THE ROLE OF NGOs IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE CATHOLIC JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION IN LELAN DIVISION, WEST POKOT COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION

This project paper is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Philista J. Sang — Date: 20/11/2012

This project paper has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

Signed ---------- Date: 20/11/2012

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Signed ---------- Date: 23.11.2012

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DEDICATION

To The Peoples of the World,
Trapped In the Wheels of Protracted Conflicts

And

Mark Kipyator and the memory of Dorcas Jesang'
The winds beneath my wings
My beacons of hope!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CJPC	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICCO	Interchurch Organization for International Development
ICCP	Institute for integrative conflict transformation and peace building
KEC	Kenya Episcopal Conference
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MAPOD	Marakwet Pokot District Evaluation Tests
NPPBCM	National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management
NCCK	National Council of Churches in Kenya

ABSTRACT

The concept of conflict transformation can be traced back to the writings of Lederach in the 1980s and those of Galtung in the late 1970s.The concept, however, gained much support with the evolution of conceptualization of human security by the international community. The protracted nature of conflicts arising in Kenya has led to the adoption of the conflict transformation approach by NGOs involved in peace building. Studies, however, indicate that NGOs, despite setting out with conflict transformation plans, end up *resolving* and *managing* conflicts; they do not transform conflicts. This has been as a result of the unclear specification of activities that the NGOs are expected to be involved in so as to transform conflicts. This study, therefore, sought to find out the role of NGOs in conflict transformation.

This is a case study of activities by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) in Lelan division, west Pokot County. Data for this study was collected in 2012. The study employed several methods of data collection including focus group discussions with different categories of respondents in Lelan and key informant interviews with officials from CJPC and Lelan.

The findings show that CJPC had been involved in initiation of various peace connector projects in the region and in the formation of youth and women groups. These activities had been instrumental in addressing access to economic resources and raising standards of living in the region. They also served to erode stereotypes and suspicion among Pokot and Marakwet in the region. The study also found out that CJPC was actively involved in facilitating workshops aimed at disseminating knowledge concerning peace building. The organization also incorporated cultural practices and beliefs in its activities.

In order to ensure complete change of attitudes and perceptions towards rival groups, the study recommends that CJPC initiate activities that bring more children on board. This would ensure that their attitudes are shaped towards peaceful coexistence at an early age hence ensuring durable peace. The study also recommends that the current draft national policy on peace building and conflict management (NPPBCM) provide for roles by NGOs and other actors in peace building. This would ensure that the policy is effective in ending conflicts in Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Conflict is defined as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values or goals (Diez et al, 2006). Conflict is not always characterized by violence but it may escalate and result to it. Burton (1990) argues that conflicts can be viewed through human needs and interests. He argues that interests include values, beliefs, ideas, habits and customs while needs include security, identity, recognition, food, shelter, participation, distributive justice and development(Burton 1990:36-38). While interests can be negotiated, needs are pursued by all means possible often leading to violent confrontations. The focus of this study is protracted social conflicts. Azar(1990) defines protracted social conflict as hostile interactions between communities based on deep seated historical hatreds and worsened by opposing needs and interests. Protracted social conflicts persist over long periods of times with frequent outbreaks of violence.

There is consensus that conflicts have multiple consequences on the society. Indeed, violent conflict is considered a major challenge to development today because the human and economic costs of conflicts are huge. Destruction of infrastructure, loss of human life, loss of livelihoods, displacement of people, loss of human relationship and living in constant fear are some of the impacts of conflicts. Further, poverty reduction in countries affected by violence is slower per year compared to peaceful countries (World Bank, 2011:8). In these countries, repeated cycles of conflict have also proven a challenge in achievement of millennium development goals. While the more peaceful parts of the world continue to make progress in poverty reduction, areas experiencing unending conflicts lag far much behind (World Bank, 2011:60).

Overtime, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have come to play a key role in peace building mainly because they are better positioned to establish local infrastructures or peace constituencies comprising people from different sectors whose aim is to attain sustainable peace and whose activities are based on long term commitment to peace. Furthermore, NGOs act as mediators to bring consensus among different conflicting groups with the help of the local community. Also NGOs are expected to mobilize local resources which empower the people in

terms of development and enroll new participants into their activities, especially those that have been excluded before (Aall, 1996). NGOs are expected not to limit their scope of work to mere conflict resolution. but expand their work to address the root causes of conflict and enhance the process of peace building and therefore socio-economic development.

NGOs also tend to have the advantage of familiarity with the local conflict environment. They have close contacts with grassroots movements and, therefore, are better placed to prevent conflicts. They can also play an important role in peace building through the gathering of information in areas of tension and promotion of human rights and prevention of their abuses. Further, they strengthen the social system through the undertaking of small-scale development projects (like the training of local leaders). This means that NGOs are able to aid in the creation of general conditions that enhance peace-building and development. This is through promoting peace among conflicting groups, which include cross-cutting segments of different sectors of civil society involved in the development of sustainable peace (Aall, 1996).

In the recent past, emergence of ethnic and needs-based conflicts such as security, identity and recognition, has led to the emergence of conflict transformation as a strategy for promoting peace. Conflict transformation is itself an approach that aims at achieving positive peace in the society. It is concerned with not only ending violence and changing negative relationships between the conflicting parties but also in changing the political, social and economic structures that cause such negative relationships in the first place (Wormgoor, 2004:52). It is aimed at empowering people to become involved in non-violent change processes while building sustainable conditions for peace and justice and overall development of the society (Wormgoor,2004:49). Viewed this way, therefore, conflict transformation is an approach that seeks to secure sustainable peace and development through prevention of recurrence of conflicts. The process of transformation involves, among other things, capacity building of the communities in conflict (ACTION, 2003:16). This may involve training communities on conflict prevention strategies so that they can prevent violent conflicts; encouraging and providing conducive environment for livelihood diversification; and mobilizing communities to help effect the changes in relationships, behaviors, attitudes and social, political as well as economic

structures. Mobilization of communities is also aimed at creating a collective consciousness that enables, empowers and supports people to act (ACTION, 2003:16).

In the light of the rising importance of conflict transformation, some NGOs have successfully transformed conflicts in many parts of the world. In some cases, there has been success in preventing the outbreak of conflict. In Estonia, for instance, a potential ethnic conflict was averted through cooperated efforts by the civil society and international interveners (Miall, 2004). The initial intervention of transforming the economic context served to change the context in which the conflict would have taken place. Additionally, the introduction of an electoral system that created incentives for inter-ethnic voting resulted in a transition from ethnic politics to a politics of economic and regional interest groups (Miall, 2004:13).Oxfam has recorded a similar success story (Miall, 2004). Through involvement in capacity building and support for indigenous conflict handling capacity, Oxfam has made considerable progress towards sustainable peace in northern Kenya. Their work among the Somali and Borana, Pokot and Turkana saw the formation of local peace committees by women from the affected communities. These groups continue in efforts to prevent and resolve local conflicts in the region (Miall, 2004:14).

In Kenya, protracted conflicts have been frequent especially in the arid and semi-arid areas (Kumssa et al., 2011:7). The pastoralist communities that inhabit these areas depend on livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and camels) for their livelihood. They rely on access to pasture and water, for the survival of their livestock. Such resources are scarce and under increasing pressure raising a need to share amongst the pastoralist's communities. Frequent scarcity of water and pasture often leads to competition that turns violent among pastoralists. Other factors that cause and maintain the conflicts include intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water, land issues, political incitements, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth (Pkalya, 2003:10, Kummsa et al., 2011:143-144).

The contexts of these conflicts have led peace actors to venture into transformative approaches to conflicts. NGOs and other peace actors or agencies that work as facilitators of processes of socioeconomic and political change towards attainment of peace play an important role in adoption of these approaches. NGOs involved in conflict transformation target personal relational and structural dimensions of conflict. It is around these dimensions that activities are designed to promote change towards positive peace. the result of transformation include reduction and finally cessation of protracted social conflicts, a marked change in rivals perceptions and attitudes towards each other and improved access to economic resources in the community. However, there is often a misunderstanding surrounding conflict resolution and conflict transformation. This misunderstanding is traced to the thin line between the two approaches in the literature (Mayer 2000:108, Wallensteen 1991:130). While some scholars differentiate the two, critics of transformation insist that resolution and transformation mean the same thing. NGOs, therefore, are often faced with this challenge of showing this distinction when embarking on transformation projects, especially in determining activities that would lead to conflict transformation as opposed to resolution.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The traditional approach to negotiation in conflicts is based on a 'win-lose' understanding of conflict (Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peace Building, ICCP, 2008). This assumes there is a definite and fixed amount of resources which must somehow be allotted to the conflicting parties in one way or another. The understanding of this win-lose approach is that parties have conflicting goals and interests, and the parties must give in on some of these goals and interests in order for the goals to be compatible with each other. Some of the tactics used in the approach include coercion, threats, concealment, and compromise towards the middle (Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peace Building , ICCP, 2008). These tactics in most cases lead to temporary peace that easily gives way to other conflicts since the underlying issues that caused the conflicts in the first place still exist.

In situations of needs-based conflicts where peace actors have used the traditional approaches to resolve conflicts, there has been a noted recurrence of conflicts. Even in the case of peace negotiations in which agreements are eventually reached, violence has on occasion broken out

again (O'Toole. 1997). On the whole, the complexity of conflicts in the world has been brought about by the emergence of needs based conflicts. Unlike interest based conflicts, where the traditional approaches are more likely to succeed, needs based conflicts are not negotiable.

It is with this understanding, therefore, that the NGOs involved in peace building are expected to focus on conflicts relating to human needs. Conflict transformation is identified as the approach of choice for such peace actors. As noted above, this approach views conflict as a window of opportunity for heralding positive social change. Thus, conflict transformation involves matching specific interventions to a particular conflict at a specific time in order to alter the perceptions, relationships and behaviors of parties involved (Lederach, 1997:83).

The protracted nature of conflicts arising in Kenya has led to the adoption of transformational strategies by NGOs involved in peace building. Studies, however, indicate that NGOs, despite setting out with conflict transformation plans, end up *resolving* and *managing* conflicts; they do not transform conflicts. This has been as a result of the unclear specification of activities that the NGOs are expected to be involved in so as to transform conflicts. With some exceptions, NGOs pay little focus on addressing the real underlying causes of conflict (ICCO, 2010). However, the pastoralist groups of Kenya have witnessed considerable amounts of transformation especially in the economic and cultural dimensions. These changes can be seen in the diversification of livelihoods (like venturing into horticulture) and shifts in the cultural view of cattle rustling and banditry (Pkalya, 2003). These indicators of conflict transformation can be attributed to the work by several peace actors notably NGOs.

Although literature is clear on the types of transformational changes involved at each phase of the conflict cycle (or the conflict spiral for the protracted social conflicts), there is lack of clarity on the role played by peace actors, especially the mid level actors, in transforming conflict. That is, how do peace actors engage in conflict transformation? Specifically, what role do NGOs play in the process of transforming conflicts and what are the results of their interventions? This study seeks to answer these questions by examining the role of CJPC in transforming personal, relational, structural dimensions of conflict in Lelan division of west Pokot County. CJPC is an arm of the Catholic Church and operates in the area as an NGO. The organization has been

involved in peace building in the region since 1989. The study therefore seeks to address the following questions:

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study is, therefore, guided by the following objectives

1) To find out the role played by CJPC in addressing access to social and economic resources by the community
2) To find out ways in which culture has been used to address conflict in the region
3) To find out activities that CJPC has undertaken to change attitudes and perceptions that enhance conflict in the community

1.4 Justification for the Study

Violent conflicts in developing countries have been identified as a major development challenge that needs to be addressed (World Bank, 2011:1). Like many pastoralist communities in Africa, pastoralist communities in Kenya are faced with the challenge of protracted social conflicts. These conflicts have slowed socio-economic development in the arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya where these pastoralists are found (Kumssa et al, 2011:8). Realizing the needs based nature of these conflicts, NGOs are increasingly engaging in programmes that are aimed at transforming the conflicts to bring durable peace to the region.

This study is important because providing information on the strategies and activities engaged in by NGOs in transforming conflicts and their points of cooperation with other actors, enables NGOs to act effectively and efficiently in promoting durable peace. Moreover, this study is expected to add to the growing knowledge on conflict transformation in Kenya in order to promote an understanding of conflict transformation strategies among development agents. This is important in improving the uptake of transformation strategies by the agents thereby ensuring sustainable peace. Recommendations of the study will be useful in informing policy on conflict transformation and peace building and development 1issues in general. This would enable successful implementation of peace building policies and therefore facilitate development in the country.

1.5 Method of Study

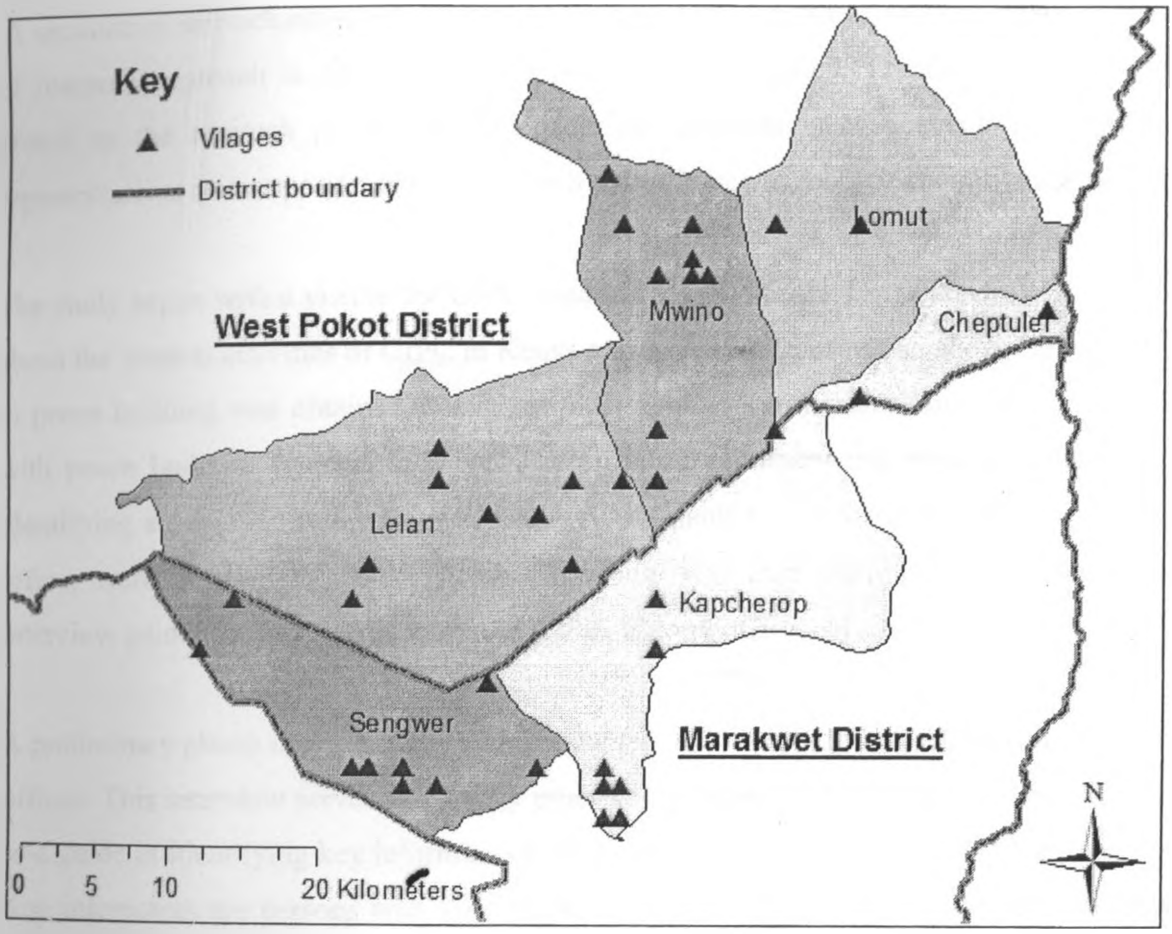
1.5.1 Study Area

The study was carried out in Lelan division of west Pokot county, Rift Valley province, Kenya. The division borders Sigor and Chesegon divisions in West Pokot county and Sengwer, Kapcherop and Cheptulel in Marakwet county. Lelan division is organized into three locations, Kaptabuk, Kapyongen and Lelan. It has a total of 13 sub locations with a total of 33,527 inhabitants. It covers an area of 313.3sq km (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, KNBS, 2009), with a population density of 107 people per square kilometer (see Fig. 3). The majority of the inhabitants are of the Pokot ethnic group.

The division has bimodal type of rainfall with the long rains falling between April and August while the short rains fall between October and February. However, the area experiences high temperatures which lead to immediate evaporation of this rain water. While the larger part of West Pokot County and the neighboring border divisions of Marakwet County are arid and semi arid, Lelan division has fairly adequate rainfall to support mixed farming. The main economic activities in the division are cattle keeping and crop farming. Crops grown include maize, beans, millet and fruits. Despite the potential of the division to support crop farming, there is still underutilization of arable land. Underutilization of the arable areas is caused primarily by inadequate knowledge of crop farming since the inhabitants are pastoralists by nature. Another issue contributing to this is inadequate funds to start off farming activities.

The region is highly marginalized and underdeveloped. Essential infrastructure such as water, livestock market, health, roads and education facilities are either too scarce or poorly provided for to be relied on or totally absent (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2009). According to census reports, only 43 % of the children aged three years and above attend school. Illiteracy levels in the division are still high with children dropping out due to lack of fees. Other development challenges in the division include endemic poverty that has led to over utilization of natural resources to meet basic needs. This has served to strain the fragile ecosystem resulting in soil erosion, siltation and poor crop yields.

The division has had a long history of violent conflicts with the neighbouring Marakwet County. These conflicts have had their root causes in competition over pasture and water. However, relative calm has been witnessed in the division for over a decade. This has been attributed to various factors including the activities of NGOs in peace building. It is with this knowledge that the division was found suitable as a case for the study.



Source: Author (2012)

Fig.1 Map of Lelan Division and Bordering Divisions

1.5.2 Approach to the Study

The study adopted a case study design since it was limited only to activities of CJPC in Lelan division. It involved obtaining detailed contextual views of groups and individuals in Lelan and key informants from CJPC. Punch (1998) states that a case study aims to understand the case in depth in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and context. It also has a holistic focus,

aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case (Punch 1998:150). The choice of a case study therefore allowed for the research to examine the organization and Lelan division in depth. The case study approach also has the advantage of obtaining new insights and emerging issues. The study used an instrumental case study approach. This approach is where a particular case is examined in order to give insight into an issue.

A qualitative research approach was used to collect data. According to Yin (1994:12) the choice of research approach is dictated by the type of questions asked. The three research questions posed by the research pointed towards detailed examination of accounts from both CJCP representatives and respondents from Lelan division, hence the choice of qualitative methods.

