CHRISTIAN BASED INTERVENTIONS TO MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF INTERETHNIC CONFLICT IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY, 1992-2012.

PHARIS MURANG'AI

A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES,

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

NOVEMBER 2022

DECLARATION

This doctoral thesis is my original work and has not been presented for an award of a degree in any other university.

map ,.

14/11/2022

Pharis Murangai

Date

C80/96547/2014

This doctoral thesis has been submitted with our approval as university supervisors.

Jonneco

Prof. Jesse Mugambi

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

Rtulum:

14/11/2022

Date

14/11/2022

Date

Prof. Peter Mumo

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved wife, Wacera wa Murangai, our children Njogu, Irungu, Muthoni and my mum Muthoni Wa Murangai for their understanding and immeasurable encouragement towards completion of this study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express utmost gratitude to my supervisors Prof. J. N. K Mugambi and Prof. Peter Mumo, for their guidance throughout my doctoral studies. They committed their time, skills, and vast experience unreservedly. Prof. Mugambi, in particular, encouraged me to complete the work. I will be forever indebted.

I recognize the members of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies and the Faculty Post-graduate Committee for the positive comments that helped me improve the quality of this study. I acknowledge Moses Mbuthia and Bishop Gatu of the Free Pentecostal Church of Kenya for their support during identifying of various locations within the Sub-county and the contact persons.

My dear wife, Wacera wa Murangai, encouraged and offered me the motivation that I needed; therefore, my special appreciation goes to her. To my sons, Njogu Wa Murangai, Irungu Wa Murangai and Muthoni wa Murangai thank you for brightening my life when I spent many hours working on the thesis. To God is the glory for the gift of life and the opportunity to undertake the study.

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on Christian-based interventions in the effects of interethnic conflicts on people residing in the Njoro Sub-county, from 1992 to 2012. The study has provided detailed information on the causes and effects of interethnic conflict. It has further provided valuable information on the Christian based interventions, aspects that influence interventions, and the difficulties experienced. Recommendations on improving the effectiveness of Christian based interventions have been made. The theoretical framework in the study is the theory of situational ethics which asserts that the absolute law that should influence decision making in any circumstance is love. It is envisaged in the study that the provision of interventions to those affected by the conflict is primarily a result of the love that is articulated in Christian teachings. The researcher applied the qualitative methodology to collect the data. Forty informants who comprised members of ethnic communities, individuals engaged in conflict resolution, peace, and reconciliation process, government officials, and members of the clergy were interviewed. Judgmental sampling was applied to identify respondents that had information relevant to the study. From the findings, Christian based interventions provided relief aid to those affected which included food, clothes, shelters, reconstructing livelihoods, psychosocial support, prayers and homilies, lobbying and advocacy, and peacebuilding initiatives. The interventions derived motivation from Christianity's teachings on love, interethnic relations, peace, conflict resolutions, and God's overall plan for humankind. Inadequate support to some members of the clergy who were providing the interventions, lack of cooperation among the members of the clergy, and interruptions by the political environment posed some difficulties to Christian based interventions. Other difficulties include prevalent mistrust, suspicion, inadequate financial resources, and skills among some Christian leaders on how to respond to the interethnic conflict. Christian based interventions are valuable in the future relations of ethnic communities residing in Njoro Sub-county. Such emanates from the significant influence of Christianity in the Subcounty. About 94% of the population within Nakuru County where Njoro Sub-county is located professes Christian faith, providing a valuable avenue to articulate and implement Christian based interventions to mitigate the effects and resolve the interethnic conflict. To enhance the effectiveness of the Christian based interventions, Christianity will need to win the trust and confidence of the divided ethnic communities. Such will require those involved in providing the interventions to be committed to demonstrating the equality of different ethnic communities residing in the Sub-county. Peace and reconciliation between communities will need to be designed as a continuous process and not a short-term exercise during violent periods. It will be crucial to build the capacity of Christian-based institutions and their respective leadership to enhance effectiveness. More research on how interethnic conflict has affected people's trust in Christian teachings and Christian leadership in the Sub-county is needed. Investigations of probable contributions by individuals who refer to themselves as Christian "prophets" and "prophetesses" to the conflict in the region would valuable. The effects of the ethnic constitution of denominations and churches on the integration of ethnic communities and the psychosocial well-being of the affected individuals and communities would require further research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABSTRACT	V
FIGURE	xi
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS	
ACRONYMS	xiii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	3
1.3 Research Questions 1.4 Objectives of the Study	
1.5 Justification of the Study	6
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study	7
1.7 Literature Review	8
1.7.1 Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-county	8
1.7.2 Christian Based Interventions	14
1.8 Theoretical Framework	24
1.9 Conceptual Framework	25
1.10 Hypotheses	28
1.11 Research Methodology	28
1.11.1 Research Design	28
1.11.2 Target Population	29
1.11.3 Site Selection	30
1.11.4 Sample and Sampling Technique	30
1.11.5 Data Collection Techniques	31
1.11.6 Validity of the Research Instruments	32
1.11.7 Reliability of Research Instruments	33
1.11.8 Data Analysis	33

1.11.9 Ethical Consideration	33
1.12 Conclusion	34
CHAPTER TWO: CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF INTERETHNIC CONFLIC	
COMMUNITIES IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY	
2.1 Background of Interethnic Conflicts in Njoro Sub-county	
2.2 A History of Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-county	
2.3 Characteristics and Pattern of Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-country	
2.4 Communities in Njoro Sub-county	
2.5 Causes of the Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-county	49
2.5.1 Land Ownership Claims	50
2.5.2 Ethnic Identities	56
2.5.3 Political Contests	59
2.5.4 Allocation of National Resources	62
2.5.5 Social-Cultural Tension	63
2.5.6 Increasing Population	64
2.5.7 Poverty	65
2.5.8 Livestock Theft Cases	66
2.6 The Effects of Interethnic Conflict	67
2.6.1 Looting and Burning of Homesteads	68
2.6.2 Maiming and Killings	69
2.6.3 Interruption of Electoral Process	71
2.6.4 Resentments against the Seeming Government Inaction	71
2.6.5 Displacements of Sections of the Population	72
2.6.6 Weakening Marriages and families	73
2.6.7 Interruption of Education Sector	76
2.6.8 Affecting the Health of the Population	77
2.6.9 Interrupting People's Livelihoods	
2.6.10 Obstinate Mistrust among Communities	
2.6.11 Strained Intra-Ethnic relations	
2.7 Conclusion	82

CHAPTER THREE: CHRISTIAN BASED INTERVENTIONS TO MITIGATE	
THE EFFECTS OF INTERETHNIC CONFLICT	86
3.0 A Background on Christian Based Interventions	86
3.1 Colonial Period, Christianity and Peace among Ethnic Communities	90
3.2 Post-Colonial Period, Christianity, Peace and Ethnic Conflict	96
3.3 Interventions towards mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict	103
3.3.1 Relief aid Provision	103
3.3.2 Lobbying and Advocacy	106
3.3.3 Supporting Government's Security Agencies	107
3.3.4 Peace-building and Reconciliation Initiatives	108
3.3.5 Homilies on Harmonious Co-Existence among Ethnic Communities	111
3.3.6 Use of Churches' Compounds as Safe Spaces	112
3.3.7 Prayers and Pastoral Counseling	113
3.3.8 Community Projects to Address Causes of Interethnic Conflict	114
3.3.9 Reconstructing Destroyed Homesteads in Njoro Sub-county	114
3.4 Indictment on Christian Leaders	115
3.5 Conclusion	117

CHAPTER FOUR: FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED CHRISTIAN BASED

INTERVENTIONS BETWEEN 1992-2012	119
4.1 A Background on Religious Interventions in Interethnic Conflict Situations	119
4.2 A Theological Reflection on Christian Based Interventions	129
4.3 Motivations for Christian Based Interventions in Njoro Sub-county	139
4.4 Conclusion	149

CHAPTER FIVE: DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN IMPLEMENTING CHRISTIAN BASED INTERVENTIONS IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY

	151
5.0 Background	151
5.1 Difficulties Experienced in Providing Christian Based Interventions	
5.1.1 Lack of Support from Respective Institutions	

