

Are We the Same or Different? The Impact of Ethnic Group Categorization on Inter-Clan Conflicts in Tanzania

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Abstract

The study sought to examine the impact of Kuria clans' categorization on perceived similarities and differences among clan and its contribution on inter-clan prejudice. The used in this study were collected from sixty six respondents who were purposively selected from government officials and members of the Kira, Nchari and Renchoka using interview and focus group discussion. The findings indicated that categorization has laid the feeling of indifferences and prejudice among the Kuria clans. The findings also indicated that the deep rooted perceptions of differences have caused each clan to perceive itself as an independent tribe and not clan of the same Kuria ethnic group. Additionally, categorization has lead clan groups to share the available resources based on the existing groups. This evokes prejudices and inter-clan competition over resources which consequently lead to inter- clan conflict. It was concluded that strategies such as seminars, use of media and integrated education can be used to reduce the perceived inter clan differences, cultivate inclusive identity and increase inter clan social cohesion.

Key Words: Categorization, Similarities, Differences, Prejudice, Conflicts.

1. Introduction

Categorization is a process of thinking, feeling and/or acting in a way that differentiate oneself from another person, family or group. Clan categorization is therefore hierarchies of an ethnic group which are divided in terms of families lineage and are used to divide people into 'us' and 'them', or "in group" and "out group" (Singh, 2008). After ethnic group members dividing themselves into groups, these groups appear to guide all evaluative judgement between them (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999). This process can be implicit or explicit, favourable or unfavourable depending on the attributes ascribed to the perceived in group and out group members.

In many societies individuals are categorized into persons, families, lineage, clan ethnic group (tribe), cohort, race, religion, zones and others dimensions (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999). For instance at family level, children of the same parents are categorized into first to last born, names, and other associative characteristics that are used by parents to identify their children. In support of this, Mensah (2007) comment that a family is a collection of individuals with different personalities, needs and values. Strong, DeVault, Sayad and Yarber (2002 in Mensah, 2007) add that, two people do not become one even when they love one another because each person retains his/her identities, needs and wants.

At the family level, categorization is very explicit though in most cases it is ignored especially when it has no unfavourable consequences. Categorization of family members' is very dominant into African polygamous families; where people are categorized not only into names and other personal characteristics but also into their mothers (houses) which sometimes are used to guide members' relation. Eller and Abrams (2006) in their common identity model support that human categorization can be in four levels that are interpersonal level, inter-group level, super ordinate level and dual identity level. These arguments suggest that categorization is a basic human cognitive functioning as they are fundamental aspects of social perception (Park & Judd, 2005).

2. Background to the Problem

Reflecting in Tanzanian context where there are many harmonious ethnic groups; one may argue that, ethnic categorization is not an issue of concern. Arguably, this may be the case when concentrating at national level; but if one turns the lens into different specific categories that exist at particular areas the case may be different. For instance, Tanzania has witnessed frequent isolated inter-group conflicts basically influenced by categorization into farmers and pastoralists, political parties, clan groups and the recently emerging powerful and religious categorization (Aron, 2012; Riwa, 2007; Keiser, 2001; Mmuya, 2000).

2.1 Categorization within the Kuria Ethnic Group

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Tanzania is categorized into more than one hundred and twenty ethnic groups (tribes) mainly based on linguistic differences. Among these, the Kuria ethnic group is one of ethnic group having highly and deeply intra ethnic categorized groups. Historically, this ethnic group was divided into twenty groups in a form of "clans". Later, some clans disappeared because of inter-clan conflicts, disease and hunger (Gweso, 1979; Tobisson, 1986). Apart from clan groups, the Kuria ethnic group is also subdivided into more than fifty six small groups of the sons of the ancestor "Mkuria" in Kuria language this grouping is referred to as "egesaku, (pl. ebisaku). Furthermore, members of the Kuria ethnic group are subdivided into more than one hundred fifty two grandsons of Mkuria who in Kikuria language they are known as amaghiha (sing. Righiha). In addition, this ethnic group is divided into more than two hundred fifty two small subgroups of close relatives of a single father, who in Kikuria is known as "Eka" (pl. Ichika.). Below the Eka, there are dispersed families and two generational families both of them identified as "Umighi" (pl. Imighi) (Tobisson, 1986).