The study began with a visit to the CJPC head offices in Nairobi. In the head office, information about the general activities of CJPC in Kenya was gathered. Information about the work of CJPC in peace building was obtained through an interview with a representative from CJPC charged with peace building projects in Nairobi area. This preliminary interview was instrumental in identifying a sampling frame from which key informants to be interviewed from CJPC, Eldoret office, were purposively selected. The interview was also instrumental in construction of interview guides for key informants from CJPC, Eldoret offices.

A preliminary phone interview was then conducted with the peace project coordinator in Eldoret offices. This interview served to identify other key informants in the organization. It also acted as a guide in identifying key informants from Lelan division and the adjacent Sengwer division. Key informants are persons with specialized knowledge on one area of interest, therefore, the selection of the key informants from Lelan and Sengwer was based on their nature of involvement in CJPCs peace building initiatives. Interviews with key informants from Lelan were aimed at gathering data on history of conflicts in the region and shed light on the activities undertaken by CJPC in transforming the conflicts. The initial interview revealed that CJPC had launched a peace project in Lelan in 2003. This information helped the study to put a time frame to the research. The study, therefore, sought to find out the activities by the organization starting from 2003 onwards.

The study then proceeded to select 24 respondents to take place in focus group discussions. These respondents were purposively selected. Purposive sampling was used in selecting all key informants and FGD respondents due to the focus of the study. Punch (1994) argues that the choice of sampling technique 'reflects the purpose and questions guiding the study' (Punch 1994:193). Purposive sampling, therefore, was the most appropriate technique since the research questions required specific focus on CJPC activities in Lelan. This meant that respondents had to be aware about these activities.

FGDs were selected for the study due to their ability to collect rich data in a short time. This worked to the advantage of the research as there was limited time. The respondents were also selected on the basis of their involvement of CJPC activities. Four groups made up of elders (women and men), morans and young women were carried out. These discussions were aimed at gathering data on the various changes attributed to CJPCs involvement in conflict (at social, political and economic levels)

1.5.3 Study Respondents

Data collection was done at the organizational level and at the community level. The target population for this study at the organizational level was the CJPC staff members tasked with peace building projects in Lelan division. At the community level, the respondents comprised twenty four (24) individuals purposively selected from the division to take part in focus group discussion as well as six key informants. The six key informants from the community comprised three village elders from Lelan division and three village elders from Sengwer division. At the organizational level, the respondents comprised staff from CJPC. A sampling frame was prepared and a sample of five (5) cases purposively selected and subjected to in depth interviews.

1.5.3.1 Training of Research Assistants

Two research assistants were recruited to help in data collection. Selection of assistants was based on level of education (had to be university graduate), familiarity with Lelan division, familiarity with Pokot language, familiarity with research procedure. The assistants were trained for two days on basic concept of conflict transformation, note taking skills and facilitation of FGDs. Moreover, the researcher took time to explain the meaning of each question in the FGD

guides. This was important in clarifying the objectives of the research and guard against mistranslation of FGD guides by the research assistants.

1.5.4 Data Sources, Collection and Analysis

The study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data for the research was sourced from key informants from CJPC selected for in-depth analysis, the 24 individuals purposively selected for four focus group discussions and the six key informants from Lelan and Sengwer divisions. Selection of three key informants for Sengwer was mainly for the purposes of confirming the findings at Lelan division. Secondary data was obtained from both published and unpublished work. Published works included books and journals. They also included internet sources. Unpublished work was mainly reports from CJPC, World Vision, and other NGOs working in the region as regards conflict transformation. The study employed a number of data collection methods. These are key informant interviews, use of observation, FGDs and telephone interviews.

1.5.4.1 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were selected due to their ability to collect large amounts of rich data in a relatively short time. Morgan (1988) argues that FGDs take advantage of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group. The group interaction also stimulates people in making explicit their views, perceptions, motives and reasons (Morgan 1988:12). This makes FGDs an attractive option when research is trying to probe those aspects of people's behaviour. Moreover, Punch argues that FGDs are inexpensive, data rich, flexible, memory aiding, cumulative and elaborative (Punch, 1994:177). These strengths made the choice of FGDs suitable for the research. FGDs were held after the interviews with representatives from CJPC so as to flesh out issues that had been identified earlier. Moreover, they were carried out to confirm and to identify other emerging issues.

Each FGD was planned for at least two days in advance with the help of research assistants and key informants from Lelan. The meeting points were in convenient central places for the respondents. Four FGDs were conducted. Each FGD comprised six participants drawn from the

relevant age and gender categories. Thus, there was an FGD each for men and women elders, one for morans and one for young women.

An FGD interview guide directed the focus group discussions under moderation by the researcher. Due to the context of the research, the FGD were semi structured. Data collected from these FGDs included information on respondents knowledge of CJPC or any other NGO involved in addressing conflict in the area, respondents sources of livelihood, issues on access to social and economic recourses, respondents' views on culture as a tool for peace building and/or conflict prevention, respondents' framing and understanding of conflicts afflicting the community, respondents' ability to handle conflict without third party intervention and respondents' view on CJPC in addressing conflict in the region.

Information from the FGDs was tape recorded. The research assistants also took notes of the discussions. These were back up notes in case data from the recordings was to be lost.

1.5.4.2 Key Informant Interviews

Key informants in CJPC were instrumental in providing the general information on the key questions of the research. The informants provided information on the origins of the organization (KI1) and the activities of the organization in pursuit of conflict transformation in Lelan division (KI2, KI3, KI4&KI5). In-depth interviews of key informants from Lelan and Sengwer were used to explore the deeper structure of ideas obtained from FGDs and also verify the ideas presented from the FGDs. These interviews were conducted between July the 27th and August the 11th 2012, soon after the completion of the FGDs. The key informant interviews were semi structured.

1.5.4.3 Telephone Interviews

Two key informants from CJPC (KI2&KI5) and two from Sengwer (KIS4, KIS6) were interviewed through telephone. It was difficult to meet with the Sengwer key informants due to long distances and the researcher opted to carry out telephone interviews. The two informants from CJPC were away during the time of the study and had to be interviewed by phone.

1.5.4.4 Observation

The study made use of observation as a method of data collection. This was mainly for corroborative purposes. Responses for questions regarding relational transformation required observation to determine how the respondents felt about the other group. Observation was also important in the general conducting of the FGDs as it sometimes became necessary to end probing when tension was observed, and consequently steer discussions to other issues.

Secondary data was collected from published and unpublished relevant material to build the literature for this study. Secondary data was also used in designing of the FGD interview guides (appendix 2) and key informant interview guides (appendix 1). Secondary data on conflict transformation was continually referred to during the duration of field work to make sense of findings. This was useful in updating existing data collecting tools, especially key informant guides.

1.5.4.5 Data Analysis

The study employed qualitative data analysis techniques. Analysis of data was done during the actual data collection period. This was done to avoid the challenge associated with qualitative research of having too much data to analyze at the end of the research. Completed interview guides were cross checked and edited while the tape recordings from the FGDs were transcribed. The data was then put in categories according to specific themes and entered into a code book that was developed for thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was used to compare the opinions, experience and perceptions of different social groups concerning the role of CJPC in conflict transformation. The themes were determined by the research questions as well as by any upcoming themes in the research. This was later followed by drawing of conclusions.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

Certain ethical issues were considered in the study. Firstly, the researcher sought consent of every respondent. At the beginning of every interview and FGD, the researcher clearly stated the purpose of research. The respondents were given a chance to ask any questions before consenting to be interviewed. Moreover, participation was voluntary and issues concerning

confidentiality of discussions and recordings were discussed with the participants and adhered to by the researcher.

1.7 Field Challenges

The data collection process was faced with a few challenges. Firstly, the study area was vast with rough terrain. This setback, coupled with the challenge of inadequate transportation facilities slowed down the research process. The main means of transport in the region was motorbikes. Being a rainy season, the motorbikes couldn't easily navigate the mud roads. This challenge was countered through setting aside separate days for travel from those of holding FGDs and key informant interviews. This gave the research team time to arrive at locations.

The second challenge was finding the FGD participants. Being a rainy season, the respondents for the FGDs were often busy in their farms or running their businesses. The FGD comprising women had to be postponed twice for the above reasons. To ensure the remaining FGDs run smoothly, the participants had to be informed at least three days in advance.

The third challenge came with locating of key informants from Sengwer. The distance to be travelled proved too far for the research team. This was solved by conducting telephone interviews with them.

1.8 Summary and Conclusions

The research set out to identify and document the activities that NGOs undertake in transforming conflicts. In this case, the study focuses on the role of CJPC in transforming conflicts in Lelan division, west Pokot. In line with the conflict transformation theory, the study aimed at identifying specific activities at the personal, relational, structural and cultural levels of transformation. The findings of the study are important in informing operational NGOs on conflict transformation strategies. This, it is hoped, will facilitate uptake of conflict transformation by NGOs that have been reluctant to do so due to unclear guidelines on conflict transformation. The findings of the study are also a contribution to the growing literature on peace and development.

The study is organized as follows. Chapter two follows this introductory chapter. The chapter presents a review of the literature and theoretical underpinnings of the study. The literature is reviewed in line with the research objectives. The chapter also includes a discussion on the distinction between conflict transformation, conflict management and conflict resolution and the implications of this distinction for the study. The chapter also presents a discussion on the implications of conflict transformation on development. Chapter three first presents a brief history of CJPC in Kenya. It also presents an overview of programmes of the organization countrywide. The chapter then proceeds with a focus on the history of the organization in Lelan division with a focus on research objective one (interventions aimed at changing attitudes and perceptions that enhance conflict). Chapter four presents findings on transformation at structural and cultural levels. These are findings for research objective two and three. The chapter ends with a brief summary and conclusion of interventions at the two levels. Finally, chapter five presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As noted in chapter one, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have come to play a key role in peace building mainly because they are better positioned to establish local infrastructures or peace constituencies comprising people from different sectors whose aim is to attain sustainable peace and whose activities are based on long term commitment to peace. Conflict transformation has been identified by NGOs as an approach that leads to durable peace in areas previously affected by protracted conflicts. Although literature is clear on the types of transformational changes involved at each dimension of conflict (at personal, relational, structural and cultural dimension) there is lack of clarity on the role played by peace actors, especially the mid level actors, in transforming conflict. There is lack of clarity on how peace actors engage in conflict transformation, especially on the activities engaged in at each level of transformation. This gap forms the basis of this research.

The broad objective of the study, therefore, is to find out the role played by NGOs in the process of transforming conflicts. The study specifically aims at finding out the various activities in which NGOs engage in to change the attitudes and perceptions of groups in conflict, the activities aimed at addressing access to social and economic resources and activities that draw on culture to transform conflicts. This chapter reviews literature on conflict transformation and development. The chapter also presents a review of literature on the distinction between conflict transformation, resolution and management and the implications of this distinction to the study. The chapter ends by a presentation of the theoretical framework underpinning the study.

2.2 Conflict and Development

The security–development nexus concept has gained currency in light of global war on terror. This has seen heightened interest by the international community in interstate conflicts. Weak states pose a security threat to the international system through the cross border transport of terrorism, criminal networks, conflict trade and refugees. Karbo and McCandless (2011) point out that it is because of these destabilizing and threatening situations that the human as well as

the societal costs and consequences of violence and insecurity have gained greater attention (Karbo and McCandless, 2011:237).

Several views regarding the relationship have emerged. One such view is that conflict and development influence each other. On the one hand, conflict is regarded as 'development in reverse' (Collier et al 2003:13). In this view, conflicts use up resources meant for productive economic activities and for public expenditure for social goods that advance development. On the other hand, certain authors are of the view that some instances of war can also bring positive change. They see conflicts as midwives of much needed changes in some contexts, especially when the conflicts are geared towards fighting for human rights (Karbo and McCandless, 2011:236). Yet, some scholars argue that there exists no direct linkage between the two and should therefore be viewed as parallel phenomena. Tschirgi (2003) argues that not all development impact security environment and not all security concerns have implications for development (Tschirgi, 2003:229). However, much of the literature takes a conventional view that widespread insecurity has far reaching and negative impacts on development.

The United Nations recognizes the impact of conflict on development and vice versa. The UNDP human development report of 1999 placed much emphasis on security and development. The report states:

> *'...while underdevelopment may not directly cause violent conflicts, poor social, economic and environmental conditions as well as weak or inefficient political institutions certainly diminish a societies capacity to manage social tensions in a non-violent manner.'(UNDP,1999:7)*

In the World Development report on Conflict and Security (2011), insecurity was cited as the primary development challenge of today. The report estimates that about 1.5 billion people live in areas affected by fragility, conflict or large scale criminal violence (World Bank 2011:1). The report further identifies the intertwined nature of conflict and development and the impact on the achievement of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. According to the report, regions characterized by fragility and conflicts lag far behind in all development indicators (World Bank 2011:5).

Economically, violent conflicts have a number of repercussions for countries. Attempts by countries to contain violence are always costly, further straining the countries financial resources. Moreover, efforts by households and firms to protect themselves against the uncertainties of violence come with heavy economic burdens (World Bank, 2011:5). Furthermore, trade is often disrupted by violent conflicts. The fear of conflicts also drives away local and international investors. It is estimated that trade levels after major violent conflicts take about twenty years to recover, thereby wiping out years of economic progress(World Bank 2011:6).The ripple effects of conflicts are often felt by neighbouring countries and neighbouring regions. According to the World Development Report, countries near war torn zones lose a substantial amount of GDP every year for each neighbor in conflict. It is estimated that the average economic cost of civil war is equivalent to more than 30 years of GDP growth for a medium size developing country (World Bank 2011: 6). Also, in host countries, concentration of refugees may exacerbate environmental problems over use of land and water. This could cause further violent conflicts (Jacobsen, 2002).

Socially, death and loss of livelihoods are the major impacts of violent conflicts. People in war torn countries live in constant fear and are traumatized by the conflicts. In severe situations of prolonged conflicts, the risk of socialization of violent behavior is high. This is especially true for children who witness abuses during the war. Staub et al (2005) argue that the psychological impacts of war on individuals, and especially children, are enormous. They point out that for children, their identity, their way of understanding the world and their spirituality is disrupted. This further spreads to affect their relationships with others and their ability to regulate their emotions (Staub et al 2005:299).

Other social impacts include forced migration, poor sanitation resulting in disease outbreaks (Gomez and Asger, 2010), disability from injury, food insecurity and marked increase in poverty levels. In cases of forced migration or loss of family members, social networks (including insurance mechanisms) are lost. People find themselves in new environments making survival difficult for them (Karbo and McCandless, 2011). Moreover, human rights are mostly violated during violent conflicts. These violations may include the more visible acts like excessive use of force by police, rape, executions, torture, disappearance and censorships. The violations may

also include the destruction of infrastructure such as schools and health facilities impacting negatively on the social and economic rights (Dudouet and Schmelzle, 2010:19-20).

According to McCannan and Pearlman (1990) people feel vulnerable in situations of protracted conflicts. They argue that for them, the world looks dangerous and other people, especially those outside their group seem untrustworthy. This argument is further corroborated by Staub (1998) who argues that the sense of vulnerability and the perception of other people and the world as dangerous increase the likelihood that without corrective experiences, victims of these conflicts easily become perpetrators. They are likely to be sensitive to new threat. Moreover, when conflict with another group arises, it may be difficult for them to take the perspective of the other and consider the others needs. Staub and Perlman (2001) further argue that in response to new conflict, they may resolve to violence believing that they need to defend themselves even when violent self defense is not necessary at that moment (Staub and Pearlman,2001).

The impacts of violent conflicts on development are on the whole devastating. However, conflicts are part of social life and cannot be completely eradicated. As long as people interact, there is bound to be conflict. These conflicts can be viewed as opportunities for positive change in society. Identification of their root causes proves useful in addressing socioeconomic issues that hold back development.

2.2.1 Conflict Transformation and Development

Through securing durable peace, conflict transformation aims at shaping the negative impacts of conflict on development towards positive change. The general outcomes of transformation include reduction of human rights abuses, improved living conditions and earning conditions of community, reduction of incidences of violence and social exclusion, community being empowered enough to monitor and resolve conflicts before they escalate without the help of a third party, pacification of political life, increase of recreational activities and participation in them by people from different ethnic, religious, age and gender groups , equal access to basic services by all people especially those services where access was politicized before(Interchurch Organization for International Development(ICCO),2006:13).

These outcomes have implications for social, political and economic development. In peaceful situations, the productiveness of an economy is optimized. This is through the optimal input by the labour force as well as the gains made in trade. Local and international investments are also likely to thrive in peaceful regions. Moreover, resources previously used in conflict are channeled back to development projects (Alava, 2010:29).

When conflicts are transformed, various characteristics and manifestations of that conflict are altered through addressing the root causes (Austin et al, 2004:464). This alteration is expected to occur at the structural, personal, relational and cultural aspects of the conflict. Transformation understands social conflict as evolving from, and producing changes in, the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions of human experience. It, therefore, seeks to promote constructive processes within each of these dimensions. Social change, therefore, is central in conflict transformation.

Bloomfield et al point out that change is categorized into that which produces conflict (conflict formation), changes which worsen an existing conflict (conflict escalation), change that reduces conflict (conflict mitigation) and change that produces solution to the conflict (conflict transformation). For peace actors, therefore, knowledge of this categorization inform of when and how best to act in situations of conflict (Bloomfield et al. 2006:32-33). In protracted conflicts, this categorization would be helpful in determining the points at which the opposing groups are likely to be most receptive to suggestions about the alternative non-violent methods of reaching their goals and entering into new productive relationships with their opponents. This categorization of change is also useful in distinguishing those factors in a conflict that are tractable and therefore more likely to be pursued with good results by peace actors from those that are intractable and therefore not advisable to pursue. A clear understanding of the dynamics of conflict formation and perpetuation has implications for methods of resolving and transforming them.

Conflict transformation provides a platform on which development can be steered. This is through the gradual shaping of social changes that produce conflicts into changes that facilitate

peaceful processes. Like social change, conflict transformation takes many years. It is a continuous process and therefore strategies aimed at transformation are generally long term.

2.2.2 Conflict Resolution, Management and Transformation: The Distinction

Mitchell (2002) defines conflict resolution as interventions aimed at alleviating or eliminating discord through conciliation. Conflict resolution work is generally geared towards developing and using a range of alternative approaches for handling conflict. The methods may include customary or traditional methods, negotiation and mediation. In conflict resolution, it is assumed that an acceptable and durable solution to the issues in a conflict has been reached by the adversaries, possibly with some assistance from a third party (Mitchell, 2002:2).