5.1.2 Interference by Some Politicians	156
5.1.3 Lack of Adequate Support from the Government	157
5.1.4 Lack of Cooperation among Providers of Christian Based Interventions	160
5.1.5 Slow Decision-making Process in Mainstream Churches	161
5.1.6 Lack of Adequate Training	162
5.1.7 Loss of Hope in Peace Efforts within affected Communities	164
5.1.8 Staff Transfers from their Work Stations	164
5.1.9 Ethnic Identities	165
5.1.10 Inadequate Financial Resources	172
5.1.11 "Prophets" and "Prophetesses"	174
5.1.12 Associating Christian Based Interventions with Non-Governmental	
Organizations' Activities.	175
5.2 Conclusion	175

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS 178

6.0 Introduction	178
6.1 The Effect of Interethnic Conflicts on Communities	178
6.2 Christian Based Interventions to Mitigate the Effects of Interethnic Conflict	181
6.3 Factors influencing Christian Based Interventions	182
6.4 Challenges that affect Christian based interventions	182
6.5 Conclusion and Recommendations	184

APPENDICES	205
APPENDIX I: MAP OF NJORO SUB-COUNTY	205
APPENDIX II: INFORMANTS' CONSENT FORM	206
APPENDIX III: GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF	
AFFECTED FAMILIES	207
APPENDIX IV: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS	210

APPENDIX V: GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR GOVERNMENT	
OFFICIALS, EXPERTS, PERSONS DRAWN FROM CIVIL	
SOCIETY AND COMMUNITY LEADERS	.213
APPENDIX VI: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AFFECTED FAMILIES	.216
KIAMBATANSHO CHA VII: DODOSO ZA FAMILIA ZILIZOATHIRIKA	.219
APPENDIX VIII: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS	.223
KIAMBATANISHO CHA IX: DODOSO YA VIONGOZI WA DINI	.226
APPENDIX X: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EXPERTS AND GOVERNMENT	
OFFICIALS	.230
KIAMBATANISHO CHA XI: DODOSO KWA WATAALAM NA VIONGOZI	WA
SERIKALI HATUA ZA KIDINI KATIKA KUPUNGUZA	
ATHARI ZA UGOMVI BAINA YA MAKABILA KATIKA	
KAUNTI NDOGO YA NJORO	.233

FIGURE

Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework	27	
---------------------------------	----	--

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Terms:

Communities: Various ethnic groups residing in Njoro Sub-county.

Christian leaders: Formally ordained individuals who profess the Christian faith and who infer to Christian faith as a factor that motivates their response to the needs of those affected by interethnic conflicts in Njoro Sub-county.

Christian based institutions: These are organizations that are founded based on Christian beliefs and practices and are involved in responding to the challenge of interethnic conflict.

Christian based interventions and Christian based responses: Christian leaders or Christian organizations' actions to respond to interethnic conflict in the Sub-county.

Ethnic identity: a sense of ethnic distinctiveness among the ethnic communities residing in Njoro Sub-county.

Interethnic conflicts: forms of conflict that pits two or more ethnic groups against each other in Njoro Sub-county.

Latent conflict: Conflict that is marked by the difference(s) among ethnic groups that doesn't manifest in form of physical violence. It is a period of conflict that awaits a trigger to manifest in form of physical violence.

Open and Manifest conflict: the two terms are used interchangeably to mean a state of conflict marked by physical violence.

Mainstream Churches: Episcopal and Presbyterian churches within the region. They have an established bureaucracy that determines decision-making.

ACRONYMS

GEMA	- Gikuyu Embu Meru Association
HIV/AIDs	- Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired
	Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDP	- Internally displaced Persons
KANU	- Kenya African National Union
KNBS	- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
NARC	- National Rainbow Alliance Coalition
NCCK	- National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCDF	- National Constituency Development Fund
TJRC	- Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
TRC	- Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Like in several other African countries, Kenya is faced with a phenomenon of intra-ethnic and interethnic conflicts that frequently occur in different regions.¹ The periodic interethnic violence indicates the volatility and tension that characterizes the Kenyan nation. It further confirms the existence of latent conflict that occasionally manifests itself in violence whenever there is a trigger. The resultant volatility and tension tend to assume a dimension that pits ethnic groups and clans against each other.

Njoro Sub-county is one of the regions in Kenya that has experienced intermittent interethnic conflict since the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in 1991 but it intensifies during the national elections period.² Communities involved are mainly the Kipsigis a sub-tribe of Kalenjin ethnic community against the Kikuyu and the Kisii.³ It also involves the Kipsigis, Oqiek, and Maasai from Narok County which borders Njoro Sub-County to the west. Conflicts do have effects on populations. These effects were of interest to the research undertaking.

There have been efforts by civil society, the international community, and the government. Their interventions have mainly been towards resolving the conflict, establishing reconciliation, and reconstructing the lives of those internally displaced, those who have lost property, and even those who have psychologically and socially been

¹ Mudida Robert, "Structural causes of Ethnic Conflict" in Tarimo A and Manwelo P., *Ethnicity Conflict and the future of African states*, Nairobi, Paulines Publishers Africa, 2009, p.75.

² Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, "On the Brink of Precipice: A Human Rights Account of Kenya's Post -2007 Election Violence Final Report", Nairobi, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, 2008, p.78.

³ Ibid. p 84.

affected by the conflict. Among them, Christian based interventions have been utilized to respond to the effects. The study investigated the various Christian based interventions that have been used in mitigating the adverse effects of interethnic conflicts.

The research was carried out in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru County, in Kenya as a case study. Njoro Sub-county is 18 km southwest of Nakuru town and comprises four divisional administrative units, namely, Njoro division, Lare division, Mauche division, and Mau Narok division. The Kikuyu ethnic community and the Kipsigis, a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin ethnic community, are the dominant ethnic communities in this region. Other ethnic communities such as the Kisii, the Ogiek, the Turkana, the Luo, and the Luhya reside in the area in significant proportions.⁴

According to the Kenyan 2019 National Census, Njoro Sub-county has a total human population of 238,773, comprising 118,361 male, 120,408 female, and 4 intersex persons.⁵ It has an area of 699.5 sq. Km. with a population density of 341 per Sq. Km making it one of the densely populated rural areas in Kenya.⁶ The primary source of income is agriculture mainly because of the favorable climate. Farmers practice mixed farming on a small scale.⁷ The Sub-county is next to Narok County which is inhabited by the members of the Maasai ethnic community who occasionally in search of pastures, spill over into Nakuru County. With the high population, the available arable land resource has increasingly become a scarce resource.

⁴ Muluka, Barack and Gona George, "Cultural Methods of Peace Making and Reconciliation in Selected Communities in Kenya." UNDP Survey Report, 2009, p.86.

⁵ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, "2019 Kenya Population, and Housing Census November 2019 Volume I: Population by County and Sub-County." p.9.

⁶ <u>Ibid.</u> p.35.

⁷ Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009), p. 87.

During the 2019 National Census, out of the population of 2,142,667 people in Nakuru County, a unit within which Njoro Sub-county falls, 2,007,667 identified themselves as Christians.⁸ Even though there was religious pluralism in the Sub-county, the above demographics indicate Christianity was dominant, accounting for about 94%. The factor in the demographics made it imperative to interrogate how Christianity had responded to the effects of rampant interethnic conflicts in Njoro Sub-County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There has been recurrent interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county that has prompted Christian based interventions. The interethnic conflict that has been active for almost three decades has had adverse effects on individuals, families, and communities in the region. It has been marked by maiming and killings, burning of houses, interrupting people's livelihoods, and has had negative effects on the education system and the health of the residents.⁹ In response, the government has continuously offered assurances to the communities that the conflict will be resolved but to the contrary, it has continued to reoccur and tension and mistrust are ever palpable, thus negating the commitment.¹⁰ Lasting peace seems still far from being achieved based on recurrent interethnic violence and existing tension and mistrust among ethnic communities in the region.

⁸ Kenya National of Bureau Statistics, "2019 Kenya Population, and Housing Census November 2019 Volume IV, Distribution of Population by Socio-economic Characteristics." p 422.

⁹ Nyukuri Baraza, Kundu, "The impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenyan's stability and development." A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa, 1997, p.15.