The subdivisions above of members into smaller groups make the Kuria ethnic group members superficially to trace their identities from *Umughi (household)* to the clan level, and it has made the Kuria ethnic group identity to loose its traditional inclusive role. For instance, it has been easy for Kuria members to identify themselves into clans and other small inclusive groups like Emighi and Amaghiha in fulfilling their need of differentiation and distinctiveness than ethnic group (Brewer, 1999). In that regard, each group tries to formulate and manipulate group norms, values and other prototype that will fit the group and distinguish it from others. By so doing, members tend automatically to behave in a group oriented and group saving ways (Hogg & Reid, 2006). In its area (pocket of land) each clan is autonomous in all issues of the group which serves both inclusion and exclusion between groups (Brewer, 1999). To add of this observation Brewer (1999) opines that when people feel isolated from any larger social group the need for inclusion is aroused. He continues that, on the other hand immersion in an exclusively larger or undefined social collective activates the search for differentiation and distinctiveness. The equilibrium is reached through identification with distinctive social groups that meet both needs simultaneously.

2.2 Inter-Clan Conflicts in Tarime

Conflicts among the clans are a normal custom of the people in Tarime district (The African team, 2006). The district is well known for frequent inter-ethnic (Kuria and Luo) and intra ethnic (Kuria clans) conflicts which vary from time to time. Ruel (1950) in Fleisher (2000) noted that Kuria clans have been hostile towards each other and have been engaged in frequent fighting. Hogg and Vaughan (2002) support that, when one group of people hates another group so profoundly that they can torture and/or kill individuals of the perceived out group then, there is a problem that need serious attention among researchers. These conflicts have caused enormous impact on individuals, the district and the nation as a whole. For instance, from the year 1992 to 2006 inter-clan conflicts between the Kira and the Nchari forced more than 300 households of the Nchari to abandon their area. During the same period inter-clan conflicts caused deaths of 17 people, 77 people were injured, 130 houses burned and 81 acres of various crops were destroyed (Iddy, 2007). It is also observed that almost 6 people lost life each year due to inter-clan fighting between the Kira, Nchari and Renchoka clans. These conflicts have resulted into socioeconomic unrest and have caused people become unwilling to interact and some clans prohibited inter-marriage with other clan members. In the 2001 conflicts between the Renchoka and Nchari around Mwema secondary school, one student was injured (Iddy, 2007; The African team, 2006). Despite all these impacts, little research has been done on impact of clan categorization on inter-clan conflicts this study intended to bridge the gap by finding the impact of clan categorization on inter-clan conflicts among the Kuria ethnic group in Tanzania.

3. Theoretical Framework

In explaining clan categorization and inter-clan conflicts among the Kuria ethnic group, social identity and self categorization theories have been used. The Social identity theory was developed by Tajfel and Turner (1986, 1979 in Pennington, Gillen and Hill (1999). The theory explains inter-group bias, discrimination and conflict using the social identity construct. It asserts that first, people establish preferences on particular groups, and then, they associate themselves in the preferred groups called an "in group" and finally compare themselves with preferred groups perceived as "out group". This process is central as social groups try to differentiate themselves from one another (Humphreys, Posner & Weinstein, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986 in Humphreys, Posner & Weinstein, 2002). Group categorization is a product of opposing need for inclusion and differentiation from others (Brewer, 1999). Studies also indicate that individuals seek certain group identities because those identities help them to achieve positive self-esteem and self worth. As a result, identification of individuals into in groups and out group aims at establishing both positive and distinct positions for the in group (Brewer, 1999). In this case, clan members like to be identified by their birth clan and refuse to be recognized as members of other clans even if they live in the same village for the fear of loosing clan identity (Iddy, 2007; Tobisson, 1986). In many cases the out group is attributed with false negative or exaggerated stereotypes and negative values, while the in group is associated with



positive attributes (Humphreys, Posner & Weinstein, 2002). Finally inter-group conflicts are one of the strongest factors making social identity accessible (Pennington, Gillen & Hill, 1999).

Another theory which explains peoples' categorization and lies on the social identity theory is self categorization theory. Self categorization refers to a person's belief that they belong to a group (Hogg & Reid, 2006). The theory focuses on the basic social cognitive processes, primarily social categorization that cause people to identify with groups, construe themselves and others in groups' terms, and manifest group behaviour (ibid). After attaching oneself into a group personal self esteem is elevated, and reduces uncertainty about how in group should behave in specific social context. Self categorization also sharpens group boundaries by producing group stereotypical and normative perceptions. The theory continues that, individuals develop set of attributes that define the group and differentiate it from other groups. These representations capture similarities among the in group and differences between groups (Tajfel, 1959 in Hogg, Reid, 2006). By so doing, categorization involves making reference to self concept hence, people not only categorize others but also categorize themselves and it is used to influence inter group relation (Turner et al. 1987 in Hogg & Reid, 2006).