Conflict management, on the other hand, is defined by Bercovich (2009) as the practice of identifying and handling conflict in a sensible, fair, and efficient manner (Bercovich, 2009). Conflict management requires such skills as effective communication, problem solving, and negotiating with a focus on *interests.* It is a systematic process that is geared towards finding *mutually satisfying outcomes.* The ultimate purpose of conflict management is to reduce the incidence of dysfunctional conflict or conflict that hinders group performance, and to increase the likelihood that any conflicts that take place will be resolved efficiently and effectively (Bercovich et al, 2009).

On the other hand, conflict transformation is viewed as a holistic and multifaceted process of engaging with conflict as a long term strategy towards attainment of sustainable peace (ACTION, 2003). This approach identifies conflict as caused by as well as causing changes in political, social and economic structures. These levels of analysis, when combined, represent all aspects of the conflict. Lederach (2003) argues that unlike traditional conceptions of conflict resolution, conflict transformation enables the complexity of conflict to be adequately addressed. Therefore, in order to build peace, conflict transformation approach emphasizes the need for interventions to focus on these structures. Thus, the approach focuses on empowerment and mutual recognition, along with interdependence, justice, forgiveness, and reconciliation. (Lederach, 2003:83). The process of transformation involves capacity building of the communities in conflict. This can be through training on conflict prevention strategies so that they can prevent violent conflicts. The process involves encouraging and providing conducive

environment for livelihood diversification, community mobilization to help effect the changes in relationships, behaviors, attitudes and structures for social, political and economic transformation. Mobilization is aimed at creating a collective consciousness that enables, empowers and supports people to act (ACTION, 2003).

Conflict resolution and conflict management differ from conflict transformation in focus, purpose, process involved, time frame and view of conflict. Conflict resolution is mainly concerned with how to end conflict. The main purpose of the resolution is to achieve an agreement and solution to the present problem creating conflict. Moreover, the resolution perspective offers short term solutions to conflict. This has seen the recurrence of conflict soon after resolution since it does not address the political, social and economic structures that cause the conflicts in the first place. On the other hand conflict management focuses on the technical and practical side of peacemaking. It tends to ignore the cultural and relational issues. Both conflict resolution and management tend to focus on interests and often involve the continuation of injustices that triggered conflict in the first place.

Conflict transformation, on the other hand, places emphasis on the importance of considering human needs in any peace building process. For transformation, needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained. It is for these reasons that conflict transformation is suited for peace building in areas where needs based conflicts persist. Fundamental human needs play a major role in the development and maintenance of protracted social conflicts. John Burton (1990), a renowned conflict theorist, identifies these needs as identity, security, recognition and equal participation within the society. When these needs are threatened, protracted conflicts are inevitable (Burton, 1990). The only way, therefore, to resolve such conflicts is by identification of the needs that are threatened or denied, and restructuring relationships and/or the social system in a way that protects those needs for all individuals and groups. Thus, conflict transformation process is viewed as well-equipped to end such protracted conflicts.

2.2.3 Change and Conflict Formation

Change, especially the extensive and sudden one, is cited as a major source of social conflict. While some of these conflicts may eventually come to an end, certain variables may render them

protracted and violent. Olson (1963) suggests economic development as one such variable. For Olson, economic development may produce instability as opposed to the desired stability. The reason for this is that the proceeds from economic growth would almost certainly be unequally distributed. Many individuals and groups including those previously influential would become marginalized through such change. Such sudden economic change when not managed leads to protracted social conflicts (Olson, 1963; Thomas and Benns,1972). In changes brought about by economic development, there is bound to be winners and losers. Winners in most cases are expected to be content with the outcomes. However, in some cases, the winners might be discontented if they feel that they did not win enough. The winners may then start resisting change in favour of restoration of the status quo .Furthermore, the previously well off groups resist change when it is viewed as threatening their resources, status or political influence (Galtung,1964). Those promoting change and those resisting it find themselves in unending cycle of conflict over power, status and wealth.

Similarly, discontent arising from a growing gap between desired achievements and aspirations and the actual reality (dreams versus reality) is expected to lead to social conflicts (Gurr, 1970, Davies, 1962). Key changes consisting of people's beliefs about future achievements and entitlements, which are then disrupted suddenly in their actual achievements, may lead to conflict. Sometimes, peoples aspirations soar because of contact with visions of richer societies or due to promises by political leaders, but they find themselves in the same unchanged reality. The central feature in the dream versus reality model involves change and the contribution of various types of change to conflict formation. In transforming such conflicts, therefore, it is important to look at social change characterized by gaps between dream and reality as a potential source of conflict.

Another view is that apart from economic development and dreams versus reality, the issue of scarcity also causes social conflict. In this scenario, opposing sides get into conflicts over some good that is in limited supply which both perceive they cannot simultaneously own or enjoy (for example land, pasture, oil, water). Scarcity models of conflict formation assume change in demand for good in dispute or change in availability of good in dispute. When goods change and become scarcer, there is greater goal incompatibility hence protracted social conflict. (Dixon,

1994; Gurr, 1970: 47). Most protracted conflicts in Africa can be explained using the scarcity models. The changes in availability of resources like land and water and the changes in demand arising from population pressure create situations of formation of intense conflicts that are often intractable (Gleich, 1993).

On the flip side, a change towards the direction of abundance of resources could also cause conflicts. Communities may have challenges in appropriate use of suddenly expanded resources. Conflicts then emerge over who gets what, when and how. That is, politics over access to and control of the resources emerge.

Galtung (1964) further suggests that distribution of political, economic and social goods often gives rise to conflicts. A situation of good incompatibility then arises with regard to this distribution. This incompatibility influences the *behavior* of conflicting parties (change from peaceful to conflict behavior) and a consequent change in *perceptions* and *attitudes* regarding the 'us' and 'them' (Bloomfield et al. 2006:20). In turn, behavior affects attitudes (for instance being the target of violence affect the psychological state and causes one to retaliate) attitudes affect behavior (for instance through attacking the enemy, one justifies his actions and in turn intensifies the attacks). On the whole, the underlying structures are affected in one way or another.

These four types of changes in underlying structure, in behavior, in attitudes and in situations are important in understanding conflict dynamics. These changes will have an impact on formation, escalation, mitigation and transformation of protracted conflict. Once a conflict is formed, a series of changes take place within it.

Pruitt and Kim (2004) point out that escalation of protracted conflict can be traced to five dynamics. These are mobilization, enlargement, polarization, dissociation and entrapment (Pruitt and Kim, 2004:67). In the mobilization stage, the conflicting groups devote all their resources and efforts to the conflict with an aim of defending their interests (Pruitt and Kim, 2004). The process of enlargement involves pulling in of other parties to the conflict. The parties that are pulled in could be looking to gain from the conflict and therefore support a particular side.

Polarization includes widening of the issues on which parties come to confront one another beyond the initial goal clash that led to the conflict in the first place. Dissociation involves the declining frequency of physical contact between adversaries. Dissociation leads to communication breakdown between the two groups. Most communication channels are closed. As a result of dissociation, the conflicting parties become entrapped in the conflict. Entrapment is a process in which parties in a conflict, for fear of losing face, become trapped in a course of action that involves the continuation of conflict. Apart from saving face, the conflicting parties may want to keep up with the conflicts in order to recover costs or minimize loss by going on to win (Pruitt and Kim, 2004:67; Zartman, 1985).

Conflict transformation is concerned with how these five basic dynamics that change conflicts in the direction of escalation can be de-escalated. Therefore, mobilization, enlargement, polarization, dissociation and entrapment can be reversed to demobilization or demilitarization, disengagement (removal of parties not initially involved in the conflict), de-commitment (reversal of entrapment process) and re-communication. For each dynamic that escalates conflict, there should be another which ameliorates it (Bloomfield et al. 2006:24).

2.3 Pillars of Conflict Transformation

The concept of conflict transformation can be traced back to the writings of Lederach in the 1980s and those of Galtung in the late 1970s.The concept, however, gained much support with the evolution of conceptualization of human security by the international community. This evolution was marked by a shift from state-centered to people-centered policies in security. This shift saw the definition of human security move from a mere absence of insecurity and threats to include security from fear, that is, physical, sexual, psychological, violence, death and security from want ,that is, gainful employment, food and health(Tadjbakhsh, 2005).

Tadjbakhsh(2005) further points out that the re-emergence of violent conflicts in areas such as Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor and Afghanistan, where it was hoped to have been successfully resolved, called for a new way of thinking about conflict and successful peace building. This heralded support for more transformative strategies towards conflict and peace building (Tadjbakhsh, 2005). It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been emergence of a variety of

peace actors both at international, national and grassroots levels. In the academic and policy making circles, there arose a need to analyze the root causes of conflict as a way to prevent the recurrence of violent conflicts. This has been the focus of conflict transformation

As noted earlier, conflict transformation views change as causing and caused by social conflicts. The cultural, structural, relational and personal changes that cause the conflict and result from conflicts are therefore key points of reference in the transformation process. The goals of transformation are tied to these changes. At the personal level, the goal of transformation is to maximize the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels. At the relational level, the goal is to enhance communication among groups and also enhance understanding of the 'other'. At the structural level, the goal is to identify the root causes of conflict (social, political, economic) and in turn foster structures that promote justice and the meeting of basic human needs and public participation. At the cultural level, transformation aims at understanding the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict and at the same time identify cultural resources for constructively handling conflict (Galtung, 1995; Kumssa et al, 2011:83).The transformation process in the long run is expected to result in transformation at the personal, relational and structural levels. In other cases, the cultural level is also transformed.

2.3.1 The Personal Dimension

Transforming persons by definition involves changing the parties involved in the conflict (Mitchell, 2002). While personal change may seem difficult, Bush and Folger (1996) argue that in properly conducted initiatives, it is the parties themselves who become transformed so that the major changes are seen in the individuals directly involved in the conflict. For these theorists, identifiable transformational effects are brought about by a process which can strengthen people's capacity 'to analyze situations and make effective decisions and to consider the perspectives of the other' (Bush and Folger, 1996:264). The process of transformation, therefore, is expected to help people to deal with difficult circumstances and bridge their differences in the midst of conflict. Moreover, transformation is expected to generate empowerment and recognition. Empowerment here means the restoration to individuals a sense of their own value, their strength and their capacity to handle life's challenges. Recognition means the

acknowledgement and empathy for the situation and problems of the rival group (Bush and Folger, 1996:2). Furthermore, transformative mediation allows parties to define their own challenges and goals thus validating the importance of these goals and challenges in their lives (Mitchell, 2002).

At the personal level, therefore, transformation is characterized by change in peoples framing and understanding of issues in conflict. It also involves acknowledging the legitimacy of the other party and gaining a sense of capability in confronting the search for durable solution to the conflict. It is also characterized by a willingness to include other previously excluded parties like women in the search for durable peace.

At this level, major areas to be transformed include attitudes, perceptions and behaviours of individuals. Allport (1935) defines an attitude as a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence on the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related (Allport, 1935:798). Attitudes comprise persons' personality, beliefs, values, behaviours and motivations. Attitudes are formed over a lifetime through an individual's socialization process. An individual's socialization process includes his or her formation of values and beliefs during childhood years, influenced not only by family, religion, and culture but also by socioeconomic factors. Pickens (2005) argues that attitudes enable people to define how they see situations as well as how they behave towards the situation or towards the object. Attitudes, therefore, comprise feelings, thoughts and actions. Attitudes are formed through learning and modeling others. They are also formed through experiences with people and situations. Attitudes influence decision making and guide behaviour. Pickens (2005) further argues that since attitudes are learned, they can be unlearned. This is through acquisition of new information (Pickens, 2005:52-54). For peace actors, this would involve the challenging of peoples beliefs through provision of new information, especially about the rival group. Attitude transformation takes time, effort, and determination, but it can be done. It is important not to expect to change a person's attitudes quickly.

On the other hand, Lindsay and Norman (1977) argue that perception is closely related to attitudes. They define perception as the process by which people interpret and organize sensation

to produce a meaningful experience of the world (Lindsay & Norman, 1977). In other words, a person is confronted with a situation or stimuli, the person interprets the stimuli into something meaningful to him or her based on prior experiences. In relation to people, perception is simply how one 'sees' others or situations. However, what an individual interprets or perceives may be substantially different from reality. Peace actors therefore get involved in making reality known to parties in conflict.

Transformation at the persona level therefore means shaping of people's attitudes and perceptions. This would be important in eventually redirecting people behaviour towards enabling conditions that support durable peace.

2.3.2 The Relational Dimension

Relationships form the basis of conflict and its long-term solution (Lederach, 1997:26). Conflict transformation involves the changing of relationships between adversaries. Adam Curle advocates for the need for parties to move from *unpeaceful* to peaceful relationships (Curle, 1971:15). Curle defines *unpeaceful* relationships as those which impede all round human development and which are characterized by unbalanced power relationships and inequality in the level of awareness about the actual degree of incompatibility in their interest and objectives. Peaceful relationships, on the other hand, are those which involve active association, cooperation and mutual effort to resolve potential conflict. In this kind of relationship, there is mutual assistance, understanding and collaboration (Curle, 1971:15-16). Echoing this peaceful relationship, Assefa (1993) argues that there is need for community to move from a social order based upon hierarchy and coercion to one based upon equality, respect, participation (Assefa 1993:7).

At the relational dimension, the first steps towards transformation involve forgiveness and reconciliation. Staub et al (2005:301) define reconciliation as mutual acceptance by members of formerly hostile groups of each other. Such acceptance includes not only positive attitudes, but also positive actions that express them (Staub & Pearlman, 2001). They further argue that although structures and institutions that promote and serve reconciliation are important, reconciliation must include a changed psychological orientation toward the other. Forgiveness,

on the other hand is defined by McCullough et al (2003) as the act of letting go of anger and the desire for revenge. Forgiveness helps in diminishing the pain that results from victimization. McCullough et al(3003) further point out that the definition of forgiving usually includes the development of a more positive attitude toward the other and therefore reconciliation and forgiveness are clearly connected (McCullough, Fincham,& Tsang,2003).

2.3.3 The Structural Dimension

This dimension links conflicts to political, economic and social structures in the community. At this level, therefore, peace actors are involved in promotion of nonviolent mechanisms that reduce adversarial interaction and minimize violence. Changes in these structures are aimed at fostering structures that meet basic human needs and maximize people's participation in decisions that affect them (Lederach, 1997).

Transformation of social, political and economic structures is viewed as a prerequisite for durable peace. Rupesinghe (1995) argues that there are two ways of thinking about conflict transformation. The first involves the need for sustainable structural and attitudinal changes within society and new institutions to address outstanding issues. The second advocates for the building and/or revival of indigenous political, social and economic mechanisms and attitudes which militate against the use of violence to resolve conflicts (Rupesinghe, 1995:76)

2.3.4 The Cultural Dimension

The cultural dimension refers to the ways that conflict changes the patterns of group life as well as the ways that culture affects communities ability to handle and respond to conflict. Transformation seeks to understand how conflict affects and changes cultural patterns of a group and how those accumulated and shared patterns affect the way people in a given context understand and respond to conflict. Lederach (1997) suggests that transformation at this level involves the identification of cultural patterns that contribute to violence in a given context and build on existing cultural resources and mechanisms for handling conflict (Lederach, 1997).

Osei-Hwedie et al (2009) further argue that the material base for conflicts is often intertwined with the cultural base. This, therefore, means that the search for durable peace requires an

understanding of those positive and genuine aspects of culture that determine how individuals, families and groups(ethnic, clan) in the society perceive themselves and others(Osei-Hwedie et al 2009:1)

From the above dimensions of conflict transformation, certain key principles of transformation are suggested. One, conflict should not be regarded as an isolated event that can be resolved or managed but as integral part of society's ongoing evolution and development. Two, conflict should not be understood solely as an inherently negative and destructive occurrence, but rather as a potentially positive and productive force for change if harnessed constructively. Three, conflict transformation goes beyond merely seeking to contain and manage conflict, instead seeking to transform the root causes themselves of a particular conflict. Thus, it is viewed as a long-term, gradual and complex process, requiring sustained engagement and interaction. Conflict transformation is particularly suited for intractable conflicts, where deep-rooted issues fuel protracted violence (ACTION, 2004).

2.4 The Conflict Cycle and Conflict Transformation

The conflict cycle is central in determining when and how interventions aimed at conflict transformation should be carried out. Different types of actions and interventions are considered appropriate at different stages of conflict. The life cycle of conflicts are marked by five stages: pre-conflict, confrontation, crisis, outcome and post conflict stages (Simon et al. 2000:19).

At the pre-conflict stage, the conflict is hidden from the general view. There is tension in the relationships and marked desire to avoid contact with each other among opposing groups. At this stage of conflict, appropriate transformative action would be to promote rights of individuals and groups and to promote use of both traditional and modern systems of justice to deal fairly with new disputes as they arise.

In the event of conflicts escalating to the confrontation stage (stage of open violence, relationships between sides becoming very strained) different actions will be taken by peace actors according to the situation at hand. Peace actors engaged in conflict transformation may monitor occurrences of conflicts as an early warning of possible crisis. The peace actor may also

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promote rapid response teams to quickly investigate reported incidences of violence and resolve them quickly. The organization at this stage should raise awareness and conscientize community on the situation at hand. This is aimed at easing tension and possibly breaking the conflict cycle.

At the crisis stage, the conflict is most intense. Communication between sides has probably ceased. The peace actors organize for dialogue and demonstration for peace as opposed to war.

The outcome stage is characterized by either a call for ceasefire, or one side surrenders. At this stage peace agreements are signed and investigation could be carried out by elders to uncover the root causes of conflict. This is aimed at preventing recurrence of conflicts. There is also mobilization and participation of all stakeholder groups in peace and development committees.

At the post conflict stage, there is decrease in tension. At this stage, issues that led to the conflict should be adequately addressed to avoid recurrence of conflict (Simon et al. 2000:19). At this stage, community peace festivals could be organized, training and employment projects could be set up (to address economic issues), peace education rolled out for schools and raising awareness of and changing prejudices of groups in communities.

There are no specific interventions for specific stages in conflict transformation. Peace actors are expected to us their judgment and demonstrate creativity in coming up with interventions, putting the context of the conflict into consideration. No single conflict is the same as another (ACTION 2003:9).

Embedded in the conflict cycle are the *attitudes* and *behaviour* of the groups involved. Each group or community has desired goals. However, once these goals clash, a situation of *goal incompatibility* arises. This means that each group fights to meet their goal at the expense of the 'other' through the process of exclusion. It is this incompatibility that gives rise to *contradictions* or issues on which conflicts will be born. Once these contradictions arise, the group that is excluded gets frustrated and inwardly develop attitudes of hatred, distrust, prejudice, intolerance and a sense of competition for resources. Outwardly, this frustration is marked by physical violence towards the rival with an aim of destroying. The violence in turn breeds a spiral of

counter-violence and revenge. The relationship between attitude, behaviour and contradiction (goal incompatibility) is shown in Fig 1.