¹⁰ Njoroge Muiru Paul, and Martha Wanjiru Muraya, "Lost Opportunity: Peace Building Initiatives in Molo Division, Nakuru County, Kenya", 2017. p.8. Retrieved from [http://ijah.cgrd.org/images/vol2no3/2.pdf]

The conflict is traced to 1992, and it is associated with ethnic polarization that resulted from the agitation for the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in Kenya.¹¹ According to the Akuwumi report, on October 29th, 1991, in Mitetei Nandi County, violence among ethnic communities emerged, and it later spread, affecting the Njoro area in 1992.¹² Since then, conflict has become a recurrent phenomenon.

There have been various Christian based interventions to address the conflict. A notable personality involved in these efforts was the late Ndingi Mwana Nzeki, a former Roman Catholic Church archbishop. From the onset of the conflict, he actively participated and articulated a deep conviction that the Church needed to lead from the front in addressing the resultant effects.¹³ The role he played when he was the bishop of Nakuru diocese is a pointer to the enduring imprint of Christian based interventions in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict.

In the study, valuable information on the effects and causes of the interethnic conflict and subsequent Christian based interventions was presented. Factors that influenced the interventions and difficulties experienced while implementing the interventions were identified and discussed. Recommendations for increasing the effectiveness of such interventions were discussed.

¹¹ Odhiambo Atieno E.S. "Hegemonic enterprises and instrumentalities of survival: ethnicity and democracy in Kenya" in Berman B., Eyoh D. and Kymlicka W., *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Oxford, James Currey, 2004, pp. 168-169.

¹² Akiwumi, Augustus Molade, *Report of the judicial commission appointed to inquire into tribal clashes in Kenya*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1999, p.59.

¹³ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia, A voice Unstilled; Archbishop Ndingi Mwana – a-Nzeki Nairobi, Longhorn Publishers, 2009, p.97.

1.3 Research Questions

Research questions that guided the research were the following;

- What were the effects of the interethnic conflict on communities in the Njoro Sub-county that attracted Christian based interventions?
- 2. Which were the various Christian based interventions on the interethnic conflict in the Sub-county?
- 3. Were there factors that influenced Christian based interventions?
- 4. What difficulties did Christian based interventions encounter when addressing interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main goal was to investigate Christian based interventions aimed at responding to interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county.

Objectives of the Study were;

- To establish the effects of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county that attracted Christian based interventions.
- 2. To examine various Christian based interventions that were being used to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict in the Sub-county.
- 3. To find out factors that influenced Christian based interventions in the Subcounty.
- 4. To assess challenges that affected the Christian based interventions in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Interethnic conflicts continue to be experienced in some of the African countries. In 1998, the United Nations Security Council observed that, though there had been some progress achieved by some African states toward peace, the number and intensity of armed conflicts remained a matter of concern that required a comprehensive response.¹⁴ Studies that focus on conflicts in these countries are valuable in understanding the dynamics and useful in formulating and executing appropriate responses. It is also necessary to understand the context within where each of the conflicts is taking place.

Kenya is one of the states in Africa experiencing interethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts in several regions.¹⁵ In the case of Njoro Sub-County, where the study was carried out, the dynamics of interethnic conflicts and their subsequent effects necessitate the need to understand them in order to design and apply appropriate interventions. The study is also valuable in advancing knowledge on the incessant interethnic conflicts.

As is the case in Njoro Sub-county, communities in a multi-ethnic setting require adapting strategies that foster co-existence and peace. Conflicts lead to instability, thus significantly affecting the ability to raise individuals who would contribute towards stable societies. Understanding the interethnic conflicts in this region and their effects is requisite for any meaningful interventions.

¹⁴ Koffi Annan, Voices from Africa 8: Conflict, Peace and Reconstruction UN NON- Governmental Liaison Service, New York: United Nations Non-governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), 1998, p.1.

¹⁵ Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, *Conflict mapping: an insider's perspective (action research) report on national conflict mapping for the active citizen's program*. Accessed June 16, 2020, [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/9916B6A8B2BA70558525784E00744 C6C-Full Report.pdf.]

The moral obligations espoused in the Christian faith offer resources that can strengthen initiatives towards peaceful co-existence irrespective of socio-cultural, economic, and political backgrounds, steering people towards reconciliation and reconstructing lives destroyed by the conflict. Religion provides compelling answers to various issues especially by furnishing people with a sense of identity and a direction in life. It helps individuals and groups rediscover their identity as well as moral responsibilities. These values assist people to become generous through overcoming selfishness and pride both of which are threats to peace in communities.

Considering the authentic commitment to promote fundamental values and to share human conscience, the role of religion needs to be appreciated and respected.¹⁶ On such basis, the influence of Christian faith on Christian leaders and Christian based institutions to provide interventions to those affected by the interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county and subsequent challenges is essential. The understanding would help inform decision-makers on salient resources within the Christian faith, which can be utilized to mitigate the interethnic conflict and its effects on the population.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study covered a period of twenty years spanning from 1992 to 2012. According to Kenyan population demographics, the median age at first birth in the country was 20.2 years.¹⁷ In this case, by the year 2012, some of the female children born in 1992 had begun to give birth leading to the rise of individuals who were born, raised, and graduated to parenthood in the context of interethnic conflict reality. Children who

¹⁶ Aquiline Tarimo and Pauline Manwelo, *African Peacemaking and Governance*, Nairobi, Acton Publishers, 2007-2008, p.118.

¹⁷ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, *Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2014*, p.76. Retrieved from [<u>https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/fr308/fr308.pdf</u>]

grew up in violent environments were likely to commit violence at a higher proportion compared to those who grew up in peaceful environments.¹⁸ Based on such findings, the experience of interethnic conflict and it effects on children is likely to contribute to the recurrent interethnic conflict in region.

The study focused on Christian based interventions toward interethnic conflict. There were various religious groups within the area, but the research limited itself to Christianity based interventions because it accounted for the largest share of religious adherence at 94.2%.¹⁹ In the study, Christian based interventions were analyzed to bring out valuable information useful in understanding the role played by religions in the mitigation of the effects of interethnic conflicts. The study was confined to Njoro Subcounty which enhanced an in-depth approach to the subject under investigation.

1.7 Literature Review

In this section, the study analyzed the literature on the effects of interethnic conflicts on the population in Njoro Sub-county. The literature on subsequent Christian based interventions was also reviewed. Such helped the researcher identify existing gaps in the focus of the research.

1.7.1 Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-county

Moynihan (1993) observes that ethnic groups are going to war than nation-states world over a phenomenon that is disturbing domestic peace in respective countries.²⁰ Ethnicity is nationalism that locates itself within states and usually has a raft of consequences which include divided societies that tend to embrace violence as a means to

¹⁸ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, *Violence Against Children Survey Report 2019*. P. 75.

¹⁹ Kenya National of Bureau Statistics, 2019 Kenya Population, and Housing Census November 2019 Volume IV, Distribution of Population by Socio-economic Characteristics. p. 422.

achieve goals that may otherwise be achieved through alternate processes. Contrary use of ethnicity also demonstrates a level of breakdown of some aspects of legitimate political order and the presence of collective frustration resulting in aggressive tendencies that scar societies deeply and prevent the formation of consensus for a long time.²¹ Violent conflict justifies the action through promises of increased security, communities' well-being, and freedom, which tends to sustain protracted violence. Such pervades the opportunity for moral imagination, which would lead to a solution instead of conflicts.²² In such a scenario, the survival of communities becomes threatened and collective frustrations that yield aggressiveness are a common characteristic among major communities residing in the Njoro Sub-county.

Kenya has found itself in a socio-economic and political dilemma for over a century. According to Wachira, Kamungi, and Sillah, the existing challenges stretch from the past and can be understood from two inter-related periods, which are the colonial and post-colonial periods.²³ The colonial period was marked by subjugation and suppression accompanied by land alienation, extra-judicial killings, torture, detentions, curtailed freedoms, and other various human rights violations. On the other hand, the post-independence period is marked by the perpetuation of land alienation, regional development imbalances, and marginalization of some regions and communities, forced displacements, killings, looting, and dispossession of land and property, massacres,

²⁰ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Pandemonium: *Ethnicity in International Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p.5.

²¹ Okoth, P. Godfrey, and Bethwell A. Ogot, eds. *Conflict in contemporary Africa*, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000, p.2.