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of Kuria categorization on inter-clan conflicts among the Kuria clans. Specifically, the study intended to evaluate how the perceived similarities and differences among the Kira, Nchari and the Renchoka contribute to inter-clan conflicts and examine how clan categorization contribute to inter- clan prejudice and lead to inter-clan conflicts among the Kuria clans. In line with these objectives the study was guided by two research questions. One, what similarities and differences exist among the Kira, Nchari and the Renchoka clans? two, what are the contributions of clan categorization on inter-clan prejudice and conflicts among the clans of the Kuria ethnic group?

5. Methodology

5.1 Research Design

This was a descriptive explanatory study which intended to examine the perceived similarities and differences among the target clans and the impact of clan categorization on inter-clan prejudice among the clans of the Kuria ethnic group. Leary (2001) states that, the goal of descriptive research is to provide descriptions of behaviours, thoughts, and feelings of the people within the study population. This was achieved by the use of intensive interviews and focus group discussions with respondents from the Kira, Nchari and the Renchoka clans and government officials. The use of these two data collection methods provided a more complete view of the history; trend and the impact clan categorization on inter-clan conflicts.

5.2 Participants

The study included sixty six participants of whom twelve were government officials', six traditional elders and forty eight other clan members from the Kira, Nchari and the Renchoka clans. These respondents were sampled from villages namely Ng'erengere and Remagwe, (from Kira), Korotambe and Kiongera (from Nchari) and Kubiterere and Nyamuhunda (from Renchoka). The government officials included one District Administrative Secretary (DAS), one District Administrative Officer (DAO), one Division Officer (DO), three Ward Executive Officers (WEOs) and six Village Executive Officers (VEOs). Respondents of this study were purposively sampled because they were thought to possess elements of typicality or possession particular characteristics being sought by the researcher and had richest information about the study (Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen, Manion & Morison, 2011). Taddlie and Yu (2007) in Cohen, Manion & Morison (2011) assert that this kind of sampling provide depth and lesser breadth to the study than does probability sampling. Creswell (2009) add that purposive sampling does not necessarily imply sampling of large numbers of participants as in quantitative studies. This sampling is done with the purpose to represent location or types in relation to a key criterion.

Units of interest may be clustered in a particular setting or geographical area (Mugenda, 2008). This is done purposely to include the key constituencies, and ensure that in each criterion some diversity is included so that impact of characteristics concerned can be explored (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The government officials were selected based on the fact that by virtue of their positions and responsibilities they frequently interacted with clan members, they were involve in solving inter-clan conflicts and have rich information about clan groups as some were members of the clan under study. On the other hand, traditional elders are were selected due to the fact that they are influential within their clans; they assume political and spiritual powers; therefore, they were thought more informed on matters related to clans' categorization; inter-clan prejudices, norms, and values of their clans (Iddy, 2007; Hogg & Reid, 2006). Similarly, other members were sampled based on their accessibility and



willingness to participate in the study. These members were thought to be informed of similarities and differences that existed between clans groups and engaged in frequent inter-clan conflicts (Cohen, Manion & Morison, 2011; Best and Khan, 2006; Gray, 2006).)

5.3 Instrument and Procedures

Semi structured interviews were conducted to gather data to inform the study. During data collection the researcher visited the interviewees and established rapport, thereafter arrangements were made on the date and venue for the interview. Best and Khan (2006) propose that rapport building is crucial as it dispel hostility and suspicion between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviews ranged from forty to sixty minutes for the purpose of getting in depth views, opinions, and interpretation of the situation concerning inter-clan similarities, differences, prejudice, categorization and conflicts (Gray, 2009). During interview the field notes were written in a note book and some were tape recorded after getting participants consent. Miles & Huberman (1994) in Gray (2009) commented that textual data are more concrete, vivid and more convincing to the reader than pages of numbers.