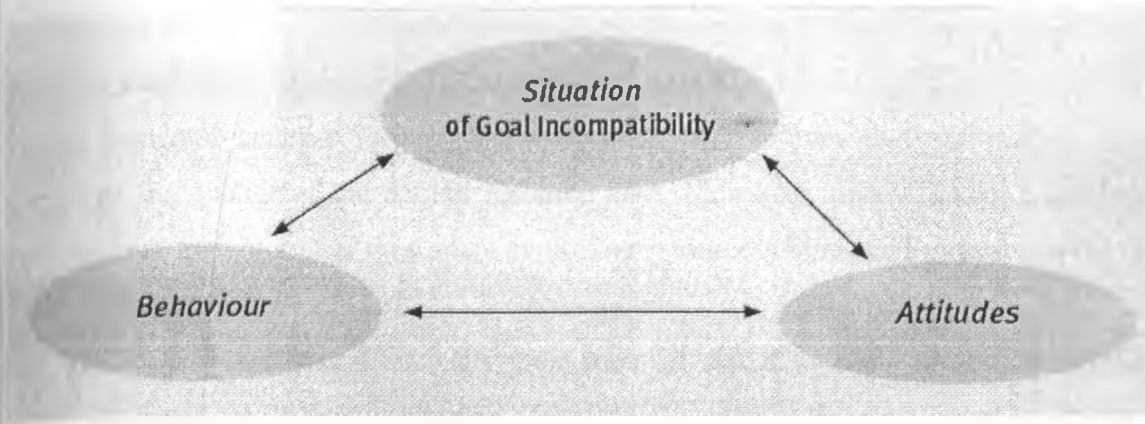


Fig. 2 Adapted from Galtung, 2000

2.5 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Transformation

A livelihood comprises capabilities, assets (material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Ellis, 1998; Chambers and Conway, 1992:7). Livelihood diversification, therefore, is defined as the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of household activities and assets in order to survive or to improve their living standards(Ellis 2000:15). In this definition, assets are taken to mean physical capital (these include basic infrastructure like roads, schools), human capital (like education and skills, general health), social capital (these include the various associations to which a person belongs, social networks), financial capital (this category includes substitutes like livestock) and natural capital (this is the natural resource base like land, soil, forests).

Access to these assets is one of the determinants of diversifying livelihoods. People with access to more of these assets have more livelihood options than people with limited access to the assets. This means that they can better pursue their goals and improve their standards of living. Livelihood diversification is often a risk spreading strategy for households (Adger et al, 2003). In recent times, livelihood diversification is increasingly becoming a vital strategy of rural livelihood systems in developing countries(Niehof, 2004; Ellis, 2000).Population growth coupled with the impacts of climate change on already fragile ecosystems has become a major threat to

rural households in these countries. This situation is worsened in arid and semi arid lands (Swift and Hamilton, 2001).

Besides risk reduction, livelihood diversification also results in higher incomes for households. This is through making use of available resources and skills. Livelihood diversification also leads to environmental benefits through the generation of resources that are in turn invested in improving the quality of the natural resource base. Moreover, diversification provides options that minimize the amount of time spent exploiting resources (Ellis and Freeman, 2005).

Protracted social conflicts often have their roots in denial of basic needs. Diversification of livelihoods provides an avenue through which these needs can be met without exclusion of other parties. Through the creation of enabling environments for diversification, therefore, NGOs contribute to the transformation of these types of conflicts. This is mainly through facilitating the conflicting parties to improve their assets and to make use of those assets effectively (Ellis, 1999). This facilitation could be through development of human capital, through development of infrastructure, through credit and through targeting and safety nets.

Livelihood diversification strategies are integral in addressing situations of resource based conflicts. Such conflicts are transformed through engaging in activities that diverge from the usual sources of livelihoods.

2.6 The Role of NGOs in Transforming Conflict

The changing nature of conflicts has led to a shift in the kind of activities in which NGOs get involved in. Initially, NGOs concerned themselves with relief activities in times of calamities. In situations of violent conflicts, for instance, NGOs were previously tasked with delivering relief supplies to the victims of war.post cold war, the environment in which NGOs found themselves operating in has continued to be characterized by fundamental changes in the nature of conflict. Previous Conflicts occasioned by the cold war ideological clashes were replaced by interstate racial, religious, ethnic and tribal rivalries (Aall, 1996:5).

Broadly. NGOs are categorized according to their functions. These activities fall under direct operations (operational NGOs) and advocacy activities (advocacy NGOs). The activities of operational NGOs include humanitarian relief and conflict resolution .as mentioned earlier, the changing nature of conflicts and other problems associated with humanitarian issues has led operational NGOs into assuming new roles. These roles are identified as: human rights monitoring, relief work, conflict resolution activities and early warning functions.

Each of these roles requires specific skill development by the NGO's. The conflict resolution activities and early warning activities are relatively new and more demanding for operational NGOs. Moreover, the preference of conflict transformation by the international community has led to further urgency in developing the necessary capacity for operational NGOs. Conflict transformation approaches have seen NGOs get involved in empowerment activities. In this approach the NGOs focus on providing services to help change the attitudes and institutions of people involved in conflict as a means of preventing further occurrences of conflict. Activities that would fall into this category are trauma counseling, spiritual healing, reforming local institutions to span groups in conflict, rebuilding the local economy, seeking justice and retribution, and building local capacity (Aall, 1996).

2.6.1 Challenges Faced By NGOs in Conflict Transformation

When engaged in conflict transformation, peace actors are often faced with the challenge of how best to work effectively with interventions occurring at other tracks (Miall, 2004:15). In most cases, actors in the various tracks act at cross purposes. This situation is attributed to the difference in paradigms. Government actors for instance are more likely to use coercive approaches towards conflict while an NGO may want to use non-violent conflict transformation approaches. (Aall, 1996:11-12)

Human rights issues are often at the center of conflicts. However, the overt instances of human rights violations are only symptoms of the actual violations. For peace actors, the challenge is to deal with the symptoms while keeping in mind the larger structural conditions to be addressed. (Dudouet and Schmelzel, 2010:25). Many rights focused activities in conflicts tend to be symptom oriented. For instance handling complaints of human right violations and monitoring

abuses. As such, peace actors run the risk of disregarding the root causes of human right violations.

Conflict transformation is a very slow process with turning points followed by sticky points. This is a challenge when it comes to the evaluation of individual measures. Inability to evaluate interventions acts as a disincentive thereby slowing down the efforts to transform conflicts. The process involved in transforming social, political and economic structures is complex. Each level of interventions requires specific activities. However, the process of intervention is said to occur simultaneously. Therefore for the process to be successful, a fair level of integration of activities is required. In an analysis of conflict in Burundi, Lund et al (1998) identify the challenges encountered by NGOs in transforming conflicts. These challenges were linked to lack of knowledge in the activities required in the structural transformation. A similar study by Wamgoor (2004) regarding projects by NGOs attached to ICCO in various conflict prone areas found only a few with marks of conflict transformation. The study found that most interventions stopped at conflict resolution. The aspect that was missing most is that most organizations only focused on working on attitudes and relations rather than working on both attitudes and the underlying structures of the conflict.

Auvinen and Kivimaki (1997) echo the same concern in their comprehensive case study analyses of conflict transformation. Moreover, the analyses focus on the roles of NGOs in conflict transformation and point out that there is need for well documented case studies as pertaining the processes and activities in conflict transformation. This, they say, will be instrumental in designing long term strategies.

Studies on South Africa's truth, justice and reconciliation commission are supportive of the need to explore post conflict transformation in a bid to have positive social change (Graybill 2002, Villa-Visero et al 2000). These studies identify NGOs as playing a key role in conflict transformation process. However, there is need to document the kind of activities that NGOs engage in so as to realize conflict transformation.

In summary, conflict transformation relies primarily on the identification of the various social changes that lead to conflict formation. These changes can produce, worsen or reduce conflict. For conflicts to be transformed, therefore, the understanding of these changes informs on when and how best to act. The changes that occur at the structural, behavioural and attitudinal levels are especially key in transforming conflicts.

The dynamic nature of contemporary conflicts has led NGOs to introduce conflict transformation approaches in their operations. In transforming conflicts, NGOs are faced with a number of challenges ranging from cooperation with other tracks, the challenge of evaluating outcomes of strategies to challenges involving capacity building and skills training. Combined, these challenges have at worst led to the reluctance of NGOs in embracing conflict transformation and at best led to recurrence of conflicts in areas where it was believed to have been transformed. Although success stories have been recorded involving NGOs and conflict transformation, this information is still scanty in the literature.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

From the literature, the transformation approach clearly relies on societal change at all levels. Societal change is linked to the formation, escalation and reduction of conflict. Understanding social conflict is, therefore, important in determining the interventions necessary for transforming them. Some of the sources of conflict cited include economic changes, changes surrounding abundance and scarcity of resources and changes concerning social dreams versus the reality. Consequently, these changes result in a marked change in behavior, attitudes and perceptions of the conflicting parties. In turn, behavior, attitudes and perceptions influence the political, economic and social structures to form social conflict.

Once these conflicts are formed, they undergo series of changes that are marked by escalation and reduction. For protracted and intractable social conflicts, the cycle of conflict is marked by a continuous spiral that is difficult to interrupt or break. For such conflicts, therefore, peace actors are expected to intervene at each level of change towards transforming them and facilitating durable peace. Diversification of livelihoods is also noted as chief in transforming needs based conflicts. To further explain this, the study adopts the Theory of Conflict Transformation

2.7.1 Theory of Conflict Transformation

The contributors to this theory include Johan Galtung (1996), Lederach (1997), Azar (1990) and Vayrynen (1991). These theorists draw on a variety of concepts borrowed from other schools. Contributing to the theory, Galtung suggests that conflicts have both life affirming and life destroying aspects. Conflicts emerge from contradictions in the structures in society and become manifested in *attitudes* and *behavior.* Once the conflicts are formed, they undergo a series of transformational processes: polarization or depolarization, escalation or de-escalation, association or dissociation, complexification or simplification (Galtung, 1996:90).

Azars'(1990) work on protracted social conflicts further builds the conflict transformation theory. His work on conflict formation and conflict maintenance has been instrumental in developing the conflict transformation theory. His main argument is that protracted social conflicts are rooted in denial of basic needs and that it is this denial that maintains the conflicts (Azar, 1990). Other theorists of conflict formation like Olson (1963) Thomas and Benns (1972) and Gurr (1970) have also contributed to the theory of conflict transformation through their scarcity and economic development models. The scarcity model is based on the premises that opposing sides get into conflicts over some good that is in limited supply which both perceive they cannot own or enjoy simultaneously. The assumption is that when goods change towards the direction of scarcity, there is greater goal incompatibility leading to protracted social conflicts. The main argument of the economic development models on the other hand is that unequal distribution of goods from development leads to protracted social conflicts.

Contributing to the theory of conflict transformation, Väyrynen (1991) proposes that conflicts can be transformed by four types of change: actor transformations (the emergence of new actors or change in existing actors), issue transformations (meaning a change in the way in which the parties frame their interests and goals), rule transformations (meaning a change in the norms affecting the actors' interactions) and structural transformations. This framework can be expanded to include transformations in the context surrounding the conflict, and the discourse through which it is understood (Vayrynen1991:4).

Echoing Vayrynens' four types of change, Lederach (1997) proposes key dimensions of this process as marked by changes in the personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict. Supporting this view are Bush and Folger (1996), Curle (1971), Assefa (1993), Rupesinghe (1995) and Michelle (2002). Transformation at the personal level involves strengthening peoples' capacity to resolve conflicts. At this level, transformation is expected to restore individual sense of their ability to handle conflicts and a willingness to search for durable peace (Bush and Folger, 1996: Mitchelle, 2002). At the relational level, conflictual relationships between rival groups are expected to be transformed into peaceful relationships. This relationship is characterized by co-operation and mutual efforts to resolve conflict (Curle, 1971: Assefa, 1993). The structural dimension links conflict to the political, economic and social structures in the community. Transformation of these structures is aimed at fostering the meeting of basic human needs and fostering participation in decision making by community members (Lederach, 1997: Rupesinghe, 1995). At the cultural dimension, transformation involves understanding how culture affects conflict. It involves identification of cultural patterns that contribute to conflict formation and those that can be harnessed to facilitate the cessation of conflict (Lederach. 1997).

The basic tenets of the transformation theory therefore are that: to transform conflicts, there is need for a clear understanding of their formation; conflicts are transformed at a number of levels namely the personal, structural, relational and cultural levels; protracted social conflicts undergo a series of changes and therefore a similar set of changes in interventions to reverse them is necessary; conflict transformation is an eclectic approach that embraces multi-track interventions; conflict transformation is a comprehensive mechanism that addresses conflict through its phases(conflict cycle or spiral).

In this study, it is argued that NGOs undertake activities that target transformation at the personal, relational, structural and cultural levels. Depending on the context, NGOs are expected to analyze conflicts and identify their root causes. In most instances, these conflicts are traced to structures that hinder equal access to basic needs in the society. In addressing these issues, NGOs are expected to first transform the personal and relational levels. The success of these

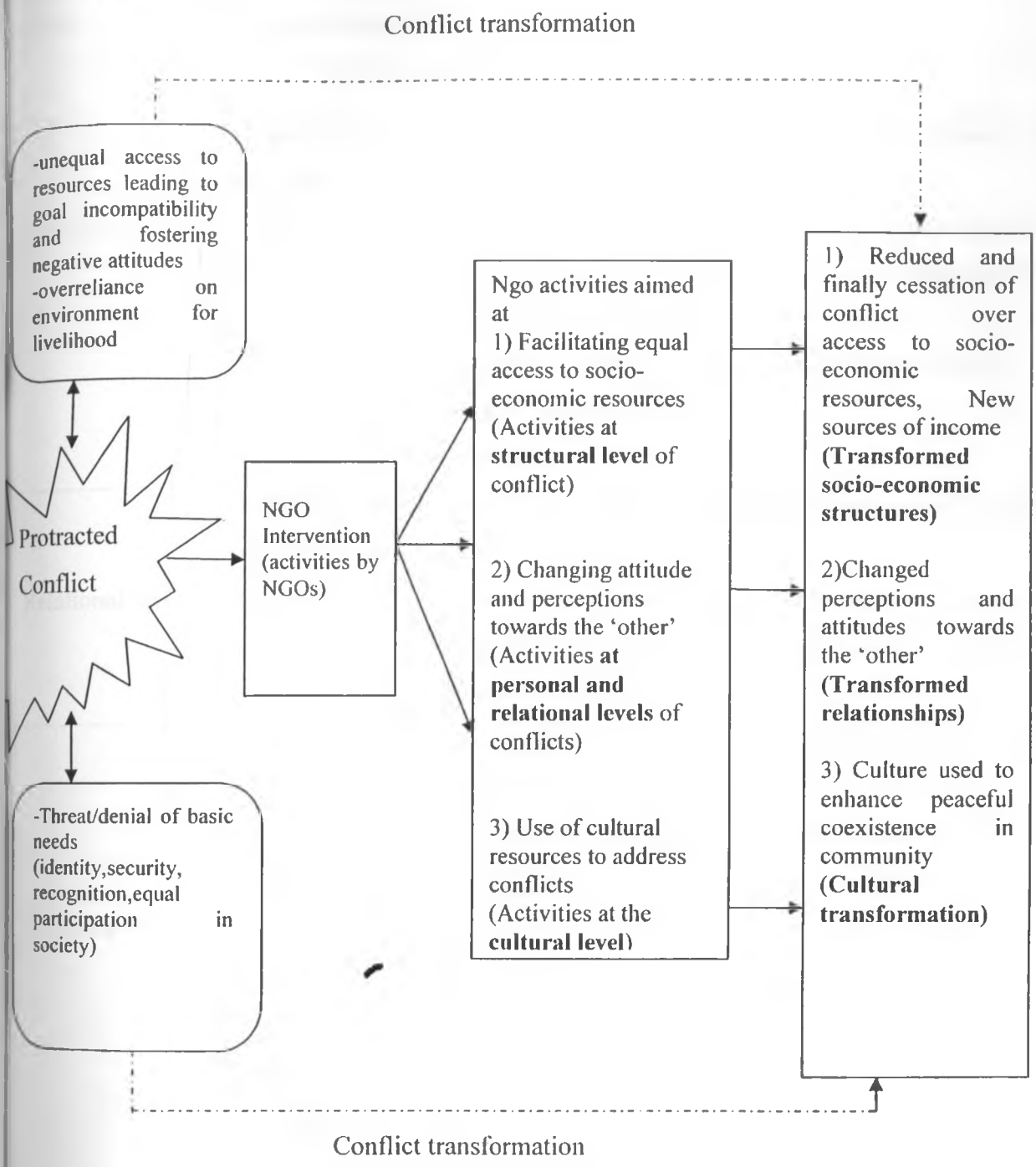
interventions depends on the activities that NGOs undertake. Table 1 shows the levels of intervention by NGOs

2.8 Conceptual Framework

Left with no intervention, protracted social conflicts have the ability to gain eternity. This comes with social and economic repercussions for the rival groups involved. Support for conflict transformation comes from the fact that once conflicts are transformed, there are minimal chances of them recurring, at least not based on the same issues. Peace actors however face a host of challenges in endeavoring to transform these conflicts. Despite this, peace actors agree that conflict must be approached from a holistic point of view because several factors may contribute to a conflict.

Conflict transformation or the lack of it depends on the activities that peace actors undertake before, during and after conflicts. These activities will be targeted at the personal, relational, structural and cultural aspects of the conflict. The conceptual framework is summarized in fig. 2 below

Figure 3. Conceptual Framework



2.9 Analytical Framework

Table 1: Levels of Transformation

Level	Key issues and facts
Personal level	-Transformation of society is directly linked to transformation of individuals -A transformed individual is able to analyze situations and make effective decisions while considering the perspectives of the other in situations of conflict -Restored individual sense of capacity to handle challenges like conflict -Acknowledge and empathize with the other -Ability to understand and frame issue in a conflict
Relational level	-Relationships form the basis of conflicts and are also the basis of durable solutions to the conflicts -Relationships must move from those characterized by inequality and unbalanced power relations to relationship involving active association, mutual understanding and collaboration
Structural level	-Transformation of social, political and economic structures is viewed as a prerequisite for durable peace -Economic structures should be transformed to facilitate access and use of resources by all groups. Each group should be in a position to pursue economic activities unhindered -Socio-political structures characterized by imbalances that include power asymmetry and exclusion of groups should be transformed to symmetric and inclusive structures -Structural transformation .therefore, is characterized by the ability for communities to meet basic human needs and maximize their participation in decisions that affect them
Cultural level	-Transformation seeks to uncover the cultural patterns that contribute to violence in a given context, and to identify and build on existing cultural resources and mechanisms for handling conflict.