²² Lederach John Paul, *The Moral Imagination; The Art and Soul of Peace Peacebuilding*, Oxford, Oxford University, 2005, p.172.

assassinations, detentions without trial and land grabbing.²⁴ These highlights the violations of human rights. One of the ways people respond when they become aware of issues, needs, and interests, is to begin to demand a change of the situation, which in many cases is not taken seriously by those wielding state power which sometimes leads to a confrontation that may either be violent or nonviolent or both.²⁵ It is the such context that has caused interethnic conflicts to be imbued with claims of historical injustices. Given that the narrative has persisted and has been referred to as part of the grievances fuelling interethnic conflicts, it was fundamental to investigate the views of various communities involved in the conflict.

The land, particularly in Rift Valley, did not revert to those who were the original owners, mainly the pastoralist communities before Kenya became a colony.²⁶ As a result, grievances were emerging from particularly the Kalenjin ethnic community that the government policy alienated them from getting their land back. Such views featured prominently in the 1990s and 2002 violence.²⁷ In the case of Njoro Sub-county, some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community still claim their land. They consider the Kikuyu and the Kisii ethnic communities as occupiers whose ancestral land is in Central and Nyanza respectively.²⁸ Whereas there are perceived historical injustices in Njoro Sub-county, the interethnic conflicts generated as a result and the overall effect on

²³ Wachira George, Prisca Kamungi, and Kalie Sillah, *Stretching the truth: the uncertain promise of TRCs in Africa's transitional justice*, Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa), Nairobi, 2014. p.112.

²⁴ Ibid p.113.

²⁵ Lederach John (2005), p.13.

²⁶ Hughes, L., "Land Alienation, and Contestation in Kenyan Maasai land, Conference paper", 2013, p.5. retrieved from [https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/8915/HUGHES_0880.pdf?=1]

²⁷ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2008), p.17.

²⁸ Muluka, Barack, and Gona Gona (2009), p.88.

communities required documentation that would be referred to by the communities, the government, and interested parties in the efforts towards finding a solution to historical injustices.

Politics in Kenya have ethnic undertones that exacerbate the problems associated with interethnic relations. The period spanning between the 1950s and the 1960s, on the one hand, witnessed the attainment of independence among a majority of African countries. Some politicians, novelists, playwrights, and artists brought ethnicity and local culture to the forefront affecting the building of national identities.²⁹ The pre-independence period had a share of its contribution to the problem of ethnic conflict especially because colonial authorities deliberately encouraged ethnic-based associations by Africans rather than national associations. The ability to mobilize ethnic associations continued after independence. In the 1990s, after the multi-party system was reintroduced in Kenya, the use of ethnicity as a tool in the political landscape was further entrenched.³⁰ The phenomenon did have ramifications on communities' relations. Political tensions that arose after the electoral periods of 1992, 2002, and 2007 aggravated the division of communities along with ethnic fractures which subsequently morphed into ethnic violence that has left most of the victims homeless, landless, destitute, abused, or dead.³¹

Land ownership patterns have been altered over time causing a decline in economic production.³² The apparent violence also contributes to the situations of gender and child vulnerability. In most internal refugee camps, the accommodation is not conducive; hence, both men and women, together with their children, often share

²⁹ Pierli Francesco MCCJ, *Ethnicity, and Human Development, in Ethnicity: Blessing or Curse,* Nairobi, Pauline Publications Africa, 1999, pp 33-34.

³⁰ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2008), p.18.

³¹ Okoth P. Godfrey (2008), p.2.

congested sleeping places resulting in little or no privacy at all with cases of broad daylight rapes reported.³³ It was essential therefore to carry out an in-depth study for a better understanding of the effects the violence on the integral well-being of communities in the sub-county.

The interethnic conflict created fear among some ethnic groups in the region, leading to hatred and suspicion among communities.³⁴ Displacement of people was evident, and some could not go back to their land, had lost sources of livelihood and local children had been traumatized, having witnessed maiming and killings of their relatives, burning of houses, and wanton destruction of property.³⁵

Some of the children drop out of school because of displacement and subsequent destabilization of families. In modern wars, children are finding themselves caught up in complex and confusing conflicts, which have multiple causes, and no clear prospect for resolution.³⁶ Children are becoming more and more targets of wars and have become victims of malnutrition, disease, sexual violence, and depredations of forced flights, drawn in as combatants, and such has far-reaching effects on them. In the chaos of conflict and escape, some get separated from their parents, subjected to hunger, disease, violence, recruitment of child soldiers, and sexual assault undermining the very

³² Nyukuri, Baraza Kundu (1997), p.15.

³³ Ibid. p.24.

³⁴ Osamba Joshia.O, "Violence and dynamic of transition: state, ethnicity, and governance in Kenya", African Development Vol XXVI, Nos 1&2: 2001, p.47.

³⁵ Ibid, pp. 48- 49.

³⁶ Michel Graca, The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children; A Critical Review of Progress and Obstacles Encountered in Increasing Protection for War-affected Children, Canada, International Conference on War-affected children, 2000, p.5.

foundations of their lives.³⁷ Ethnic conflict contributes to killings, sexual abuse, displacement, and psychological traumas among children.

Women also suffer particularly when the role of keeping the children together in times of violence is threatened. Adolescents, too, are at extreme risk of becoming targets for recruitment into the armed forces and armed groups. They are sexually exploited and abused and are at great risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, which would negatively affect them and their respective families.³⁸ Finding out the understanding of interethnic conflicts and their effects on the communities is valuable for it would contribute towards finding resolutions to the enduring conflict within the region.

Various social, economic, and political realities have been pointed out as contributory factors to the conflict in the area. Among these factors are ethnic territorial occupation, generational differences, low education levels, cultural diversity, ethnic suspicion, and religious leaders' influence. Similarly, forest and environmental destruction, inequitable distribution of opportunities, underdevelopment, business competition, land, theft, cattle rustling, and scarce water resources were factors. There is also the role of politics given that political competition was more inclined towards ethnic lines and discussion about the conservation of Mau Forest that had a section of it set aside to settle members of the Kipsigis, a sub-tribe of Kalenjin ethnic community.³⁹ It was imperative to detail how the aforementioned affected the well-being of communities in the region.

³⁷ Ibid p.5.

³⁸ Ibid, p.7.

³⁹ Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009), p. 87-100.

1.7.2 Christian Based Interventions

Every religion possesses a prophetic force that is useful in conflict resolution.⁴⁰ The role of religion in facilitating collaboration could be described as religious diplomacy, which makes peaceful resolutions possible since it goes beyond the formal legal framework and helps form a public conscience on social practice.⁴¹ Religious actors provide a useful resource that allows the political process to be transformed and enriched by religious values making religion useful in enhancing constructive efforts towards lasting peace in human society. Concerning the aforementioned, the roles played by Christian based responses toward the effect of interethnic in Njoro Sub-county were of interest to the study.

There is an emerging view that a shift in approaches towards preventing and resolving conflicts is necessary.⁴² In such a view, wars cannot be won in the battled field and resources need to be committed to processes that will enhance conditions for stable governance and durable peaceful outcomes. More needs to be done to prevent conflict than to resolve it. If it does occur, more diplomacy is necessary to reduce impact.⁴³ Christian principles provide a reasonable solution to all types of violence as noted in its vision of a reconciled world articulated in Isaiah 2:1-4 and 11:6-9. In these biblical texts, each being has its own space, in the natural and in the cultural and, has what it needs to survive and fulfill itself in that order. In such a society, there is no room for exploitation

⁴⁰ Tarimo Aquiline and Manwelo Pauline (2007, 2008), p.118

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 118

⁴² Regehr Ernie. *Disarming Conflict, Between the Lines*. Accessed on July 6, 2015. [www.federalistscanada.org/documents/april2016RegehrReview.od]

⁴³ Ibid.

and oppression.⁴⁴ There is a great resource in pastoral theology, which is best understood when it gets integrated into the cultural context, thus taking into account the times, circumstances, and concrete situations of a people. In it, there is an aspiration to witness God's intention to redeem humankind from sin and thereby ensure spiritual happiness and pray for the satisfaction of human life to God's glory.⁴⁵ Pastoral theology was identified in the research as being an important tool used by the clergy to address the interethnic conflict and its effects.