Additionally, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were conducted, one in each of the six selected villages. Cohen *et al.*, 2011) comment that focus group discussion can yield more insights that can not be obtained in a straightforward interview. During data collection the researcher with the assistance from the VEOs visited the participants and arrangements were made on the date and time to meet at the village executive office for discussion. Prior to actual focus group discussion an understanding of each other started between the researcher and the participants. Then, the researcher informed the members about the intention of the study and related procedures which were established. Focus group sessions ranged between 45 minutes to one hour. The discussions were guided by questions which indented to elicit information on similarities and differences, and how clan categorization influence inter-clan prejudice and conflicts. The discussions were conducted in both Swahili and Kikuria languages because some people were not confident and fluent in Swahili especially when they wanted to state something that had a strong cultural/clan value but meaningful for the study. Speaking in their vernacular could not create language barrier because it is the researcher's mother tongue.

5.4 Data Analysis Procedures

Qualitative data analysis involve breaking data down into smaller units to reveal their characteristics elements and structure (Dey, 1993 in Gray, 2009). Written texts were organized into themes and tape recorded data were transcribed by the researcher himself into written notes that could be easily read and understood. The categorization of data into themes started immediately as they were collected this made the researcher familiar with emerging issues from the data (Gray, 2009). Thereafter, the data were descriptively analysed and interpreted in themes simultaneously with many expressed voices from respondents some of which have been presented as respondents' statements.

6. Results and Discussion

6.1 Clan Categorization and Perceived Similarities

The first objective of the study intended to evaluate how the perceived existing similarities and differences among the Kira, Nchari and Renchoka contribute to inter-clans conflicts. To achieve this objective the data were collected using interview and focus group discussion with participants of the study. It was observed that Kuria clans' categorization evoked senses of similarities especially within clans and differences between clans. It was found that clan members anchored on a number of criteria that were used as bases for similarities and differences within and among clans. However, the findings showed that clan identity was used as the main measure for the inclusion and/or exclusion of people in/from the clans.

The findings form respondents revealed that the Kira, Nchari, and the Renchoka clans belong to the same ethnic group of the Kuria. As such, they speak the same language (Kikuria), and have relatively similar shape and size of their bodies. Also, members of these clans have matching values, norms, and beliefs. This was because all of them originated from the same ancestor (Mkuria) and they live in close comparable environments. The similarity of these clans was emphasized during the interview with a traditional elder from Kira clan at Ng'ereng'ere village who said that:

"...The Kira, Nchari, and Renchoka clans belong to the same tribe; we have similar norms, values, and beliefs and we share almost everything the differences that you see are the results of classification of people into clan groups ..."

The statement from the respondents suggests that all members of the Kuria clans are the same. However, clan categorization has grouped them be in groups and by so doing it has weakened Kuria identity as a result people are thinking as very different from one clan to another.



One important aspect of similarity shared by these clans' is shared culture of circumcision. In addition, they all practice circumcision for their boys and female genital mutilation for their girls. They share the same language and way of greeting; where they use a prefix such as *Sakolo* and *Nyakolo* when greeting a male and a female respectively, which is followed by a name such as Chacha, Mwita, Maro, Rhobi or Mkami, and becomes *Sakolochacha* or *Nyakolochacha*. Moreover, the target clans were found to have the same way of building their houses, which are in round or rectangular shape enclosed with poles of trees around a compound with a narrow doom shaped entrance.

6.2 Clan Categorization and Perceived Differences

Apart from the abovementioned similarities the findings indicated that these clans have some notable differences. During the interviews and focus group discussion participants disclosed that some differences exists between clans. For instance, despite the fact that they all practice circumcision and female genital mutilation, the difference prevail the way these traditional practices are conducted. The participants indicated that each clan organize and practice alone by applying different traditional medicine to protect their children from any external harm particularly from other clans. This was substantiated in the focus group discussion at Remagwe village where one participant remarked that:

"...During circumcision we prohibit members of other clans to enter in our clan area because they may be witch our expected warriors... and make them coward, fearful, easily tired and defeated during interclan fighting..."

The remark by the participant proposes that clan members have certain factors and events, which are used to discriminate members of other clans. It also indicates that during circumcision the youth are prepared mentally to take part in the inter-clan fighting as their elders protect them from being harmed.

On top of that, it was found that there were also situations where only one criterion, namely clan identity was used as a decisive factor for inclusion and/or exclusion of various clan members. For instance, when offering clan sacrifices and during important clan's meeting, members of other clans including government leaders were barred from participating. This finding is supported by Simpson and Yinger (1953) who noted that in group and out group differences, sometimes do not actually exist but people will find them given the situation for the purpose of making distinctions since prejudice varies with time and space.

