society actors. Also invited to the workshop will

be a few experts from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia to provide comparative experiences from these countries, which have recently faced land-related contests and which share a legacy of historical injustices relating to land use and ownership. The principle of gender representation will also be observed in selecting participants to the workshop.

Report generated from the workshop proceedings, together with comprehensive literature search by API researchers, will serve as a springboard for research activities and, more critically, for advocacy, particularly by the World Vision and allied organizations.

Earlier on, a methodological session was planned to take place on the sidelines of the consultative workshop to help in harmonizing methodologies by participating researchers. But the eclectic nature of the meeting as well as the wide participation by non-researchers did not allow for such a focused meeting. Such meetings have been planned to take place after the workshop.

Ukumbi Research Capacity Institute

The project also provided for the training of young researchers in research, analysis, writing and communication skills. In this regard, the API convened its Annual *Ukumbi Research Capacity institute* (or Ukumbi Institute) on the sidelines of the high level stakeholders' meeting. The Ukumbi Institute is designed to equip young African researchers working with think-tanks, NGOs and African governments with Analysis and writing skills on topics related to peace, security and governance. Its aim is to promote research, debates and, more importantly,

²² Diana Hunt, 'Unintended consequences of land rights reform: the case of the 1998 Uganda Land Act', *Development Policy Review*, 22, 2 (2004), pp.173–191.



writing and analysis skills, which are badly lacking in many parts of African. Similar capacity-building projects have almost exclusively focused on universities. Under this project, the Ukumbi Institute will offer training to 15 up-coming junior researchers involved in the project and also drawn from governments of the countries under focus. It will consist of three weeks of in-house training on writing, analysis and research on the topics being studied under the project: ethnicity, land and conflict. It will be organized in collaboration with selected think-tanks and University in East Africa with the chance of issuing certificates/diplomas to the Laureates.

Tasks and organization

The urgency for empirical research analysis to inform and guide policy and advocacy underpins the IDRC and World Vision collaborative initiative aimed at explore the relationship between the use of land and resource, ethnicity and violence in Eastern Africa. In addressing this gap, the project will undertake a systematic field research in four Eastern African countries: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda.

Research will tee off with a literature search based on a comprehensive desktop survey of published and unpublished materials on ethnicity land and conflict in Africa. Here, books, journal articles, government publications and press materials will be examined by API team of researchers. This will form the basis for a **working paper** which will identify the salient questions and thematic issues to be followed by field research teams. The

workshop will also clarify the methodological issues and approaches to guide the research and analysis process.

The second aspect of the research phase will entail comprehensive research activities within individual countries. The principle researcher will make trips to the countries of focus at the start of the project to hold consultations with network organizations leading to the recruitment of country researchers and their assistance. Country teams will undertake research in individual countries while liaising with the API research team overseeing the whole research. Researchers will be expected to undertake comprehensive field research based on interviews with ethnic leaders, government officials and political party leaders, churches, humanitarian organizations and ordinary victims such as refugees and the internally displaced, mediators and negotiators in national peace processes, among other sources. Researchers will be requested to make every effort to enquire into the gender and generational aspects of the study, particularly how ethnic conflict has impacted on women and children. Researchers will also be expected to **draft the chapters** based on the country case studies, which will be reviewed by independent expert reviewers. In the second year, the principle researcher will make trips to the countries under focus for briefing meetings with the research teams.

The chapters will be presented in a final workshop where they will be critiques and suggestions on improvement made by participants.



This will be followed by the convening of a methodological seminar bringing in the API researchers, invited experts and some policymakers and funders. The workshop will tease out the conceptual issues and clarify and harmonize methodologies to be used during research. The study will also have a strong capacity building component as part of the API's goals of capacity building initiative. To that end, young researchers will also be involved and fully engaged in discussions that impart crucial techniques in reporting, documentation, empowerment, decision-making, communication and self-expression.

Research Outcomes

In the duration of the project, a working paper, a total of eight policy reports and briefs, and four drafts of country case studies. These will be shared with the relevant stakeholders. The project will also publish a final book-length report arising from country case studies and analysis by API researchers. Additionally, at least eight opinion pieces will also be published during the tenure of the project. Finally, the project will generate a network of researchers on land, ethnicity and conflict in Eastern Africa, and train at least fifteen young researchers working with NGOs and research think-tanks on research and analysis skills and writing.

Capacity building Outcomes

The project will have two capacity building outcomes: training of junior analysts and research network on Ethnicity land and conflict. As indicated on 4.4, the project will also train fifteen

junior researchers in research analysis and writing skills within the context of API Ukumbi Institute.

From the project will also emerge a network on the issues of ethnicity, land and conflict in East Africa, with real prospects of expanding to other parts of Africa. The network will bring together researchers, civil society activists, members of the policy and donor communities and donors interested in issues of ethnicity, land and conflict.

CONCLUSION

This draft concept paper is aimed at providing the context for research. It is still work in progress, especially in regard to the theoretical section. A more refined draft will be provided before the country-based methodology meetings in April. This draft is meant to introduce the researchers to the project. At this stage, this draft working paper should be read together with the report of the December 2008 stakeholders' meeting.