Christian based interventions have a role in promoting the welfare and the happiness of people when they are on earth as they prepare for eternal happiness, which therefore calls for critical involvement in seeking peaceful co-existence of the community.⁴⁶ Bishops in Quebec serve as an example in their discussions about French-speaking Quebecers where they state that it is necessary to create a just and more open society, respect human rights for the minority, and anticipate cooperation and living together in peace. They caution against the use of theological arguments to advance their own political opinions, which would affect the efforts to create peaceful communities.⁴⁷

Activities of some Christian movements and the commitment of Christian leaders demonstrate that there can be constructive integration between faith and the public good. Suspicion need not overshadow goodness, where examples of good works can easily be

⁴⁴ Kanyandago Peter, "Violence in Africa: Pastoral response from a historical perspective" in Douglas Waruta and Hannah W. Kinoti, *Pastoral Care in African Christianity; challenging essays in pastoral theology*, Nairobi, Acton Publishers, 2000, p.59

⁴⁵ Mwaura Philomena, Njeri, "Alternative vision for transforming development: perspectives from Christianity with particular reference to new Christian expressions in Africa," Paper presented in Soesterberg, Netherlands on October 15-17, 2007, p.72.

⁴⁶ Tarcisio Agostoni, *Every Citizens Handbook; Building a Peaceful Society*, Nairobi, Paulines Publication Africa, 1997, p.43.

⁴⁷ Baum Gregory, *Nationalism, religion, and ethics*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, pp. 9-10.

overlooked. When interpreted and applied properly, religious teaching contributes a great deal to build the fabric of the common good.⁴⁸ Religion can bring social, moral, and spiritual resources into the process of resolving conflicts and enhancing interethnic relations. In Njoro Sub-county, there was an interest in seeking an understanding of how Christian leaders' ethnic identity affected their interventions.

Reconciliation needs to be based on truth, pointing out the responsibility of the one who provoked the conflict and educating people about peace and prevention of crises that can escalate into conflicts. It would encourage a commitment to the promotion of peaceful co-existence. There exist a view that churches are called upon to build a culture of peace that enhances values of truth, justice, dialogue, tolerance, sharing, and solidarity.⁴⁹ The extent to which such is plausible in the context of interethnic tensions and mistrust is important and was studied during the research study.

Religions have a corporate responsibility to shape the world.⁵⁰ When Christianity acts, there is a significant contribution towards a peaceful co-existence among communities. The principle of peace found in a religion can be a great asset in cultivating harmony among ethnic groups because religion encompasses people's beliefs about the supernatural world and the relationship between them and the world around them.⁵¹ Religions have the potential to liberate, empower, and restore people's dignity. It supplies a special kind of moral anchorage that society desires. It provides meaning to life by giving hope to people, faith, and courage to overcome life's obstacles. Embedded in the

⁴⁸ Tarimo Aquiline and Manwelo Pauline (2007, 2008), p.126.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.56.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.64.

⁵¹ Getui Mary. N., "The Ethnicity Factor in Politics and Conflict" in Aquiline Tarimo and Pauline Manwelo (eds), *Ethnicity Conflict and the Future of African States*, Nairobi, Pauline publication Africa, 2009, p.48.

core of religion is the capacity to mobilize society and individuals for positive transformative action.⁵² African Initiated Churches' ethic is acknowledged for its potential to change society through its emphasis on bringing back shalom to people and communities that experience conflict, change, and a loss of identity in a turbulent world.⁵³ Religious beliefs have got potential to influence ethnic groups either positively or negatively giving credence to the reasons to investigate the positive role within Christianity that could be utilized in the pacification of the Njoro Sub-County.

A reflection on the role of African Initiated churches shows an enduring spirit to fight injustices. Citing the Kikuyu ethnic group, as an illustration, God's revelation is characterized by their quest for freedom from colonial masters. From their religious heritage, they knew God was just and could not resonate with the oppression and exploitation posed by colonial masters with the aid of missionaries. Missionaries' behavior perturbed them, and they said, "There is no difference between the settler and the missionary" (*Guturi muthungu na Mubia*).⁵⁴ In their struggle, the vision of One True God was fundamental, and through him, they were confident they would defeat settlers and subsequently the injustices.⁵⁵ Such demonstrates the cosmic view in Christianity that could be maximized to tackle the effects of the interethinic conflict on communities in the area of study.

Integral approaches regard religion as one of the contributing factors to social reconciliation by playing a critical role in the formation of attitude and character.⁵⁶

⁵² Mwaura Philomena, Njeri. p.2.

⁵³ Ibid p.7.

⁵⁴ Kibicho Samuel G., *God, and Revelation in an African Context*, Nairobi, Acton Publishers, 2006, p.138.

⁵⁵ Ibid p.139.

⁵⁶ Tarimo Aquiline and Menwelo Pauline (2007, 2008), p.102.

Christianity in the political pluralism has a great opportunity to contribute to this worthy goal if it can take the principle of reconciliation in the Christian faith seriously. Reconciliation between God and man cannot be achieved unless there is reconciliation between human beings. Reconciling citizens of the nation by contributing insights derived from the gospel can lead people on the path toward a more humane Christian ideology.⁵⁷ From such a premise, people consider one another as children of God, regardless of ethnic identity in the light of multi-party politics. Churches can encourage dialogue, not coercion, cooperation, and not unhealthy competition, accept responsibility, and avoid blaming others and hence contribute to the national integration for development.⁵⁸ Against such a background, Christian leaders can play a fundamental role because rituals comprise the element of religious beliefs and practices. In recent times, practitioners and scholars are exploring the application and compatibility of theory and practice to address people's needs in different cultural contexts and conflicts.⁵⁹ Clergy and Christian based institutions may have to embrace the new awakening when reaching out to communities faced with interethnic conflicts.

Religion does significantly influence the causes, dynamics, and resolution of conflict.⁶⁰ From such a perspective, it is notable that the clergy have a role to play because they can reach an individual, sub-national, and a national group more than politicians.⁶¹ Values therein can motivate people to fight or reconcile, and rituals can be

 ⁵⁷ Chepkwony A.K.A, "Political Pluralism in Africa" in M. N. Getui and Emmanuel A. Obeng (eds), *Theology of Reconstruction; Exploratory Essays*, Nairobi, Acton Publishers, 1999, p.252.
 ⁵⁸ Ibid.p.256.

 ⁵⁹ Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. "Conflict Resolution, Culture, and Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peacebuilding". *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 6 (2001): p.685.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.685

⁶¹ Ibid. p.686

harnessed to transform animosity into cooperation.⁶² Utilizing Christian based interventions aspects therein can contribute toward peacebuilding. The values in Christianity, if effectively applied, can be a source of building peace and harmony among the Kenyan people.

Religion has workable and useful resource for peacebuilding in human societies from time immemorial.⁶³ Reflecting on Christian based interventions was necessary for addressing the issue of peace because communities can only be able to dispense their functions well in a stable environment. Authentic analysis of the social situation to note the various forms of violence, their root causes, impact, and the Christian based interventions that can be applied to address the problem of interethnic conflict. The kind of analysis in such a context may need to be integral, taking into account the socioeconomic and political realities in the interethnic conflict context.⁶⁴

Under the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) Kenya, the role of religious leaders was appreciated as that which included prayers for the country, contribution towards appointing commissioners to the Truth, Justice, Reconciliation, and commission, and enriching the commission's work.⁶⁵ While such is important going forward, it was necessary to acknowledge, if any, the role they had played to help communities in Njoro Sub-county. The TJRC acknowledged that religious leaders had a constituency that could not be ignored. They would be useful in creating awareness among worshippers on the role and purpose of the TJRC.⁶⁶ Against such background, it

⁶² Ibid. P.686

⁶³ Samita Zachariah Wanakacha, in M. Getui and Wasye Musyoni (eds), "Overcoming Violence; A Faith Based Response" Nairobi. NCCK and Comprehensive publications, 2003, p.243

⁶⁴ Ibid, p.247.

⁶⁵ Guide to the TJRC and Transitional Justice in Kenya, NPI-Africa, and WANEP, 2010, p.22.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.22.

was important to find out the achievements of Christian based interventions that would assist in determining their terms of reference and helping identify how they can improve in their responses.

Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission in Kenya, just like other TRCs in Africa, is noted to have failed to achieve the ultimate.⁶⁷ The idea was fronted in the leadup to the 2002 election in Kenya, but it was only realized after post-election violence in 2008. The Kenyan Parliament passed the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Act in March 2009.⁶⁸ A commission was created, but it suffered from contested leadership, loss of credibility, poor management of conflict within itself. It was discredited by the political class and jostling among key political parties over the commission's scope and composition.⁶⁹ Christian based interventions that would have contributed to the trajectory of the initiative as a step towards resolving the pertinent problem of interethnic conflict were dismal. There was an opportunity to comprehensively address the interethnic conflict in various parts of Kenya including the Njoro Sub-county but religious interventions missed the opportunity. Therefore, understanding the barriers to the effective use of Christian based interventions is fundamental. It can lead toward evaluation and subsequently improvement.

The Lutheran World Federation noted in their meeting held in the year 2000 that God's mission and church's participation towards a global culture of peace was to seek reconciliation or peace between human beings and God, among different ethnic groups, and between human beings and nature.⁷⁰ The culture of peace that ought to be pursued by

⁶⁷ Wachira George, Kamungi Prisca, and Sillah Kalie (2014), p.123.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p.123.

⁶⁹ Ibid. pp.126-133.

⁷⁰ Lutheran World Federation, "I give you a future with hope", The Lutheran World Federation p.63.

Christianity and spread to the community is that which enhances harmony. It has to take into account the entire creation, inclusive and integrated so that humans and nature can live in peace.

In some aspects, the Christian Church in Africa, especially through some of its leaders, has been observed to be at the forefront in search of a negotiated solution to armed conflicts in many parts of the continent.⁷¹ There are some justifications why Christian based approaches should be involved. First, historically, and traditionally, the Church is essentially common-centric, service-oriented, preaching, and teaching peace, love, compassion reconciliation, care for the hurt, and oppressed. Secondly, the Church has contacts and interactions with individuals and communities through which it has a role in creating awareness among the public and condemning infamous series of interethnic clashes.⁷² The concerns on whether such initiatives were engrained in the church policies and planning or spontaneous were of interest to the study.

The Church was well spread out in the Sub-county, with structures, personnel, numerical strength, facilities, and activities making it stand at an influential position to be involved in directing the populace towards effective interventions of peacebuilding.⁷³ In a survey conducted by NCCK, 81% of the respondents said the role of the Church towards peace was satisfactory. ⁷⁴ One cannot ignore the Church in the process of interethnic conflicts.

⁷¹ Secam–Celam, "*Peace Fruit of Reconciliation*", Nairobi, Pauline's Publication Africa, 2001, p.58.

⁷² Samita W. Zacharia (2003). p.253.

⁷³ Ibid, p.53.

⁷⁴ National Agenda for Peace Survey Report; *Making Informed Choices For A Better Future*, NCCK. 2001, p.45.

There has been a growing strong view that Christians in Africa are an integral part of society and therefore need to take economic, social, and political responsibilities seriously, as they take their spiritual responsibility.⁷⁵ They cannot be in isolation when the conflicts affect everybody irrespective of their religious faith. The Church's role in solving conflicts in several African countries is evident, and thus it deserves credence.⁷⁶ Pastors are sought during social and armed conflict to participate in activities that will lead to peace and reconciliation and the Church is expected to exhort toward peace and help victims without any form of discrimination, like the Good Samaritan.⁷⁷ The tangible contributions of the Church in Njoro Sub-county in light of such a view and response to communities were considered in this study.

From the foregoing discourse, leadership is important if Christianity is to make a significant impact in responding to interethnic conflict's effects on communities. Christianity has ordained leaders who are expected to provide leadership in their respective designations. Such alludes to the fact that the clergy have at their disposal followers through and with whom they can champion to a greater extent the course of justice and peace.⁷⁸ Their position in their religious institutions, communities, and nationally is a vantage point for contributing to a better community. They have a framework through which to rally society toward reconciliation and co-existence. They can prevail over the ethnic, social, and political divisions toward a more just and harmonious community.

⁷⁵ Kinoti, George. *Hope for Africa and what Christians can do*, Nairobi, African Institute for Scientific Research and Development Nairobi, 1994, pp. 5-7.

⁷⁶ Secam- Celam (2001), p.45.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.55.

⁷⁸ Weirich, Heinze, and Koontz Harold. *Management; a Global Perspective 11th Edition*, New Delhi, Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Limited, 2005, p. 396.

As leaders, the clergy is expected to influence people to behave in a certain manner to achieve certain goals or objectives. People tend to follow an individual whom they perceive to be providing the means of attaining their desires, wants, and needs.⁷⁹ Any leader is required to have an understanding of the needs of those he is leading. Leadership envisions the future and inspires people towards it, in which case it is expected that the clergy inspires ethnic communities toward a prosperous future.⁸⁰ It was necessary to determine whether this was enshrined in the Christian approach to peaceful co-existence between communities.

The significance of the clergy is important when considering their various contributions in Kenya. A case in point is that of Rev. John Gatu, who had the privilege and access to the first three presidents of Kenya during his tenure as a priest at the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, his role being that of offering pastoral and advisory services to them.⁸¹ He reportedly prayed with former President Moi and advised him for many years during his presidency.⁸² He also stood against the infamous administration of oaths during the reign of President Kenyatta, arguing it fomented hatred among communities and infringed on religious freedom considering those of Kikuyu ethnicity who opposed it on the bases of their faith were tortured.⁸³

The late Ndingi Mwana N'zeki, a former archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, provides a good example of the involvement of members of the clergy in providing interventions to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict. He responded to the effects of interethnic conflict through relief and challenged the government to act and

⁷⁹ Ibid p.396.

⁸⁰ Ibid p.398.

⁸¹ Gatu G. John, Fan into Flame. Nairobi, Moran Publishers, 2016. p.225.

⁸² Ibid. p.236-241.

stop the violence. Together with other bishops, he paid a courtesy call to former President Daniel Arap Moi to petition him to act and alleviate the suffering of the citizens in the region.⁸⁴ Such demonstrated endeavors by clergy to bring to an end the suffering and nurture peaceful co-existence. The gap in information regarding the role of the clergy and Christian based institutions, both positive and negative in Njoro Sub-county, was therefore bridged through the study.

Churches through their leaders in Njoro Sub-county were reportedly instrumental in reconciling the ethnic groups involved in conflict within the region. The church compounds for example had become social centers where people of different ethnic backgrounds congregated and interacted with one another.⁸⁵ It was important to interrogate the views of the community on the involvement of these leaders and their respective institutions. Such was important, noting there persisted allegations that churches propagated ethnic hatred and mistrust in conflict-prone areas.⁸⁶ Such allegations would derail the effectiveness of Christian based interventions to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict in the Sub-county if unattended to.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The research applied the situational ethics theory to investigate Christian based interventions in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict. The theory is of the view that the absolute law that should influence decision-making in any circumstance is love.⁸⁷ Fletcher anchors his argument on the New Testament in the Bible in 1 John 4:8, which

⁸³ Ibid. p.190.

⁸⁴ Waihenya Waithaka, and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.109.

⁸⁵ Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009), p.104.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p.96.

⁸⁷ Fletcher, Joseph F. Situation ethics: The new morality. Westminster John Knox Press, 1997.

states, "He who does not love does not know God because God is Love."⁸⁸ This Love is the highest law since it shows concern for others, cares about them without expecting anything in return. It is a sacrificial love that accepts voluntarily to suffer inconvenience, discomfort, and even death so that another person benefits without expecting anything in return.⁸⁹ God, according to Christianity, is love. Love provides a basis for Christian based interventions in the context of interethnic conflict and the responses they provide are to be imbued with care and directed towards actions that promote the well-being of those affected by conflict. It forms an essential pillar to influence action towards addressing deprivations that come from interethnic conflicts through interventions.