In addition, it was found that another important and powerful aspect in which clans differed was their spiritual beliefs, especially their gods. The findings uncovered that, the Kira clan members have their god called *Ilesa*, the Nchari god is *Sabhule* and that of the Renchoka is *Gibhiloli Waghesegheso*. These gods were regarded to be powerful and therefore, are strongly respected. These gods are believed to be sources of rainfall and usually are consulted to permit important events like circumcision, fighting, wedding, and other matters perceived important within the clans.

Another important aspect in which the clans differed involved the totem (animals) which each clan respect. The findings indicated that the Kira and Nchari had the same totem called *Inchugu* (Elephant) while the Renchoka's totem was *Ingwe* (Leopard). In spite of the Kira and Nchari respect the same totem, clan categorization evoked senses of distinctiveness and made the Kira and the Nchari to find a mean of differing in the kind of elephant they respected. The Kira respect the male *Inchugu Ensacha* (male Elephant), while the Nchari respect the *Inchugu Enkari* (female Elephant). This was because the Nchari feared that their totem could be immersed by the Kira, which would make them lose their clan identity. This suggests that even if the Kuria clans were living together, were in harmony, friends and shared certain similarities, the sense of clan identity was still so deep rooted to the extent that it could not be ignored or undermined in any way by clan members at any point in time. Elaborating the situation, one respondent from Nchari clan in a FGD at Korotambe village said that:

"...Clan groups are deep rooted within the Kuria ethnic group, for instance, even if a person departs his birth clan and stays in another clan for a long time until he gets grandsons and grand daughters his family will forever be referred to as members of his birth clan and he will be isolated in some matters of a clan where he is living..."

The voice from the respondent above suggests that the Kuria identity was a strong criterion used to discriminate people from the in group to the out group. On top of that, the findings indicated that, discrimination on clan identity has caused women who were married to other clans, which were later perceived as out group to resist being identified as members of their birth clans for the fear of being discriminated or killed. The findings also revealed that, among the Kuria ethnic group, and within the conflicting clans, things and aspects, which the clans shared such as names, and culture were less emphasized, and therefore, not perceived as important as matters such as clan names (*Omunchari, Omokira* and *Omorenchoka*), totem and gods, were more emphasized particularly during inter-clan conflict. This behaviour was also observed by Tobisson (1986) who insists that within the Kuria ethnic group the distinction between clans became apparent when disputes arise concerning territorial matters.

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Similarly, Doob (1952) noted that, cultural characteristics like language, nationality, religion, clothing, and family structure can be singled out by members of a particular group to identify the out group. Clan categories affect the inter perceptions, promote competition, erode feelings of tolerance and easy attacks between clans. This is also supported by the study by Wilder (1986) in Oakes and Haslam (2001) who argued that categorization plans to prevent the course of tolerance and harmony by stirring inter-group hatred and may lead to inter-group conflicts.

6.3 The Influence of Clan Categorization on Resources Distribution

Participants identified available resources such as land, cattle, water sources, grazing areas, crops and roads. It was noted that cattle and land are the resources which clans are frequently competing for and have immensely contributed to inter-clan hostility and prejudice and prolonged inter-clan conflicts. Clan categorization which provokes feelings of differences and discrimination has led to serious inter-clan boundary conflicts between Ng'ereng'ere and Korotambe villages inhabited by the Kira and the Nchari respectively. Every inter-clan land problem has been taken as a collective responsibility. As a result, misunderstandings concerning land between two members of different clans culminated into a huge inter-clan conflicts. This suggests that, the concept and feelings of them 'theirs' and we 'ours' was more embedded among clan members and it was used to guide distribution of resources. This was clearly explained during the interview by one WEO who noted that:

"...In Tarime all resources are distributed on clan basis, each clan knows its resources. If a person of one clan invades the land of another clan, members of the invaded clan should stand up to defend their area. This usually leads to inter-clan fighting..."

The statement, by WEO, implies that "us" (ours) and "them" (theirs) is the source of inter-clan fighting as it causes inter-clan prejudice and competition for resources. Each clan wanted to win and take those resources believing that if they loose they would make other clans treat them with contempt. Cikara, Bruneau and Saxe (2011) comment that social identity *us* and *them* is most salient when groups are set in a direct competition. This finding is similar to that of Doob (1952) who argued that the basis for most prejudices is the kind of threat, which a group feels that it stands to lose something as an effect of the presence or activities of another group.