2.9.1 Outcomes of Transformation

Conflict transformation is a continuous process whose outcomes may not be immediately identified. However, sustained transformation leads to certain desired results that can be observed at the points of interventions. These points are the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions. The desired outcomes are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Expected Outcomes of Transformation

Attitudes and behaviour **Attitude** Attitudes shift from: Distrust to trust. Contradiction to mutual understanding. Goal incompatibility to realization of compatibility of goals. Stereotypical to breaking down of stereotypes Intolerance to tolerance. Competition for resource to co-operation for access of resource. **Behaviour** Observable behaviour in transformation includes: Use of violence is replaced by less use of violence in conflict situations. Involvement in recreational activities like games and music by the rival groups. Involvement of both parties in communal work like digging wells, road construction and building schools, Trading together.	**Conflict Cessation** Marked by actual reduction and final end of violent conflicts **Peace existence** a)meaningful interaction/communication channels opened b) harmonious co-existence evolving from mutual trust and recognition of goal compatibility c) collaboration in day to day activities like trade, involvement in community projects d)improved health, food security, access to social services like school and hospital, access to water

CHAPTER THREE

CJPC AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN LELAN DIVISION

3.1 Introduction

Conflict transformation is a relatively new approach in peace and conflict studies. The approach has in recent times gained much support from peace and development actors due to its holistic nature in dealing with protracted social conflicts. This support has increased due to the demand for sustainable peace in the world today.

Although the approach provides an opportunity for positive and sustainable peace, there has been noted slow uptake by NGOs of the approach. Most NGOs concerned with conflict issues still practice conflict resolution. The slow uptake has been occasioned by unclear guidelines on activities undertaken in pursuit of transforming conflicts. Moreover, the slow pace of transformation accompanied by the challenge of evaluating conflict transformation programmes has served to discourage NGOs from pursuing this approach.

Transforming conflicts in societies involves interventions at the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions in the conflict. From the literature, the personal dimension is chief in the process as it determines results at the other three dimensions. Attitudes and perceptions that emanate from the personal level serve to fuel most needs-based conflicts witnessed in the world today. This implies that conflict transformation starts from changing these attitudes and perceptions first.

The study focused on CJPC because of its commitment to peace building in northern Kenya. CJPC has been involved in peace building in the region for over two decades and has made progress towards conflict transformation. This chapter gives a historical background of CJPC in Kenya and its involvement in peace building in Lelan Division, West Pokot County. This chapter discusses activities undertaken by CJPC in Lelan division to promote change in attitude and perceptions that are responsible for sustaining violent conflicts.

3.2 CJPC: A History

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Kenya was founded in 1988 as an executive organ of the Kenyan Episcopal Conference (KEC). Kenya Episcopal conference is a faith based organization founded in 1976. It is an assembly of catholic bishops of Kenya. Its' main mandate is to co-ordinate and implement pastoral programmes which express the mission of the Church. KEC accomplishes this through various commissions, including the catholic justice and peace commission.

Since its inception, CJPC has worked towards promoting justice in Kenya through challenging of oppressive socio-economic and political structures. To this end, CJPC has been involved in various activities geared towards sensitization of communities on their rights. The organization has also been involved in mobilization of communities towards working for peace. CJPC is arguably an independent organ of the church and is free from external influences like the government. To accomplish this mission, CJPC has five major programmes. These are; transformative civic education and constitutional reform programmes, peace building and conflict resolution programmes, governance and democracy programmes and Lenten Campaign (see Fig. 4).

3.2.1 Transformative Civic Education and Constitutional Reform Programmes

The programme was initiated to influence constitution review process. This was done through use of dialogue and civic education. The programme had the objective of informing Kenyans about the constitution and their rights. After the promulgation of the Kenyan constitution, the programme started focusing on the implementation process. The main objective of the programme now is to build capacity of communities in order to effectively engage in the implementation process. This is aimed at reaching a common understanding of the new constitution.

3.2.2 Peace Building and Conflict Resolution Programme

The peace building programme focuses on promotion of peaceful co-existence among bordering communities. The programme has been active mainly in the Kerio Valley region where conflicts among bordering communities is rampant. Kerio Valley covers five north-western counties of

Kenya; Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet, Baringo and Keiyo. The programme also served to restore peaceful co-existence among communities after the 2007 post election violence.

The programme aims at building capacity for communities to handle conflicts, therefore breaking the cycle of violent conflicts. Some of the project activities include organizing social cultural events, organizing interreligious meetings, holding peace building trainings and carrying out research on mapping the root causes of conflict.

3.2.3 Governance and Democracy Programme

The programme aims at empowering communities to promote and protect human rights. It also aims at empowering communities to demand for good governance. The programme is organized into six elements; voter education and elections observation, paralegal awareness and training, civic education, transitional justice, socio-economic justice and parliamentary liaison desk.

3.2.4 Lenten Campaign

The broad objective of the Lenten programme is to sensitize Christians and Kenyans in general on contemporary issues affecting them and how these issues relate to the social teachings of the church. These range from peace and cohesion issues to governance issues. Through this programme, it is expected that Kenyans will strive towards a better Kenya.

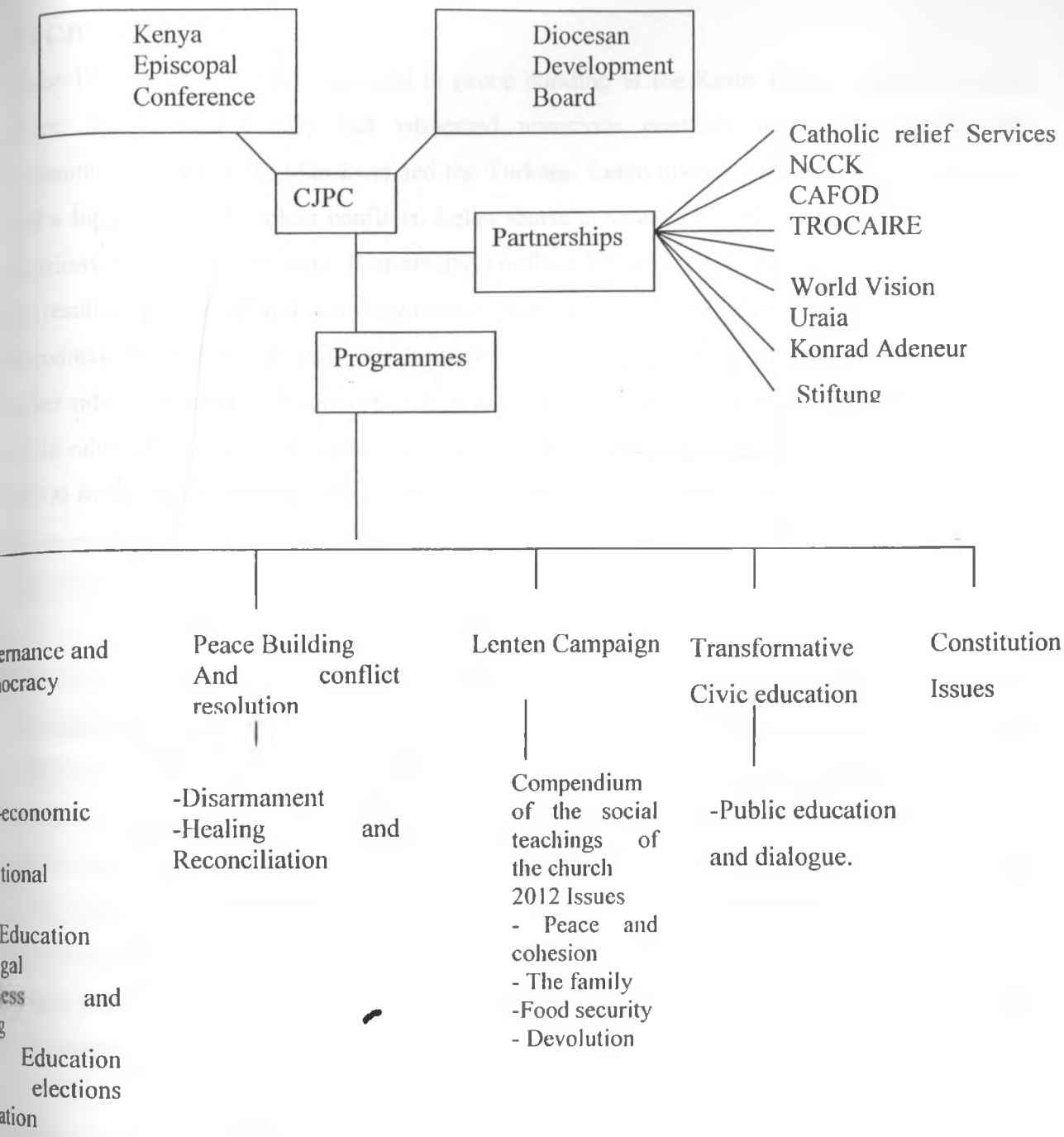


Fig.4 Organizational Structure of the CJPC

3.3 CJPC in Lelan

Since 1989. CJPC has been involved in peace building at the Kerio Valley region. For many years, West Pokot County has witnessed numerous conflicts with other neighbouring communities, notably the Marakwet and the Turkana. Lelan division borders Marakwet and has had a long history of violent conflicts. Lelan shares a boundary with Sengwer and Kapcherop divisions of Marakwet County. Historically, conflicts between Lelan and neighbours have been the result of cattle raids and boundary issues. These conflicts often involved little or no fatalities. Introduction of guns in the early 70s, however, saw emergence of mass killings of civilians from either sides[1]. Commercialization of cattle raids played a major role in shifting the once tolerable cattle raids into an act that posed a security threat to these communities. This situation led to NGOs in the region seeking approaches that would achieve durable peace. CJPC has had many peace projects in the division. These aim at breaking the cycle of conflict between Pokot and Marakwet in the division[2].

The main activities in Lelan include construction and rehabilitation of classrooms, construction of cattle dips, sinking of boreholes and construction of water pans, carrying out training on crop and animal husbandry, carrying out peace training, paralegal training, and organization of peace festivals, organization of exposure trips, peace marathons and many other connector projects[3]. There has also been extensive transformation of attitudes among former cattle raiders. This has led to emergence of reformed morans. These are morans who have resolved to down their weapons and become ambassadors of peace in their communities. Most reformed morans have sought out alternative means of income generation and have had a change of mind as regards value attached to cattle raids.

These activities are aimed at building sustainable peace through facilitation of equal access to basic needs between the two communities. Peace and development projects are mainly concentrated at the border divisions although a few are found in shopping centers in the interior.

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[1] Key informant 1,Lelan and key informant 4,Sengwer
[2] Key informant 2, CJPC
[3] Key informant 2, CJPC

3.4 CJPC Intervention at Personal and Relational Levels

The process of transforming conflicts starts with the transformation of individuals. Transformed people have the capacity to handle conflicts without resorting to violence. Bush and Folger (1996) argue that a transformed person is also in a position to analyze situations and make rational decisions while considering the perspective of others in situations of conflict. The ability to understand and to frame the issues in the conflict (ability to define their own challenges) is also the mark of transformation at the personal level. Transformed individuals are more willing to search for durable peace.

At the personal level, peace actors target change in attitude and perceptions of people. These attitudes are manifested in beliefs and values. Eagly and Chaiken(1993) argue that conflict shapes peoples attitude towards life. This affects how they view themselves and how they relate with others in society. Identifiable transformational effects are brought about by a process which can strengthen people's capacity to analyze situations and change attitudes formed as a result of violent conflicts. Attitudes such as distrust and stereotyping are the targets of transformation at the personal and relational levels.

Transformation aims at maximizing the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels. The individuals are expected to be empowered enough to value themselves as having the strength to deal with challenges. Transforming conflicts also involves deliberate efforts to change strained relationships between conflicting parties. Strained relationships could be as a result of unbalanced power relationships and exclusion of groups in the society. Peaceful relationships in the community are characterized by meaningful interaction (opening up of previously closed communication channels) and collaboration in daily activities (like trade). At various stages of conflict, communication channels are strained and even completely closed. At the confrontation and crisis stages of conflicts, relationships of actors become very strained and communication ceases. Peace actors, therefore, get involved in activities that are aimed at encouraging contact between groups through improving communication that has previously been severed due to violent conflicts. The question to address at this stage, therefore, is 'what activities has CJPC undertaken to change attitudes and perceptions that enhance strained relationships in the community?'

3.4.1 Activities at the Personal Level

At the personal level, CJPC activities are aimed at maximizing the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels. This in turn leads to gradual change of attitudes, perceptions and behaviour of the individuals. At this level, the study found out that CJPC had been involved in peace training, exposure tours, psychosocial support and paralegal training[4].

3.4.1.1 Peace Training Workshops

These workshops were planned and facilitated by CJPC staff with the objective of providing extensive knowledge to the community members on conflict, its resolution, its transformation and its prevention. Those attending the workshops were selected from the various categories of people (age, gender, ethnic community), including members from Marakwet community. This selection was aimed at having representatives from each category. To enhance transparency and participation, each category selected their own representatives. The workshops were held within Marakwet-Pokot border villages. This enabled participation in familiar surroundings and to gain the communities trust[5]. One facilitator noted that:

> *'... In the past such meetings were held outside the division. They were mainly held in hotels in Eldoret town. With time the community nicknamed those who went to the workshops 'rice eating tourists'. This nickname symbolized removal of the participants from the realities in Lelan.'(KI4)*

In the training workshops, participants were divided into workgroups. They then proceeded to discuss the causes of conflict, the effects and the ways in which conflicts could be prevented. At the end of the discussions, a group member from each group presented what they discussed. This was followed by an analysis of each presentation by the participants and the facilitators. This approach to training was found to be trainee oriented thus standing better chances of knowledge acquisition as opposed to facilitator oriented approach[6]. It also encouraged change in attitude as the learners acquired knowledge on conflict prevention and benefits accruing to the community

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[4] Key informant 4,CJPC(KI4)
[5] Key informant 2,CJPC and key informant 4,CJPC
[6] Key informant 4,CJPC

in peaceful situations. A key informant further explained that workshops made use of the peoples' wisdom to ensure that solutions identified were homegrown hence sustainable.

The workshops were held as was deemed necessary. The agenda was dictated by the changing nature of conflict in the region. Apart from the conventional training manuals, the participants were expected to come up with items of discussion touching on socioeconomic development in the region. These extra discussions provided the participants with opportunities to use their knowledge to advance development in the division. Participants of these workshops were expected to discuss what they learnt with the other members in the community.

3.4.1.2 Exposure Tours

The organization was involved in the facilitation of various exposure tours for the rival communities. These tours were divided into inter- and intra-divisional. Intra-divisional exposure tours were carried out in Lelan division while inter-divisional exposure tours were carried out in border divisions in Marakwet County. These tours stretched to other counties like Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia Counties. Initially, the tour groups consisted of reformed morans from both Pokot and Marakwet counties touring Uasin Gishu County. Later on, the tours began to include women groups, church groups, farmers groups and various youth groups[7].

CJPC organized and planed for the tours. The organization provided transport and sometimes selected the location of the tour. An initial tour involved reformed morans from Marakwet and Pokot communities visiting Eldoret town. The reformed morans were selected by village elders since they were well known to them. The aim of the tour was to expose the morans to more developed regions so that they could see what could be achieved in peaceful regions. One reformed moran reflected:

> *'...it was my first time to go to Eldoret and we were all excited when we arrived...and we had many new experiences there. I remember thinking of how these people in town were living very well, how they did not struggle to get water or food. Later I even found out that they belonged to different communities[8]...'*

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[7] Key informant 2, Lelan
[8] Focus group discussion one, reformed morans(FGD1)

In the above narration, the reformed moran admired the progress made in the town and compared it to his village. For the moran, peace seemed to have contributed to such progress, which included people from different communities coexisting harmoniously.

At the end of the tour, the reformed morans from both sides discussed what they had seen and what they had learnt from the tour. These discussions gave them an opportunity to dream together about the prospects of development in their own region. Exposure tours also challenged the communities to work towards peace. They also served to widen the scope of their thinking, and to think about development initiatives that they could undertake in their area. One moran had this to say:

> *'...during one of the tours I realized that there were many things that we could do as a community aside from herding. I was thinking of how we could plant fruit trees. The place we went to was so cool and had a lot of fruit trees. The farmers there were telling us about the benefits of having a variety of crops...I was also encouraged to see that the farmers had small pieces of land but could produce many food crops out of them. They practiced irrigation and had built large water storage tanks...I thought at that time that we too could start irrigation farming in our village* [9]*'*

Respondents in focus group discussion 1 recalled the first tour they made to Marakwet. They were welcomed and shown around. They stayed with their hosts for three days. For them, the tour served to dispel stereotypes and distrust. One respondent noted that:

> *'...ever since we were young, we were brought up to know that the Marakwet were our* ***punyiik*** *(mortal enemies). We avoided meeting them at all costs. When we went for the tour, we were warmly welcomed by the village that was hosting us. We got to experience their day to day life. I was surprised to find out that we had similar challenges. They did not have water and at that time there was food shortage. Despite these, we shared meals and even had time for evening dances. Their stories were similar to ours. In fact we realized our traditions were similar. What reason did we have to fight our brothers and clansmen...?'*

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[9] Focus group discussion 1

Another narrated:

> *'...it was relieving when we were welcomed with song and dance, but the most significant thing is that we all ate in the same room from the same pot. This gesture signified that we were welcome and that we were trusted...we never eat from the same pot with people we don't trust in our culture...we decided to put our enmity behind us*[10]*...'*

For the elders, exposure tours served to strengthen their resolve to preach peace. The Pokot and Marakwet elders still held a powerful decision making position in the community. In matters relating to conflict, elders had for a long time been responsible for blessing the morans. The exposure tours had provided an avenue for elders to cement relationships between the rival groups[11]. The initiation of exposure tours by CJPC played a part in changing people's relations and in enabling them acquire a different view of the people they once considered enemies.

3.4.1.3 Psychosocial Support

Violent conflicts have devastating effects on survivors. Witnessing mass killings, rape, loss of property, abduction and torture are some of the atrocities that the survivors go through. Smith (2008) notes that these atrocities lead to feelings of helplessness, anger, guilt, revenge, stress, anxiety and depression. These atrocities have the power to destroy previous relationships and enhance distrust among members of the community.

Lelan has had a long history of violent conflict with neighbouring areas. These conflicts had a traumatizing effect to the survivors. Survivors witnessed killings, loss of property and some were maimed. One survivor narrated:

> *'...I was still a young boy when neighbours attacked us. They took everything we had and burnt down our house. We were lucky to escape but I lived with anger towards them for so long. Revenge was the only thing left for us; we had to take back what was ours*[12]*...'*

From the above narration, the victim witnessed an atrocity carried out by a once trusted neighbour. Feelings of betrayal and distrust consumed him and shaped his behaviour towards

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[10] Focus group discussion 1, reformed morans
[11] Focus group discussion 2,elders(men)
[12] Key informant 6,sengwer

people from the rival group. Left unremedied, these feelings become disabling for the victims and perpetrators of war. These feelings reduce people's potential to live productive lives. As in the case above, the survivors' sole motivation for living was revenge. Until this revenge was carried out, the survivor would be restless and unproductive.