1.9 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework was based on the following variables: interethnic conflicts and their effects on communities' well-being, Christian based interventions, and difficulties encountered when providing them. Communities' well-being was a dependent variable. The stability and functioning of individuals and communities in the context of the study were significantly dependent on interethnic interrelationships. Christian based interventions are considered a valuable factor in enhancing interethnic relationships and responding to the effects of interethnic conflict on communities. Christian based interventions are faced by challenges which therefore formed one of the independent variables in the study. The situational ethics whose aspect is espoused by Christianity was the moderating variable. Situational ethics presents love as the highest law that

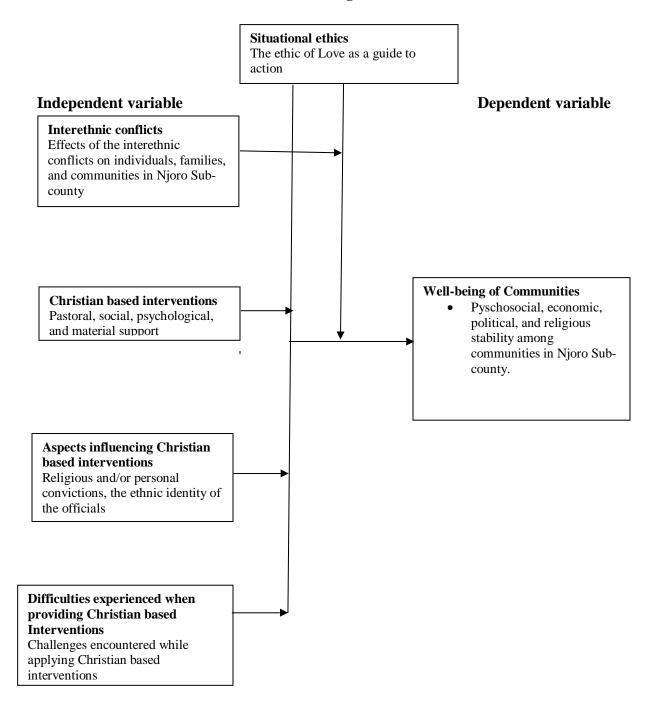
⁸⁸ New International Version Bible.

⁸⁹ A compelling truth, Accessed on March 5, 2018, [http://www.compellingtruth.org/agape-love.html.]

should guide response in a particular situation. In the study, it was considered a suitable impetus for Christian based interventions to mitigate the effects of the conflict.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework

Moderating Variable



Source (Author)

1.10 Hypotheses

- 1. Interethnic conflicts have adversely affected interethnic communities that reside in Njoro Sub-county.
- 2. There have been Christian based interventions to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflicts on the communities in the Njoro Sub-county.
- 3. There exist factors that significantly influence Christian based responses to the effects of interethnic conflict in Sub-county.
- 4. Various difficulties affect the effectiveness of Christian based responses to the effects of interethnic conflict.

1.11 Research Methodology

The study was qualitative research. An in-depth descriptive narrative on the causes and effects of the interethnic conflict was investigated and presented in the thesis. The researcher further described interventions provided by Christian leaders and Christian based institutions and the theological perspectives that influenced such interventions.

1.11.1 Research Design

The design of the study was a case study in which Christian based interventions on the effects of interethnic conflict in the Njoro Sub-county were investigated. Informants provided an in-depth description of their understanding of the conflict and its effects on the population in the Sub-county. They further expressed their views on the role of Christian leaders and the institutions in mitigating the effects of the interethnic conflict.

1.11.2 Target Population

The total research population in the study was 325 informants drawn from affected families, elders, leaders of Christian-based institutions, national government representatives at sub-location and location levels, and agencies providing peace and reconciliation interventions. The three hundred twenty-five (325) informants comprised 120 families and 70 elders identified through data available at the chiefs' offices. The population had seventy (70) chiefs and sub-chiefs, the total number of government employees serving in the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government in the Sub-county. There were 25 Christian leaders were identified from a network of denominations and Christian based institutions that focused on implementing interventions to mitigate the effects of the interethnic conflict. The population had 40 individuals drawn from institutions that worked for peace and reconciliation among communities in the sub-county.

The characteristics of the target families in the study included those who had been displaced from their homesteads, lost a member to the conflict or a member of their family had been maimed. Some who had lost their livelihoods or their children had dropped out of school due to the effects of the conflict were also included. Elders were persons considered by their respective communities and the governments' officers to have moral qualities that led them to be trusted to intervene in resolving intra-ethnic and interethnic disputes. Chiefs and sub-chiefs were employees of the national government who have to ensure security within their communities. Christian leaders were officials who took personal initiatives or the mandate assigned to them by their respective institutions, participated in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts. The peace and reconciliation experts were trained professionals who understood the interethnic conflict in the region and were involved in designing or implementing various interventions.

1.11.3 Site Selection

Njoro Sub-county is located 18 km southwest of Nakuru town and has a total human population of 238,773, comprising 118,361 male, 120,408 female, and 4 intersex persons.⁹⁰ With an area of 699.5 sq. Km. and a population density of 341 per Sq. Km the area is one of the highly densely populated rural areas in Kenya.⁹¹ Mainly, the source of livelihood is mixed farming on a small scale.⁹² The selection of the area for the study was prompted by the intermittent interethnic conflict since the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in 1991.⁹³ Similarly, the region had various actors who implemented interventions to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict among them Christian based interventions. Such characteristics qualified the region as a suitable area for the study.

1.11.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

A sample of 40 informants drawn from the target population of 325 was sampled using judgmental sampling, a selective technique that helps identify people with relevant information for a study.⁹⁴ The researcher carefully picked individuals identified as having valuable information from the target population using the snowballing approach.

⁹⁰ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, "2019 Kenya Population, and Housing Census November 2019 Volume I: Population by County and Sub-County." p.9.

⁹¹ <u>Ibid.</u> p.35.

⁹² Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009), p. 87.

⁹³ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, "On the Brink of Precipice: A Human Rights Account of Kenya's Post -2007 Election Violence Final Report", Nairobi, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, 2008, p.78.

⁹⁴ Panneerselvam R., *Research Methodology*, New Delhi, Ashoke K. Ghosh, 2004, p.201.

The assisted the researcher to get new informants through referrals from those he had already interviewed. The sample of the 40 informants included 12 families, seven elders (7), nine (9) chiefs, eight Christian leaders (8), and four (4) experts in peace and reconciliation.

1.11.5 Data Collection Techniques

To enhance the collection of data, the following techniques were employed;

• In-depth interview

Semi-structured interviews were conducted. They helped gain in-depth feelings and opinions of the respondents by offering opportunities to probe and encourage detailed interviewees' responses. Such ensured a leeway in deviation from the prearranged text and to change the wording of questions or the order in which they were asked resulting in more information being gathered.⁹⁵ The researcher endeavored to engage the respondents in an in-depth interview to derive as much required information as possible. Notes were taken where necessary and where the respondent consented, interviews were tape-recorded. Interviews were conducted in vernacular languages, Kiswahili and English, depending on the preference of the informant.

• Questionnaire

Suspicion and mistrust related to ethnic identities were rife in the area. Some informants were, therefore, in some instances, uncomfortable giving information to an interviewer from a different ethnic community. Some of them also felt uncomfortable participating in oral submissions. In these circumstances, five (5) respondents filled out questionnaires through which they freely provided answers to the questions. It also helped to mitigate personal biases from the interviewers.

• Secondary data

The researcher evaluated various books, journals, Internet pages, and other documented information to gather information on the subject of the study. Such provided valuable information on the history of areas of study, including subsequent causes of conflict and efforts that had been put in place to mitigate the effects of the conflict.

1.11.6 Validity of the Research Instruments

Validity describes the degree to which one measures what he or she purports to measure.⁹⁶ In the study, the desired information was obtained by ensuring that the interview guide and the questionnaires were representatives of the research topic. The data collection instruments were pretested for two days at Mathangauta Sub-location Mau Narok Division. During the pretesting, terms and definitions were clarified to ensure they were responsive to the objectives of the study. Being a multicultural and multilingual area, the language(s) understood by respondents was used during interviews and in questionnaires. Where need arose, respondents were assisted by the researcher to understand the questions. The questions were as well standardized for all the respondents to enhance validity.

⁹⁵ Opie C., Research Approaches in Doing Educational Research, New Delhi: Teyeshwar Singh, 2004 p.118.

⁹⁶ Colton, David, and Robert W. Covert. Designing and Constructing Instruments for Social Research and Evaluation. John Wiley & Sons, 2007, p 65.

1.11.7 Reliability of Research Instruments

Reliability focuses on the capacity of an instrument to produce the same information at a given time or over a period.⁹⁷ The researcher improved the research's consistency and stability by training the people who were engaged in collecting data. Similarly, after pre-testing the tools, necessary adjustments were effected to ensure consistency. Data collection was carried out within thirty days, thus minimizing the respondent's influence by external factors such as changing political landscape. Testing and retesting questions were used to foster clarifications hence increasing the reliability.