On the other hand, it was found that clan categorization was implanted in cattle theft especially between rival clans. Respondents noted that, formerly before strong clan categorization the Kuria had a strong ideology that, when one stole cattle from a fellow Kuria he was taking his own property. But later, after clan identification into clan groups this ideology has been eroded and now other Kuria members from different clan are seen as different groups and inter-clan stealing was sanctioned. A respondent from Renchoka clan during the FGD at Nyamuhunda village had the following to say:

"...Cattle theft is part of our culture; however, people are supposed to steal from hostile clan (Olong'ongo) and not from their own clan..."

Narrating the same story the one government official shared that:

"...Cattle thieves are using clan groups and clan conflicts to hide themselves, when they steal cattle from one clan they make sure those cattle pass through a rival clan. When members of stolen cattle follow the footsteps they end up thinking that their cattle have been stolen by members of that rival clan that cattle have passed through. In case they find a member of that clan, they can kill him anticipating that he is one of those thieves. Clans whose members have been killed stand to revenge, consequently culminate into a huge inter-clan conflicts..."

The voices from the respondent above propose that, clan groups are manipulated by thieves and bandits who want to benefit and aggravate the sense of hatred, hostility, and conflicts so that the clans perceive each other as enemies.

6.4 The Contribution of Clan Categorization on Inter-Clan Prejudice

The second objective examined the contribution of clan categorization on inter-clan prejudice leading to inter-clan conflicts. It was noted that clan categorization had laid the foundations for people to discriminate others as out groups. The findings uncovered that during inter-clan fighting; clan members would degrade members of other clans (rival) by calling them names such as *Aghanchari or Akarechoka* (a prefix *agha* and *aka* denote someone/something small, with less value), this was more pronounced especially among the conflicting clans. It made some Renchoka and Nchari at times to fail to explain the proper reasons for their inter-clan fighting and ended up saying that, they did not know what they were fighting for. This was well explained by one respondent from the Nchari clan in a FGD at Korotambe village when she said that:



"...There are people who are prejudiced in these clans. They hate members of other clan simply because they belong to clans, and these are the ones who contribute to inter-clan hostility, hatred and conflicts..."

The statement from the respondent suggest that, within the Kuria clans a person can be killed just because he/she belongs to another clan, which is perceived as the out group and/or rival. This suggests that clan categorization within the Kuria ethnic group has huge contribution on inter-clans prejudice, discrimination and conflicts.

Such segmentation promotes social comparisons and perceptions of conflict or interest that give rise to negative attitudes towards other clans and increase the potential for conflict. Passer and Smith (2008) maintain that categorization of people into groups also lays the foundation for prejudice. It is taken for granted from the outset as the defining criterion of everything that follows (Tajfel, Billing, Bundy & Flament, 2005). It propels individuals down the road to bias and discrimination. Categories can be sufficient to produce differentiation of attitude towards two groups even in the absence of competitive interdependence (Brewer, 1979).

This is contrary to Allport (1954) who reasoned that preferential positivity towards in group does not necessarily imply negative or hostility towards the out groups. However, apart from this critique of in group and out group relations, most contemporary research on inter-group relations, prejudice, and discrimination appear to accept that in group favouritism and out group negativity have reciprocal cause and effect relationship. The study by Brewer (1979) maintained that whether actual or imagined, the perception that an out group constitutes a threat to the in group interest or survival and therefore creates a circumstance in which identification and interdependence with the in group is directly associated with fear and hostility toward the threatening out group.

7. Conclusion

The study examined the impacts of clan categorization on inter-clan conflicts and it has been indicated that clan categorization had a primary contribution on inter-clan prejudice and conflicts. A number of strategies can be used to reduce the perceived inter-clan difference and increases inter-clan cohesion. Among the strategies cooperative rather competitive inter-clan contact may be established to reduce the salient of category identification, as information about individuals will replace category based information. It also important to introduce programmes in the media, seminars which will foster a common inclusive identity "Kuria" across clan groups and replace "us" and "them" syndrome to "we" notion. Furthermore, integrated education where children of different clan groups will be mixed and learn together by so dosing children will learn from each other, reduce inter-clan stereotypes, prejudices and sharpen a common identity among clan members.

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