CJPC provided psychosocial support to the survivors through trauma counseling. Counseling was usually carried out in groups. However, these groups did not comprise people having similar problems. One official pointed out that:

> *'...when we select groups, we don't aim at particular people with the same problem. We have learnt that putting people with same problem in a group could easily lead to their stigmatization in ...we invite categories of people ,for example women groups, youth groups .This way we address a range of issues that have possibly traumatized these groups*[13]*.'*

Moreover, the content of the programmes was dictated by the counseling needs in the society. One key informant also observed that:

> *'...before we start these programmes, we start by analyzing how the affected people themselves understand their situation. For example if the issue is about rape, the challenge for the survivor may actually be fear of stigmatization in the society. In this case, rape itself is not the immediate concern of the victim...'*

These comments showed that development of programmes had to be culturally sensitive in order for development initiatives to be sustainable. Traditional methods of psychosocial support were also used. Traditional resources such as cleansing rituals played a key role in the healing process. A key informant said that:

> *'...we have found that traditional methods of psychosocial support are readily agreeable in the division .Cleansing rituals, for instance, have been found to be effective in the process of healing. We co-operate with traditional healers .The organization is always on*

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[13] Key informant 4,CJCP

the lookout not to undermine existing supports in the community. There are instances when interventions by a third party may only worsen the situation for victims[14]*...'*

The aim of these counseling sessions was to equip participants with knowledge on trauma, its recognition and management. These counseling sessions usually involved the crucial step of processing traumatic events. Group members were given an opportunity to narrate their traumatic experiences. This was later followed by discussions on coping techniques used by group members.

3.4.1.4 Paralegal Community Training

A Paralegal is a community-based person who provides advice and assistance to persons in the community on matters of law and human rights affecting their lives. Paralegals are trained in basic law and human rights. The organization regularly held paralegal training workshops under its governance and democracy programmes. These workshops were attended by community activists, teachers, religious leaders and youth representatives from the division. Whatever the mix of trainees, the facilitators ensured that they were representative of different groups of people in the community.

Dudouet and Schmelzel(2010), point out that fundamental human rights are infringed upon during periods of extended violent conflict. Moreover, most communities ravaged by protracted conflicts have limited access to justice and/or have limited knowledge on their rights. The gap created by limited access to justice and limited knowledge of rights, together with the fact that legal representation in most rural communities is wanting, calls for the training of paralegals. This is the reason behind the paralegal workshops held by CJPC. Paralegal training falls under the governance and democracy program of the organization.

The study found out that training manuals for the workshops were developed by facilitators with consideration of specific legal needs identified by the community leaders and local authorities in the division. Legal needs could also be identified during community peace meetings when members of the rival communities presented their grievances. The identified needs formed the

[14] Key informant 5,CJPC

focus of training. Since the legal needs were dynamic, paralegal trainers were always on alert to incorporate upcoming needs. Some of the issues that paralegal training in Lelan had covered included inheritance, early marriages, female genital mutilation and boundary issues[15].

CJPC's training of paralegals took one to two weeks depending on the training needs. Training was aimed at changing attitudes, perceptions, values, beliefs and practices. Therefore, CJPC paralegal training facilitators encouraged reflection and in-depth analysis of content by trainees. Trainees were expected to make a critical analysis of their own circumstances and come up with workable solutions. One facilitator said that:

> *'... In Lelan and neighbouring divisions, we found that cattle raids were traditionally tolerated. This was because people believed that wealth should be equally distributed in communities... this was done through raids. Other issues like early marriage and FGM also have their traditional rationale...values that are deeply entrenched in the community. Bringing in human rights issues to the community requires that there is change of attitude towards cattle raids, early marriage, FGM...the solutions, therefore, lie in the ability of the trainee paralegals to reflect on these(cattle raids, early marriage and FGM) and come up with alternative solutions...'*

At the end of the workshops, paralegal trainees were expected to be familiar with human rights and law, and ways of ensuring vindication of the rights. Once trained, paralegals provided alternative dispute settlement for community members. During moments of disagreement in the community, paralegals played the role of mediators and conciliators. This ensured that matters were solved swiftly hence preventing outbreak of violence in the division. Paralegals had also been instrumental in sensitizing the community on human rights and the law. Community members were trained by the paralegals on how to identify violations of human rights and the breaking of the law. In the event of court hearings, paralegals in the division drafted simple documents that were required by community members in court. Moreover, the paralegals assisted community members in drafting other important documents like wills, agreements and petitions. They also networked with existing organizations, groups and individuals in the division to mobilize support to solve problems in the community[16].

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[15] Key informant 2,CJPC;key informant 4,CJPC;focus group discussion 1, reformed morans
[16] Key informant 2,Lelan

3.4.2 Activities at Relational Level

Activities at this level aim at enhancing communication among groups and enhancing understanding of the 'other'. Lederach (1997) argues that relationships form the basis of conflict and its solution too. Transforming relationships from adversarial to peaceful ones is therefore important in attainment of durable peace. Activities at this level aim at initiating collaboration between rival groups. To this end, the study found out that CJPC was involved in facilitation of peace meetings, sporting activities and various connector projects.

3.4.2.1 Peace Meetings

Peace meetings were held as an early initiative before, during or after violent conflicts. The CJPC held several such meetings. The first step in organizing these meetings was identification of factions willing to talk things out in pursuit of peace. The study found out that initial peace meetings were held in hotels and at the Eldoret diocese away from Lelan division. With time, it was found that these meetings were attended by the same people all the time. Furthermore, these meetings were far removed from the reality on the ground[17]. This called for a change in approach by the organization. CJPC resolved to hold meetings at the villages in order to reach the actual victims and perpetrators of these conflicts. This shift enabled the inclusion of the community members in peace meetings.

CJCP came up with a step by step approach for carrying out these meetings. The approach included one to one meetings, small groups to small groups meetings, intra-ethnic meetings, intra-ethnic meetings and the signing of a 'social contract'[18].

3.4.2.2 One to One Meetings

The initial step was organization of one-to-one meetings. During one to one meetings, conflicting communities identified one elder each to meet at a neutral place(usually a place at the border, or a place that has no socio-economic significance to either parties) to discuss the conflict and focus on negotiations for peace. At this stage, CJPC was in charge of providing transport for the elders to the meeting point.

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[17] Key informant 4, Sengwer; focus group discussion 2, elders(men)
[18] Key informant 2,CJPC

When held at the crisis stage of conflict, one to one meeting were expected to lead to a cease fire depending on the agreements reached by the two elders. One to one meetings were supposed to erase suspicion and show commitment by the warring parties to search for peace[19]. At the end of the meeting, the elders were expected to go back to their communities and identify more people (usually elders) to be part of the next round of discussions and negotiations. Officials from CJPC acted as facilitators. A key informant narrated:

> *'...one to one meetings determine the direction of the next round of meetings. If the one to one meeting is unsuccessful, then the peacemaking process comes to a standstill. At this point, our role is to ensure the elders meet through provision of transport. We only listen to their negotiations and ask them how we can be of help...'*

3.4.2.3 Small Group to Small Group Meetings

After the one to one meetings, elders identified a number of people interested in peace talks from both sides. These people then met at an agreed place to continue with the discussions for peace. These groups usually consisted of a maximum of ten people from each side. A key informant explained this:

> *'...we encourage either side to have less than ten people. In this way the small groups have little potential to turn chaotic. Having a total of at most twenty people makes it manageable for the facilitators...it is also easier to gauge emotions and steer the discussions away from confrontations. Moreover, this gives a chance for everyone to be heard. We have found larger groups to be unsuccessful...'*

The meetings usually began with trading of accusations and airing of grievances. The moderator ensured that everybody spoke to ensure equal representation in the meeting. This initial stage was important as it let people air their emotions thus paving way for peaceful discussions. The groups were encouraged to exhaust their grievances or key concerns during this initial stage. Giving enough time for as many grievances as possible to be aired allows for catharsis. Once all has been aired, focus was shifted to the way forward. The elders then focused on their common goals and tried to figure out how to end and prevent further conflicts. These meetings usually

[19] Focus group discussion 2, elders(men)

took time since each side occasionally had to discuss issues amongst themselves. A key informant reflected:

> *'...we often pause to reflect on the proceedings. Every word said here is important and must be considered seriously. There have been occasions when these meetings end without success...sometimes elders walk out...'*

3.4.2.4 Sharing of Food or the 'Breaking of Bread'

Among the Pokot and Marakwet, eating together usually symbolized reconciliation. In situations of peace meetings, the 'breaking of bread' played a key role. It signified the willingness of the communities to forgive each other and work towards a common goal. As one elder stated:

> *'...when both sides have finally agreed to forgive each other, we share meat as a sign of a covenant. This covenant is strong and forbids the breaking of a peace deal that has been agreed upon. When we agree to eat together, we make a promise not to fight...'*

Respondents from focus group discussion two (elders, men) and three (elders, women) stressed that timing of this breaking of bread was very important as it could mean the continuation of peace talks or the absconding of the talks. When the food was brought too early in the talks, either side may feel forced to forgive. Sometimes food was shared once an agreement has been reached, other times it is shared in the middle of peace talks to symbolize willingness to forgive.

CJPC incorporated this culturally symbolic activity in its peace building activities to strengthen the process. The role of CJPC at this step was that of contributing partly towards provision of the food to be shared[20].

3.4.2.5 Intra-ethnic Meetings

After small group to small group meetings, officials from CJPC organized intra-ethnic meetings. Before bringing the two communities together in a large peace meeting, peace facilitators found it important to have intra ethnic meetings to ensure that each group was clear on what they

[20] Key informant 5,CJPC

needed to be in their agenda. This step was also called 'clarification of grievances' step. People attending intra ethnic meetings were usually chosen by the community members.

Intra-ethnic meetings comprise 30-40 people. In these meetings, the participants analyzed root causes of conflict and wrote a list of grievances. They also wrote down their demands and the way forward. The role of the mediators at these meetings was to keep the meeting moving forward, while the people themselves shaped the agenda of the meeting. The lists of grievances from the warring communities were used to form the agenda of the inter-ethnic meetings. This was done by identifying the common grievances between the two communities and deciding on their priority.

3.4.2.6 Inter-Ethnic Meetings

After the intra-ethnic meetings, the warring communities were brought together to present their list of items they felt should be prioritized in the peace talks. Each side read out their agenda. This was followed by discussions and rewriting of the agenda so that the meeting had a common agenda. The mediator then encouraged the participants to come up with action plans to solve the items in the agenda.

The study found out that inter ethnic meetings had been used to reduce prejudice and misinformation[21]. It was also at these meetings that peace connector projects were born. One elder interviewed had this to say of the meetings:

> *'...when we invite the other group to come join us in the meeting, we show the willingness to listen to each other. These meetings don't always end with a solution, in fact sometimes we break them halfway because of hostility...but in the end we always come around to tabling our grievances. Sometimes we even get a different perspective about the conflict... sometimes we learn something new about the rival group...new concerns we had not considered*[22]*...'*

[21] key infomant 2,
[22] Key informant 3,Lelan

The above sentiments captured the dynamic nature of conflict and how introduction of new information (in the form of a list of grievances) had been instrumental in forging the way forward for reconciliation between warring parties in Lelan.

Inter ethnic meetings may be held more than once. This was to ensure that the reconciliation would be based on a genuine common ground built on existing interests and values shared by divided communities rather than on a compromise ground built on a merging of various divided interests of divided communities. A key informant from CJPC stressed:

> *'...there is always no hurry in these meetings, we ensure that we depart from approaches that encourage unjust peace...the communities set the pace, they trade accusations for as many meetings as is necessary, eventually this finger pointing graduates into a mutual search for a solution. When this stage is reached, then it is easy to find genuine and lasting solutions*[23] *...*

The peace meetings were sealed with a peace agreement or a 'social contract'. These agreements were structured around the particular issues that led to the conflict in the community. The contract included an agreed plan of action for addressing the present conflict. It also included appropriate conduct when interacting with the other community and penalties in case of breech of agreement. The agreement was signed publicly in a ceremony marking reconciliation.

3.4.2.7 Peace Connector Projects

During the peace meetings, the communities were encouraged to initiate collaborative joint projects, events or activities. These were aimed at solving root causes of conflict as well as encouraging working together towards a common goal. The experience of working together was expected to reduce tensions and build solidarity between ethnic communities. Measures were taken by the organization to ensure the projects were sustainable.

[23] Key informant 2,CJPC

Peace connector projects usually reflected the needs of both warring parties. This meant that if a water project was identified as the ideal project, it should serve both communities without restrictions. The aim was to allow frequent meeting and cooperation by the communities[24].

Since 2003, several connector projects had been initiated in Lelan-Sengwer-Kapcherop border (Pokot-Marakwet). They included cattle dips, schools, churches and water projects. CJPC played the role of partly funding the connector projects and capacity building for the smooth running of the projects. A key informant explained:

> *'...the conflicting parties identify a project that would benefit both of them. we provide the funds and train them sometimes...some projects, like water projects, need skills like repairing of pumps and leaking pipes...dips also need to be maintained regularly...and they need to be managed properly...when both communities mutually benefit from the project, there are higher chances that they work hard towards living harmoniously...violence will be viewed as undesirable for both parties...this way they find more amicable ways of resolving their conflict...('*[25]

3.4.2.8 Cattle Dips for Peace

Even though people in Lelan division were slowly embracing crop farming, cattle were still a valued means of livelihood. Historically, cattle raids were carried out to replenish stock that had been lost to disease or that had been stolen from the division[26]. Through training that the community received from CJPC on animal husbandry, the communities decided to construct several cattle dips in the borders. One of the cattle dips that emerged as a peace connector project was Karelachketat cattle dip. The dip was in Lelan-Marakwet border. The Pokot and Marakwet cooperated in sourcing for stones and sand for the construction. The two communities further contributed money and labour towards the construction of the dip[27].The purpose of peace connector cattle dips was three pronged;

Firstly, the dips served the purpose of controlling tick borne diseases hence ensuring the animals did not die. The cattle dips also acted as a crucial point for inoculation of livestock by veterinary

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[24] Key informant 2,CJPC; key informant 4, CJPC
[25] Key informant 2,CJPC
[26] Focus group discussion 2;key informant 1, Lelan; key informant 1,Sengwer
[27] Key informant 2,CJPC

officers in case of disease outbreak. This reduced the need to raid for the purposes of replacing livestock lost to disease. Secondly, the dips provided an opportunity for people from the two communities to meet. During these meetings, they discussed, among other things, issues affecting their livestock. Information regarding cattle rearing was also shared. Thirdly, the cattle dips offered an opportunity for identification of stolen cattle by the community members. Several cattle in the division had been recovered at the dips after cattle raids. One elder who lived in the Sengwer, Marakwet border reflected

> *'...we take all our cattle to Karelachketat dip on Friday. In the process we meet friends from Lelan ... if one of us lost any animals, the dip is the place to look...when somebody leaves other cattle at home during dip days, then we know they are stolen...'*

Once the stolen animals were identified, they were given back to the owner. This was followed by an apology by the offender. The offender was either let go with a stern warning or fined for the theft. The dip served the purpose of building trust between the two communities. One elder explained this:

> *'...we used to defend those among us who had stolen livestock...but we now flush out the thieves among us...we are sure that our Marakwet elders on the other side also flush out those who have stolen from us...they identify stolen animals for us and we do the same for them...([28])*

The above narration demonstrated how the connector dips had played a role in building trust among neighbours. The act of identifying the thieves for the rival group was reciprocated. The two communities worked together towards discouraging activities that could cause conflict.

3.5 Schools for Peace

Schools for peace connector projects had played a major role in unifying the two communities. In one of the peace meetings, participants from both communities felt that sending children to school gave the communities a chance at a better future. The returns of education to the society were seen to be desirable. One respondent commented that:

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[28] focus group discussion 2, elders, men

'...our children cannot rely on livestock any longer to get by...we are faced with challenges like poor pasture quality, unreliable rainfall patterns...and the size of grazing lands are decreasing fast...at one time I lost all my livestock to draught...it's not reliable, but if they go to school they stand a better chance[29] *...'*

Officials from CJPC found that frequent cross border conflicts had led to the closing of schools in Lelan, especially those near the Lelan-Sengwer border. Once the schools were shut down, most of them were looted and some of the buildings were even destroyed. CJPC decided to aid the rehabilitation and construction of schools in the borderland[30].

Objectives of the school building and rehabilitation project were to enroll more children in the schools, increase participation of parents in school development and strengthen Pokot-Marakwet cooperation. Examples of schools that benefited from the project include Kapkanyar Primary School, Chorwai Primary School, Kamelei 11 Primary School (Marakwet),Kamelei 1 Primary School(Pokot). In each of these schools, CJPC contributed part of the funds required while the community members contributed stones, sand, timber and labour. In each of these projects, community members from Pokot and Marakwet worked side by side. This experience served to promote cooperation towards a greater goal. One respondent reflected:

'...the rehabilitation of schools was among the first major projects that the two communities got involved in. it was surprising how each community readily contributed what they had towards this project. We were determined to see the projects complete, so we worked tirelessly daily... everyone had something to do... We put our differences aside and worked... I think it was the sight of a completed school that brought joy to all of us[31] *...'*

The schools were symbolic of the desire for a peaceful coexistence between the two communities. The members were clear on the common vision they had for the future. One respondent noted:

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[29] Focus group discussion 3,elders,women
[30] Key informant 2, CJPC
[31] Key informant 1, Sengwer

'...other parts of the country are much advanced in terms of education. Even when we visited our neighbours we noticed they had many schools (referring to an exposure tour to Marakwet county)... I never had the chance to go to school but I believe my children will lead better lives if they went to school...they stand a chance to be employed in town, or start a small business here... they don't have to depend so much on farming like we do now[32]*...'*

Being a socializing agent, the schools had played a major role in contributing towards harmonious coexistence between communities in Lelan. CJPC introduced scout clubs in the rehabilitated schools. A total of 12 primary schools benefited from the scouts club. Each school nominated ten boys and ten girls to be trained as boy scouts and girl guides. The purpose of these clubs was to create an opportunity for the youths from the border schools to make friends and learn from each other. CJPC shared the cost of scouts and girl guides uniforms with the parents.

Another school-based peace-enhancing activity in the border schools was joint evaluation tests. Teachers from the borderland schools named these tests Marakwet Pokot district evaluation test (MAPOD). The twelve schools did a common evaluation test for all classes. These tests were prepared through the combined efforts of teachers from both Marakwet and Pokot sides, the results of which were released during school cultural day. This forum facilitated the meeting of the two communities thus enhancing interaction and improving relationships[33].

3.6 Sporting Activities

CJPC recognized the role that games play in promoting peace, reconciliation and reconstruction within divided societies. The organization used sports, especially football, to advance personal, social and community forms of development in Lelan. Football had been used to teach participants how to engage fairly and competitively with people from rival groups. As a key informant put it;

'...football has shown the youth and the community at large that you can compete without necessarily fighting in the process. The matches usually pull crowds from both

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[32] Focus group discussion 2
[33] Key informant 3, Lelan; key informant 6, Sengwer

communities, each crowd supporting their own team. At the end of the match, there winner is congratulated by everyone...but I don't think it really matters who wins... [34].

With this in mind, the organization had supported the formation of five football teams in Lelan division. These teams were made up of youth from Lelan and the bordering Marakwet divisions. Each team was encouraged to show respect to one another. Football matches were organized and sponsored by CJPC. Although initial matches were faced with tension and apprehension, the consequent ones were livelier and attracted larger crowds. This change was attributed to a change in the community's' attitude towards the idea of competitive games between two historically hostile communities. One respondent commented that:

'...at first I was afraid to go to the matches because I feared that a fight would break out. I also insisted that my children should not go because I was afraid for their safety. Later, I heard from my neighbor that the match had been very entertaining and people had enjoyed themselves...it had been a peaceful match... I now attend the matches when I can, and I always enjoy. I even get a chance to meet old friends and make new ones from Marakwet side[35]*...*

Being interactive, football had played a major role in improving relationships between the Pokot and Marakwet in Lelan division. Through provision of a non-verbal means of communicating, football had created a chance for the rival groups to engage in collective experiences. One respondent had this to say;

'... Football has not only provided a chance for us to show off our talent, but also a chance to meet in less hostile circumstances. We exercise respect towards all football players regardless of which team they are in. we are united by the sport and our only goal is to enjoy ourselves. At the end of every match, we have a chance to catch up with our peers from neighbouring divisions[36] *... '*

The ball games had also played a key role in creating an environment in which the rival communities come together to work towards the same goal while sharing space and equipment.

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[34] Key informant 6,Sengwer
[35] Key informant 3, Lelan
[36] Focus group discussion 1, reformed morans

Lederach (1997) argues that provision of such space is important in encouraging communication. Rival communities get chance to express themselves in a relaxed space without restrictions.

Another sporting activity initiated by the organization was the Lelan peace marathon. The marathon route spanned the Pokot and Marakwet sides. This was symbolic in that it carried the message of freedom of movement to the people from the two communities. As one respondent commented:

> *'...during the peace marathon we start from Lelan and into the neighboring border villages in Sengwer...we felt free while we competed, at least this time we were crossing the border for running purposes and not for war...and people cheered us on the way*[37] *...'*

Summary and Conclusions

Each activity undertaken by CJPC at the personal and relational levels aimed at provision of information and enhancing communication respectively. Introduction of information had played a key role in changing attitudes of the respondents in the division. Exposure tours had provided an opportunity for the two border communities to view each other differently. Respondents from the FGDs pointed out that the tours influenced them to challenge the stereotypes they had formed about each other. Peace training workshops and paralegal training provided knowledge that guided how the two communities related to each other.

Connector projects and peace meetings were aimed at encouraging communication between the two communities. Connector projects provided an avenue for the communities to work towards a greater goal. Respondents reported that the connector projects gave them an opportunity to bond in the process of addressing the root causes of conflict in their community.

[37] Focus group discussion 1, reformed morans

CHAPTER FOUR

CJPC AND TRANSFORMATION AT THE STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL LEVELS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the findings were based on research question one: what activities has CJPC undertaken towards changing attitudes and perceptions that enhance strained relationships in the community? From the findings, CJPC focuses on provision of information and on enhancing communication between the two communities as strategies to transform the personal and relational dimensions of conflict. These strategies have consequently led to a positive change in attitude, perception and behaviour of both communities towards each other. Moreover, the outcomes of CJPC's activities at relational level provide opportunities for the communities to bond.

This chapter presents findings for activities of CJPC at structural and cultural levels. The findings address research questions two and three: what role has CJPC played in facilitating access to economic and social resources and in what ways has culture been used to address conflict in the region.

4.1.1 Activities at Structural Level

The root causes of conflicts in Lelan can be understood from three angles. The first way is through examination of availability and access to basic needs in the community. Burton (1990) links formation of protracted conflicts to denial of identity, security, recognition and equal participation within society. The study found out that issues surrounding these needs have contributed significantly to conflicts in the region. Respondents from the four focus group discussions felt that lapses in security in the region contributed to conflicts in most cases. It also emerged that the Pokot in Lelan felt inferior to the Marakwet since the latter were better off economically[38]. These circumstances led to tension and violence in the region. One elder commented:

[38] Key informant 2,Lelan; key informant 3, Lelan

'...we decided to change to agro pastoralism from pastoralism. This change improved our lives significantly...our neighbours felt threatened by our stability and often raided us[39] *...'*

Related to this cause of conflict is disparity in levels of development between the two communities. Olson (1963) identifies as a root cause of protracted conflict changes in economic development that brings about marginalization of sections of people in the community. The study established that economic development that occurred at the Marakwet side of the border served to marginalize the neighbouring Pokot community and produce insecurity in the border. A key informant reflected:

'...most NGOs were concentrated in Marakwet side...they did all sorts of projects there. Eventually they were enjoying things that we could only dream of...they had easy access to water, health facilities, their children went to school...they were better off in terms of food security...on the other hand we struggled to live yet we were neighbours, it seemed very wrong...we had to share these benefits...this is how we justified our invasions[40] *'*

Thirdly, scarcity models of conflict formation (Dixon 1994, Gurr 1970, Gleich 1993) also provide useful insights into the origins of conflict between the two border communities. The study found that, overtime, changes that have occurred in the availability of resources like land, water and pasture and the accompanying changes in demand of these resources occasioned by population pressure have created situations of intense conflict in the region[41].One respondent commented:

'...prolonged draughts wiped out our livestock at one time...to survive we had to raid our neighbours. The dry spells also made watering holes dry up and we had to fight over the remaining watering points...and sometimes we drove our livestock to our neighbours fields to graze, this often led to fights...we understood too well that we had to fight , we had no choice'

On the whole, the root causes of conflict in Lelan division have been traced to socio-economic structures that are not responsive to the needs of the community. CJPC pursues activities that aim

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[39] Key informant 6, Sengwer
[40] Key informant 2, lelan
[41] Focus group discussion 4, young women; focus group discussion 2, elders,men

at fostering socio-economic structures that meet basic human needs and maximize people's participation in making decisions that affect them.

CJPC has been involved in various livelihood diversification activities in Lelan. Ellis (2005) defines livelihood diversification as the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of household activities and assets in order to survive or to improve their standards of living. These assets include physical capital (basic infrastructure like schools, roads, and hospitals), human capital (education and training), social capital (associations, groups, and social networks), financial capital and natural capital.

Historically, pastoralism has been the major source of livelihood in the division. However diminishing pasture and water challenged the viability of the practice in the region. Overreliance on pastoralism meant that the communities had to fight over resources with their neighbours. It is because of this situation that CJPC embarked on programmes to change people's attitudes concerning their main sources of livelihood. This was to be achieved through workshops on alternative livelihoods. These workshops were held as follow up to peace connector projects. During meetings for the connector projects, the facilitators took the opportunity to offer training on alternative livelihoods. This was usually through interactive sessions in which members would discuss various opportunities for livelihood diversification[42].The sessions gave the community members a chance to think of ways in which they could improve their standards of living.

The study found out that CJPC has been involved in creation of enabling environments for diversification. This has been through involvement in activities that facilitate communities to improve their assets through development of human capital, infrastructure and social capital. These processes lie at the core of conflict transformation.

Peace connector projects have played a major role in improving physical and human capital. Through CJPC initiatives, the community has been involved in rehabilitation of schools, construction of cattle dips and opening up of market centers previously shut down due to

[42] Key informant 3, CJPC

conflict. Construction of schools has made it possible for children who previously stayed at home to access basic education. Cattle dips on the other hand have been instrumental in improving the quality of livestock in the division. Formation of Lelan youth groups, women groups, Lelan revolving fund and opening up of markets discussed in this chapter are part of CJPCs' strategies to improve social, financial and natural capital in Lelan.

4.1.2 Lelan Youth Groups

Youths have been prioritized by CJPC due to their important role as perpetrators and victims of conflicts in the community. Majority of youths interviewed had witnessed atrocities. They have been socialized into violent conflicts. For a majority, violent conflicts deprived them of the necessary social mechanisms required to thrive in life. The disruptions of these social rhythms impacted negatively on their attitude towards life. A key informant commented:

> *'...most youths have grown up in these violent conditions. Most dropped out of school and some have not had a chance of any formal education, some of them have taken part in many raids...some develop low self esteem and are easily taken into destructive activities like alcoholism and banditry...however, the youth are very resilient and have potential to easily change their attitude...the organization aims at building on the youths strengths and resilience...providing alternatives to destructive behaviour while economically empowering them to meet their basic needs and feel useful in the society*[43]*...'*

Another respondent corroborated this statement thus:

> *'... the youth still have a lot of years ahead of them...this makes it difficult for them to be pessimistic about the future...they have the energy to make changes in their own lives and be optimistic...these qualities makes it easy for them to take deliberate steps aimed at improving their lives and that of the community*[44]*...'*

Majority of the youths in Lelan have not had a chance at formal education. Moreover, the few that have managed to go to school are unemployed. In some circumstances, some drop out of school since they cannot afford school fees. Some respondents linked jobless youths to cases of crime in the division[45]. The crimes identified were petty theft and banditry. Moreover, these

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[43] key informant 3,cjpc
[44] key informant 4, cjpc
[45] Focus group discussion 3, elders,women

youths are more likely to indulge in drug and substance abuse. In the division, a sense of hopelessness had led the youth into alcoholism as one respondent commented:

> *'my son had finished form four but couldn't find a job....he felt bad since he had hoped to benefit from going to school...soon he turned into alcoholism and could not help with any work at home, he later joined* ***Kaporyong*** (a group of warriors who isolate themselves from community and live in forests claiming to provide security for the community but are linked to banditry in the region)*...he was lucky to join the Kapyongen youth group...*[46]'

Youth groups in the division started as a CJPC initiative. Officials from the organization held frequent meetings with the youth in the region aimed at finding out their perception of their own situation. The needs of the youth were identified and this called for further training. The major issue raised was unemployment. They had little to do in the community and they felt helpless about their situation. The CJPC staff decided to liaise with other organizations that could provide vocational training for the youth[47]. Coupled with exposure tours and experiences they had had in peace connector projects, the youths formed their own groups. To start with, they decided to be involved in agricultural activities. The following account by a member of one of the youth groups illustrates the rationale behind the decision:

> *'...we reflected on our challenges as youth in the community...we talked about our conflicts ... We found that raiding was not a good choice, so we had to substitute it for a productive activity. We needed money to purchase things, and we also needed sufficient food. So we thought of farming, we started with tomatoes, our region is fertile, we only needed water and labour...*[48]'

At the beginning of 2003, youths from Kaptabuk, Kapyongen and Lelan locations organized themselves into groups. Being borderland locations, these groups were composed of youths from either side of the divide. The groups met regularly under the facilitation of CJPC staff. These initial meetings were for group bonding purposes. Eventually, each group came up with its desired project. The projects identified were for income generation purposes. Initial projects

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[46]Focus group discussion 3, elders, women
[47]Key informant 3,CJPC; focus group discussion 4,young women
[48] Focus group discussion 4, young women

were agro-based but with time some of the youths ventured into shop keeping while some became *boda boda* operators and livestock traders. One youth reflected:

> *'...being a member of the youth group opened my mind to many business opportunities .I got the skills I needed in the group to start my own business.*[49]*'*

The CJPC donated water pumps to groups that had ventured into farming. Certified seeds and pesticides were also donated by the organization to help the groups start off. With time, these groups managed to sell their produce and reinvest the money in their projects. The success of these groups led more youths that had initially been skeptical into joining. The result is that as at the time of this study, a number of youths were gainfully employed in fruit and vegetable farming in the division. This had reduced the number of idle youth hence sustaining peace in the region[50]. Moreover, having alternative sources of income has served to reduce reliance of the youth on livestock raring hence reducing the occurrences of conflict relating to cattle rustling.

4.1.3 Lelan Women Groups

Like youth groups, women groups in the division began to emerge as a result of CJPC initiatives. The groups were initially formed for purposes of psychosocial support. With time, the women organized themselves into smaller groups to venture into income-generating activities. Membership to the groups was determined according to zones[51]. Initial projects were agro-based. Motivation for the projects arose from exposure tours of the women groups. CJPC facilitated several exposure tours to neighbouring communities. In these tours, the women learnt about many income generating activities. A respondent commented '*...it took us a trip to Marakwet to learn that there were many ways of making an income...*' The women started with bee-keeping and vegetable farming. The organization offered training on bee keeping and donated several beehives for the women groups. The organization also assisted in marketing of their produce. Money obtained from these initial sales was ploughed back into the bee-keeping and vegetable farming projects.

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[49] Focus group discussion 1,reformed morans
[50] Key informant 3,CJPC
[51] Focus group discussion 2;focus group discussion 3

Another project by the women groups was a maize milling project. Initially, women had to walk for long distances to access a posho mill. Moreover, some women relied on traditional milling which took much of their time and energy. The maize milling project was seen as an opportunity to make an income while reducing distances travelled by women to access this service. At the moment, most locations in the division have posho mills. The mills are run by the women groups[52].

The women have also ventured into shop keeping, basketry and making of ornaments. Some women entrepreneurs have ventured into selling of medicinal herbs. The division is rich in traditional herbs. Women use their traditional knowledge of these herbs to earn a living. The herbs are sold as far as Nairobi[53]. In support of the groups, CJPC offers frequent training on management of the projects. In some instances, the organization markets the produce from the women groups[54].

4.1.4 Lelan Revolving Fund

Being a rural area, access to credit is a major challenge to the community in Lelan. The organization initiated a revolving fund to drive the projects identified by the youth and women groups. A revolving fund is a financial mechanism that allows the borrower to use a loan for a specific project. The borrower takes out the money from the fund as needed and repays that money plus interest as soon as the project starts generating an income. The borrower enjoys continued access to the fund on condition that every loan taken out is repaid. The advantage of the fund is that it allows small farmers to get access to credit as needed and encourages them to save money. Over time, the fund attracts interest which then becomes the property of farmers.

The revolving fund was initiated as a result of meetings between CJPC staff, the women and youth groups in Lelan. In these meetings, it was established that inadequate startup capital for identified projects held them back. The CJPC explained to the groups how a revolving fund works and the conditions for being eligible for the loan. Each group was then organized into

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[52] Focus group discussion 3,elders,women
[53] focus group discussion 3,elders,women
[54] Key informant 3,CJPC

smaller groups of about ten and each of these subgroups selected a group leader. The group leader became responsible for collecting the loans plus interest within the agreed time. An overall management committee was to be responsible for record keeping[55].

Apart from providing funds for the projects, the revolving fund was initiated to bring the two communities together. The fund was started on condition that it would be used by farmers from either side of the borderland (Pokot and Marakwet farmers). This meant that the fund was to be loaned in turns. Once the Lelan farmers paid back the loan and interest, the money was to be made available for farmers on the Marakwet side (in Sengwer division). On several occasions, the fund has been availed to the farmers in kind instead of cash. Sometimes, the management committee purchases seed and fertilizer at the request of the farmers. This has proved very helpful since the quality of farm inputs is assured hence leading to better yields[56].

Having this joint fund has created opportunities for the farmers to work together towards improving their economic situation. Each side cooperates to pay back on time as this determines the success of projects. The two communities named the fund *jirani mwema,* Swahili for good neighbor. This reflects the wish of the groups to live in peace[57]. The revolving fund has played a role in diversifying the sources of income for the two communities. This implies that reliance on livestock has reduced thereby reducing the chances of conflicts over pasture and water in the region. Moreover, the fund provides an opportunity for the two groups to interact therefore reducing stereotypes and tensions that come with severed communication channels. This interaction makes it unlikely for conflicts to break out since the channels of communications are opened.

4.2 Border Markets as Spaces for Peace

The women and youth groups in Lelan and Sengwer divisions have worked towards improving the economic situation of the region. Opening up of border markets became an important initiative towards marketing of their produce. Initially, border markets had witnessed violent

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[55] Key informant 3,CJPC
[56] Focus group discussion 3
[57] Focus group discussion 4

conflicts as communities took advantage of the meeting place to carry out revenge attacks. Chesegon, a major market at the border, has in the past been a battleground with both communities taking advantage of market days to settle scores. However, since the coming together of groups in the two regions, peaceful interactions in the market have been witnessed. A respondent commented:

> *'...it is in our best interest to ensure peace in the markets since we depend on trade between the two communities. We come to the markets with perishable goods and these must be sold immediately...any conflicts in the markets would ruin our activities...because of this, we try to avoid any conflicts*[58]*...'*

The two communities came up with market peace committees. The main function of the market committees was to quickly resolve disagreements in the market before they got out of hand. The committees are made up of people from both communities. The market committees usually comprise people in the community peace committee. CJPC is involved in regular training of the peace committees on conflict resolution in the markets.

4.3 Activities at Cultural Level

At the cultural level, conflict transformation has involved identification of cultural patterns that contribute to violence in a given context. It also involves building on existing cultural mechanisms for handling conflict. Lederach (1997) argues that culture plays an important role in dictating how communities respond to conflict. CJPC approaches each level of transformation through a cultural lens. One official commented:

> *'...it is often stated that these conflicts have a primarily economic origin...that they arise from scarcity of resources in Lelan...but the actual conflict is manifested in the cultural context...morans go to war because they see it as a way of defending their ethnic community first...to defend their identity...and secondly, to secure pasture and water...therefore culture is primarily responsible for the violent engagement...*[59]*'*

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[58] Focus group discussion 4,young women
[59] Key informant 5, CJPC

In the above comment, culture is used to justify conflict. The material base of conflict becomes intertwined with culture base. CJPC looked into aspects of culture that determine how the community members view themselves and others, and how this feeds into conflicts in the community. The Pokot and Marakwet have a shared history and very similar culture[60]. This fact has enabled the use of culture to pursue peaceful coexistence in the region. A key informant reflected:

> '...our totems are a unifying factor in the community, for a long time now we remind the **kokwo** (council of elders) of our common origins, especially during times of violent conflicts...we share totems that spread to the rest of the kalenjin community...culturally, it is morally wrong to keep fighting with kinsmen...especially if the fight concerns resources that are our common lifeline...it is taboo to let our kinsmen's children starve to death...we must share[61]...'

At the personal level, success of psychosocial support depends on ability of the staff to incorporate a cultural backdrop to it. The staffs incorporate traditional healers in group counseling sessions. Rituals performed by the healers are readily accepted by participants as a way of overcoming the tragedies that befell them. One respondent commented:

> *'...it is easy for people to identify with the rituals. The traditional healers have played a key role in explaining these rituals to counselors...this knowledge has helped to develop holistic approaches that are sensitive to community needs. This way it is easy for the community to understand the group counseling sessions[62]...'*

Another aspect of culture is the emphasis on use of groups to address personal needs. In trauma counseling, for instance, CJPC uses groups in the society as opposed to counseling individual cases. This approach is based on the communal nature of the Pokot community. Group counseling reduces the risk of stigmatization that is common in situations of individual counseling. A respondent reflected:

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[60] Key informant 5,CJCP
[61] Key informant 6, Sengwer
[62] Key informant 5,CJPC

'...traditionally, people belong to a group, we do not see people as individuals, therefore there is no 'personal problem'... if a person has a problem, we think of it in terms of 'our problem[63]...'

At relational levels, the cultural importance of the *kokwo* (council of elders) is exploited to facilitate peace meetings. The *kokwo* plays a key role in decision making in both Pokot and Marakwet communities. Traditionally, it was the role of the *kokwo* to give the morans blessing before a raid. It was also the *kokwo* that were actively involved in dialogue for peace. CJPC staff incorporates them in every step of activities starting from the initial one-to-one meeting to the signing of 'social contract' stage. The cultural practice of sharing of food to signify reconciliation and a willingness to proceed with peace talks is also used by CJPC. The entire step by step approach to peace talks was designed in line with the traditional methods of dialogue among the Pokot and Marakwet communities. A key informant narrated:

'...it is important for our activities not to be far removed from the peoples ways of life...we sought to use their knowledge to come up with activities that will not be rejected on the basis of being foreign...we have found that considering peoples beliefs and values is central in any activity aimed at transforming conflict[64]...'

Peace connector projects appeal to the traditional maxim that asserts 'I am because we are'. This virtue places emphasis on communalism, showing of compassion to fellow humans and sharing among community members. Pokot and Marakwet cultures both share this virtue. Activities at the relational level are tied closely to the communal way of life of the community. The success of the Lelan revolving fund, for instance, is attributed to the norm of reciprocity. All groups involved in the fund are aware that their actions (timely repayment of loan or defaulting on repayment) impact on the other group positively or negatively. In the spirit of good neighbourliness, each group strives to pay back the loan on time. A respondent commented:

'...culturally, we have a practice that involves rescuing our neighbours in times of need...if my neighbor has no food, I am obliged by tradition to provide for his family

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[63] Key informant 6,Sengwer
[64] Key informant 5, CJPC

until such a time that he can provide for his family...when he is out of trouble, he pays me back in the same fashion[65]*...'*

On the whole, culture is a thread running through most activities at the personal, relational and structural levels.

[65] Key informant 5,Sengwer

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study sought to find out the role played by NGOs in conflict transformation. In particular, the study focused on the activities that CJCP engages in towards facilitating access to economic and social resources in Lelan. It also focused on activities undertaken by the NGO towards changing attitudes and perceptions that enhance conflict in the community. The study also focused on ways in which culture has been harnessed to address conflict in the division. These activities by the CJPC are expected to put to an end conflicts that emerge from socio-economic and political structures that are not sensitive or responsive to the needs of the people in the community as well as bring about changes in people's attitudes and behaviour towards rival groups in the community.

The study was conducted, firstly, in recognition of the failure of conflict resolution approaches of the past and potential of conflict transformation approaches to end the protracted conflicts and, secondly, in realization that NGOs were better placed to create general conditions that enhanced peace-building and, consequently, development in fragile communities. The emergence of intrastate conflicts in recent years has led to emergence of approaches that are more people-centered and that aim at addressing the root causes of conflict. This has led to the adoption of conflict transformation approaches by peace actors as opposed to resolution and management approaches. Unlike management and resolution, transformation aims at achieving peace through not only changing negative relationships between conflicting parties but also in changing the structures responsible for conflict. From the theory, conflict transformation involves matching specific interventions to alter perceptions, attitudes, relationships and behaviors between parties involved in the conflict. In a nutshell, interventions aimed at transformation are carried out at personal, relational, structural and cultural levels.

While the literature is clear on the types of transformational changes involved at each phase of a conflict, there is lack of clarity on the role played by NGOs in the transformation process. This gap has led to NGOs resolving and managing conflicts despite setting out to transform them. This study fills this gap by finding out how NGOs engage in conflict transformation. The study,

therefore, seeks to promote an understanding of the conflict transformation process among NGOs as this would be useful in laying down strategies that are efficient and effective in securing durable peace. As regards policy, the study is important in clarifying the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in the current draft national policy on peace building and conflict management.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the study was to find out the role played by the CJPC in facilitating access to economic and social resources in the community. The study found out that CJPC traced conflicts in Lelan to socioeconomic structures that were not responsive to community needs. Consequently, CJPC pursues activities that target reshaping socioeconomic structures to meet basic needs of the community. CJPC holds regular workshops in the division on alternative livelihoods. These workshops serve to inform the community members on ways of diversifying their household activities and assets so as to improve their living standards.

The study also found out that CJPC is credited with initiating youth and women groups in the division. These groups are funded by Lelan revolving fund, a fund initiated by CJPC to run projects identified by the groups. The CJPC was found to be involved in marketing for the groups at times as well as offering regular training to the groups on management of the projects. The groups had employed a large number of people in the division thereby raising the standards of living for many households.

The second objective of the study was to find out activities that CJPC had undertaken to change attitudes and perceptions that enhanced conflict in the community. The study found out that at the personal level of transformation, CJPC activities targeted maximization of personal potential for growth physically, emotionally and spiritually. At the personal level CJPC undertook peace training workshops, exposure tours, provision of psychosocial support and paralegal training.

Peace training workshops and exposure tours were expected to provide new information as regards the 'other'. This knowledge leads to a change of attitude in individuals. Moreover, CJPC used exposure tours to dispel any stereotypes formed by the two communities. The tours also

served to rebuild lost trust between Pokot and Marakwet. The organization also provided psychosocial support to groups in the division to facilitate healing. The support also led to restoration of individual self-esteem. Paralegal training has been pursued by the organization to enable the community link conflicts to human rights abuses and breaking of the law. Through this linking, the community members were able to use the law to solve conflicts instead of resorting to violence.

The study found out that at the relational level, CJPC pursues activities aimed at opening up communication channels and allowing for contact between the Pokot and Marakwet in the division. The activities pursued enhanced collaboration and understanding between the two communities. At this level, the organization held peace meetings, supported various sporting activities and peace connector projects. CJPC designed a step-by-step approach in carrying out peace meetings. This approach is similar to the traditional Pokot and Marakwet styles of conflict resolution. Activities in the peace meetings were driven by the communities in conflict. The role of the organization in peace meetings is limited to facilitation.

Peace connector projects were identified by the two communities. The role of CJPC is to provide the necessary training required for the smooth running of the projects. These projects included schools for peace and cattle dips for peace. The organization also partly funded all connector projects identified by the two groups. Connector projects had played a major role in bringing together the Pokot and Marakwet to collaborate towards attainment of a common goal. The study also found out that CJPC supported various sporting activities in the division. The organization sponsored an annual peace marathon in the division. It also sponsored football matches in the division. Sporting activities had offered the communities spaces and opportunities to express themselves freely and form friendships.

The third objective of the study was to find out ways in which culture had been used to address conflicts in the region. It was found that CJPC incorporated communities' values and beliefs in designing project activities in the region. The organization identified cultural patterns that had in the past contributed to violet conflicts in the division. This identification is important in coming

up with strategies that can be used to counter them. Moreover, the organization also made use of existing cultural mechanisms for handling conflict in the division.

5.3 Conclusions

Drawing from the findings of the study, some conclusions can be made. First, the study concludes that CJPC engaged in interventions targeting complexity of conflict (at personal, relational, structural and cultural levels) to transform it. The study has shown that CJPC has made steps towards transforming capacities for war in all levels into capacities for peace. Capacities for war in Lelan include different group interests, retrogressive cultural practices like cattle rustling and stereotypes. On the other hand, capacities for peace include common history, similar culture and peace connector projects.

The study has also revealed that for the purposes of being effective and bringing about lasting change in communities, NGOs need to pursue simultaneous and complementary interventions. For instance, the study found out that interventions aimed at changing attitudes and perceptions at the personal level run simultaneously with interventions targeting opening up of communication channels at the relational level. This ensures that the interventions support each other hence securing sustainable positive change in the community. Moreover, the study reveals that the organization adopts iterative processes that are integral in the transformation process. The study also revealed that conflict transformation is a multifaceted approach that requires collaboration among peace actors. CJPC collaborated with appropriate operational partners in the region to help fill capacity gaps where they existed.

The study also confirmed that the transformation process relies on innovativeness and creativity of the peace actors (ACTION 2003:5). In this regard, CJPC uses creative and innovative ways to enhance communication between the Pokot and Marakwet. Rather than rely purely on dialogue, the organization uses sporting activities to enhance communication. Sporting activities offer non verbal ways of communication while reinforcing contact between the two groups. This approach provides creative solutions to solving the complex problem of dissociation (declined physical contact and communication between rival groups) in the community. Moreover, creative learning

techniques like exposure tours have been adopted by the organization in place of conventional seminars and workshops.

The study concludes that in facilitating access to socioeconomic resources, CJPCs' activities specifically reshape socioeconomic structures to facilitate peaceful coexistence Lelan. The activities targeted the meeting of basic needs of the community members. Being resource-based in nature, the conflicts in Lelan mainly concerned access to water and pasture. These conflicts emerged due to overdependence of the community on pastoralism for survival. CJPC activities, therefore, have empowered groups in the community to diversify their livelihoods. The activities have led to improvement of basic infrastructure like schools and improving access to water. Main activities include supporting of youth and women groups in the division. Moreover, CJPC has been actively involved in funding of projects in the division. The organization also trains management committees of the projects to ensure the projects do not collapse due to management challenges. The impacts of these activities in the community include increased sources of livelihood. This means that the community does not have to depend on livestock only for survival. This has consequently led to reduction of violent conflict in the division. Another impact has been the optimal utilization of resources in the community. The groups mobilize resources in the community to meet their basic needs.

Activities targeting change of attitude and perceptions in the community are approached by CJPC from the personal and relational levels. At the personal level, the organization pursues activities that address self-esteem issues and spiritual and physical well-being of the individuals. The major activities include organization of training workshops, provision of psychosocial support and facilitation of exposure tours. The main function of these activities is provision of knowledge that leads to change in how the communities view each other. It has led to doing away with stereotypes and misinformation about the rival community. The activities have also served to empower the communities to deal with their challenges in an amicable way instead of resorting to violence. At the relational level, the activities mainly involve improving of communication between the Pokot and Marakwet. The activities also provide chances for the two communities to meet often and establish friendships and partnerships. CJPC has made use of

peace connector projects and activities to enhance opportunities for the two groups to meet. These activities have led to increased collaboration and bonding between the two communities.

Finally, the study concludes that CJPC incorporates culture in designing all its activities in the transformation process. The organization identifies existing cultural mechanisms and builds on them in the process. Incorporation of spiritual healers in trauma counseling, incorporation of traditional practices like sharing of food during peace meetings and recognition of the role played by the council of elders have all led to acceptance of CJPC activities in the division.

5.4 Recommendations

The current draft national policy on peace building and conflict management (NPPBCM) takes cognizance of conflict transformation as an emerging approach in addressing conflict in Kenya. However, the policy is not clear on the roles and responsibilities of actors in the transformation process. Conflict transformation approaches address the root causes of conflict at the structural and relational levels thereby being better placed in securing durable peace when compared to resolution and management approaches. Conflict management and resolution have not been successful in ending protracted social conflicts. This study, therefore, recommends that the peace policy provide for roles by NGOs and other actors in peace building. This would ensure that the policy is effective in ending conflicts in Kenya.

From the conclusions, the study recommends the uptake of conflict transformation approaches by peace actors to end protracted conflicts. This study recommends that peace actors should gear their activities towards reshaping socioeconomic structures to be responsive to needs of communities. The study also recommends that peace actors should be creative in finding ways to run activities in a manner that they mutually support each other. This enhances sustainability of peace programmes. The study also recommends that peace actors should incorporate culture in designing all activities aimed at conflict transformation. This is through identification of cultural mechanisms for dealing with conflict and building on them in the process.

Apart from a few school-based activities, most activities in the community focused of adults. Children living in fragile areas often become socialized in conflicts. This has an impact on their

future reactions to conflicts in society (Gomez and Asger, 2010). Activities aimed at transformation, therefore, should include them so as to change their attitudes and perceptions at an early age. The study also recommends that CJPC initiates activities that bring more children on board.

This study focused on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation. The study recommends further research into the role of other peace actors in conflict transformation. This would be important in clarifying how various peace actors interact and cooperate towards achieving conflict transformation. This will also guard against replication of projects and waste of resources.

The study was carried out in a marginalized area where resource-based conflicts are prevalent. The study recommends carrying out of similar research in other regions in the country, especially regions of ethnic-based conflicts. This would be useful in finding ways of bringing protracted ethnic conflicts in Kenya to an end.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: KEY INFORMANT 1 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is Philista Sang, a final year Master of Arts student at the Institute for Development Studies, University Of Nairobi. I am writing a project paper on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree, with a specific case study of CJCP in Lelan Division. Information given will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

DESIGNATION

DATE

QUESTION	RESPONSE
1)what are the origins of CJPC *-mission* *-vision* *-mandate*	
*2)*projects of CJPC *-what kind of projects* *-where are the projects situated*	
*3)*projects in lelan *-history of CJPC activities in Lelan* *-peace building projects*	

APPENDIX 11: KEY INFORMANT 2 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is Philista Sang, a final year Master of Arts student at the Institute for Development Studies, University Of Nairobi. I am writing a project paper on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree, with a specific case study of CJCP in Lelan Division. Information given will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

DESIGNATION

DATE

QUESTION	RESPONSE
1(a) what are the major programmes of CJPC in Lelan division?	
1(b) what are the objectives of these programmes?	
1(c) for how long have the programmes been running in the division?	
2(a) what is then nature of conflicts that occur in Lelan?	
2(b) at what stage of the conflict does CJPC intervene?	

APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANT 3 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is Philista Sang, a final year Master of Arts student at the Institute for Development Studies, University Of Nairobi. I am writing a project paper on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree, with a specific case study of CJCP in Lelan Division. Information given will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

DESIGNATION

DATE

QUESTION	RESPONSE
1(a) in what ways does CJPC promote access to social services/resources in Lelan division?	
1(b) in what ways does CJPC promote aces to economic resources/services in the division?	
2(a) what have been the outcomes of CJPC intervention in promoting access to social resources in the division	
3. What are the challenges faced by the organization in promoting access to social and economic resources in the division?	

APPENDIX 1V: KEY INFORMANT 4 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE(KI4,CJPC)

My name is Philista Sang, a final year Master of Arts student at the Institute for Development Studies, University Of Nairobi. I am writing a project paper on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree, with a specific case study of CJCP in Lelan Division. Information given will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

DESIGNATION

DATE

QUESTION	RESPONSE
1.what activities has CJPC been involved in to address prejudice and distrust among conflicting parties in the community	
2.what have been the outcomes of activities aimed at changing prejudice and distrust	
3.what challenges are faced when addressing prejudice and distrust among conflicting parties	

APPENDIX V:KEY INFORMANT 5 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE(KI5,CJPC)

My name is Philista Sang, a final year Master of Arts student at the Institute for Development Studies, University Of Nairobi. I am writing a project paper on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree, with a specific case study of CJCP in Lelan Division. Information given will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

DESIGNATION

DATE

QUESTION	RESPONSE
1(a)what patterns of culture have been responsible for violent conflicts in the region?	
1(b)how has the organization helped to change the cultural values/change the basis of enmity between conflicting parties	
1(c)in what ways has the organization made use of existing cultural mechanisms to deal with conflict/the values that promote conflict in the region	
2(a) has the organization carried out research on conflict issues in the region?	
2(b)were the findings ever discussed with the conflicting groups?	
2(c)what have been the outcomes of knowledge development and sharing concerning conflicts in the region?	
2(d)what challenges are encountered in knowledge development and sharing?	

APPENDIX V1: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is Philista Sang, a final year Master of Arts student at the Institute for Development Studies, University Of Nairobi. I am writing a project paper on the role of NGOs in conflict transformation in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree, with a specific case study of CJCP in Lelan Division. Information given will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

DATE

SECTION A: ABOUT LELAN

QUESTION	RESPONSE
1 what have been the main sources of conflict in Lelan division	
2(a)what have been the patterns of violent conflicts in the past one year? *-what were the conflict over* *-how were they addressed(who was involved ,was there any third party intervention*)	
2(b) what have been the patterns of conflict in the past three years? *-what were the conflict over* *-how were they addressed(who was involved ,was there any third party intervention*)	
2(c) what have been the patterns of conflict in the past five years *-what were the conflict over* *-how were they addressed(who was involved ,was there any third party intervention*)	

SECTION B: ACTICITIES OF CJPC IN LELAN

QUESTION	RESPONSE
3 do you know of any NGO involved in conflict issues in the region? *-what do you know about CJPC?*	
4 What activities has CJPC been involved in in the division?	
5 how have you been involved in CJPC activities? *-have you attended meetings, trainings, workshops organized by CJPC?* *-what information did you get from this meetings* *-Have you taken part in any connector projects organized by CJPC?*	

SECTION C: INDICATORS OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

QUESTION	RESPONSE
a)personal and relational dimensions 6. What are the coping strategies by community regarding the conflicts? *-how have you responded to the conflicts* *-do you feel the need for a third party* *-what recreational activities are you involved in as a community* *-who attends these recreational activities?(men,women,children,members from deferent ethnic groups)* *-what communal activities have you been involved in in the past three years(community projects/connector projects)* *Probe for level of trust among community members/trust between ethnic groups*	
b) cultural dimension 7. In what ways have cultural mechanisms for addressing conflicts been used in the region?	

-elders council *-oath taking* *-fines*	
8. What are your views regarding cultural practices/cultural values that have led to violent conflicts? *-cattle raiding* *-moranism* *-early marriages* *-status attached to number of livestock*	
c)structural dimension 9(a).compared to five years ago, what changes have occurred as regards the following -access to health services -access to water -food security -access to education facilities -access to pasture	
9(b) which of these changes can you attribute to the activities of CJPC?	
10. How have you been involved in making political, social and economic decisions in the community *(probe for extent of involvement, how does the community make decisions, who are involved in decision making?)* *-have you been represented indecision making?(what is the evidence for this)* *-do you actively participate in decision making* *-how has CJPC enabled people to make decisions that affect them politically, socially and economically?*	