1.11.8 Data Analysis

Before primary data collection was concluded, the researcher compared the study objectives and the data already collected to identify possible gaps in information required. It was noted that information regarding ethnic communities' views of Christian leaders' and Christian-based institutions was not exhaustive. Such necessitated a revisit to the field, providing an opportunity to gather the information that bridged the identified gap. The data from the field was amalgamated with secondary data gathered from the literature review and other relevant sources. The resultant data was collated according to the themes arising from the objectives of the study. It was interpreted and presented in the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

1.11.9 Ethical Consideration

While administering the questionnaires and conducting interviews, the utmost ethical considerations were observed. Essentially, the consideration ensures correct

⁹⁷ Sapsford R., *Survey Research*, London: Sage Publication, 1999. p.15.

reporting, dissemination of knowledge, and counteracting errors where they will arise.⁹⁸ Academic freedom was observed while respecting confidentiality to protect the informants. The researcher sought consent from respondents before the data was collected and processed. The purpose of the research was well explained to potential respondents. Their participation was purely voluntary, with no informant coerced to provide information. Research assistants were prepared in advance on how to observe ethical standards and on how to protect themselves and their respondents from possible reprisal by individuals or groups within the community who could have become uncomfortable with interviews. While processing the data, all the sources referred to were acknowledged, and utmost caution was observed to avoid plagiarism.

1.12 Conclusion

Njoro Sub-county did experience intermittent interethnic conflict since 1992 and there were various interventions through the government, non-state actors, and the ethnic communities to address the effects. A lacuna persisted in information relating to the Christian based interventions towards the effects of interethnic conflict in Njoro subcounty. A study was necessary to enhance understanding of the interethnic conflict and to enrich the efforts of the state and other actors in designing and implementing interventions. The study would additionally contribute to the understanding of various Christian based interventions implemented to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict in the Sub-county. Factors that influenced the interventions and related difficulties would be investigated.

⁹⁸ Akaranga, Stephen Ifedha, and Bretta Kavutha Makau. "Ethical Considerations and their Applications to Research: a Case of the University of Nairobi." *Journal of educational policy and entrepreneurial research* 3, no. 12 (2016): 1-9.

The situational ethic was the guiding theory and the moderating variable. The independent variables were interethnic conflicts and their effects on communities' interventions. difficulties encountered well-being, Christian based and when implementing the interventions while communities' well-being was a dependent variable. The qualitative research method was employed to enhance an in-depth descriptive narrative on the causes and effects of interethnic conflict and the interventions provided by Christian leaders and Christian based institutions and the theological perspectives that influenced such interventions. Data collection methods, reliability and validity of the research instruments, and ethical considerations were illustrated in the research methodology section.

CHAPTER TWO

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF INTERETHNIC CONFLICT ON COMMUNITIES IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY

2.1 Background of Interethnic Conflicts in Njoro Sub-county

Understanding the history of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county requires a broader view that considers the history and dynamics of Africa's conflicts as a vast and multi-ethnic continent. In the continent, interethnic conflict continues to be a feature that characterizes respective countries with about 8.5% of country-years since 1950 being conflict years compared to around 5% of country-years in the rest of the world over the same period. ⁹⁹ It is a historical phenomenon stretching way back to the pre-colonial period in the case of Africa. Granted, conflict is not unique to African communities. It does happen wherever there is the incompatibility of goals or a belief on the part of one party that feels the other is standing in their way.¹⁰⁰ Significantly, conflicts in Africa tend to assume an ethnic dimension.

During the pre-colonial period, interethnic conflicts were majorly driven by the need to secure and maintain territories. Africa was divided into a patchwork of tribal structures and proto-states before partitioning in 1885.¹⁰¹ The prototype-states had distinctions based on ethnicity but also had pronounced interdependence that enhanced interrelations. Communities understood the maintenance of a degree of harmony with each other was essential for their survival.

⁹⁹ Besley, Timothy and Marta Reynal-Querol. "The legacy of historical conflict: Evidence from Africa." American Political Science Review (2014): pp 319-336

¹⁰⁰ Galtung, Johan. "Theories of peace: A synthetic approach to peace thinking." Oslo International Peace Research Institute 2005 (1967): p.11.

In the pre-colonial period, territorial and ethnic identity did coincide, a factor that would later haunt the intended nations in post-colonial Africa. When western colonial powers took over territories in Africa through the partitioning that happened in 1885, there emerged a keen interest to take into account local leadership structure.¹⁰² Against such background, the African leadership legacy continued to run through but under the control of colonial administrations that restructured it to fit their interests. By using precolonial structures, they wanted to entrench control through an indirect rule which failed because it ignored the self-governing structures, the mechanism for the sustenance of these structures, and the mode of appointing leaders. Attempts to apply African traditional leadership and governance systems by the colonial administrations were therefore tailored made to safeguard their own (colonialists) interests. The distinct administrative jurisdictions that emerged after the 1884 Berlin Conference were meant to administer colonial territories on a cost-recovery basis.¹⁰³ Accordingly, such affected the way African ethnic communities governed themselves. It weakened the preexisting authority structures that had been created in pre-colonial times.¹⁰⁴

Colonial rule amalgamated disparate ethnicities into the chaos called the colonial states, mostly creating fluid abstract ethnicity, by dissociating ethnicity from autonomous polity and territoriality.¹⁰⁵ The action by colonialists obliterated a natural evolvement of interethnic relationships and disfranchised Africans by taking their land, imposing forced labor, and replacing their governance structures with what seemed beneficial to colonial

¹⁰¹ Besley Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol (2014), p.2.

¹⁰² Ibid.p.2.

¹⁰³ Ake Claude. What is the problem of ethnicity in Africa? The African e-journals projects, 1993 p.1.

¹⁰⁴ Besley Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol (2014), p.9.

¹⁰⁵ Ake Claude (1993), p.2.

administrations and settlers.¹⁰⁶ Confronted by such reality, ethnic groups gradually turned to be the primary centers of resistance, means of self-affirmation against the colonizer's aggressive de-culturing of natives, and networks of survival among the African communities.¹⁰⁷ Consequently mobilization along ethnic identity became popular at the expense of the anticipated states.

Political players gradually identified with the supposed interests of their ethnic groups. Ethnic groups became a haven to retreat whenever they were challenged at the state or national level. Colonialist administration resisted opposition from the natives and without an available forum for expression and association; ethnic groups became centers of resistance.¹⁰⁸ Ethnicity was further solidified as the fulcrum of security for an ethnic group and a place for individuals to belong, identify, and gain affirmation.

When African states began to acquire independence, their traditional leadership structure had already been significantly altered by the implementation of colonial administrations, particularly within British colonies.¹⁰⁹ Politics of ethnicity assumed prominence having been entrenched through policy by colonialists in their efforts to advance divide and rule.¹¹⁰ Nationalist movements that were united mainly by common grievances also started to disintegrate at the onset of independence, with their leaders maneuvering and trying to outwit each other. The goal was to inherit power from colonial administration and the unfolding situation prompted political leaders who came from

¹⁰⁶ Ibid p.2.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid p.3.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid p.4.

 ¹⁰⁹ Christopher A. J. 'Divide and rule': the impress of British separation policies p.233. Retrieved from [<u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20002624.pdf]</u>
 ¹¹⁰ Ibid. p.233.

numerically large ethnic groups to apply ethnic ideology to help them consolidate a substantial political base.¹¹¹

The propensity towards ethnic ideology hurt the creation of the supposed nationstates. Ethnic identities were enhanced by colonialism and they became a tool of political power for the elite. The end of colonialism ushered in a new era, that of contrived nationstate boundaries that had little relation to indigenous political structures but a reflection of the arbitrariness of the boundaries created by the colonial division of Africa.¹¹² The desired nationhood that drew from different ethnic groups faced emerging mistrust and suspicions that were built along ethnic cleavages. Post-colonial states seem not to have translated into nationalism at least based on ethnic-based strives witnessed right from the second half of the 20th and 21st centuries. Conceivably, the reason why there is a view that ethnicity is responsible for political instability and weak national identity and has been blamed for old-fashioned values and regressive consciousness that fosters corruption and destructive conflict.¹¹³

Ethnic groups have not managed to integrate fully. The great challenge, which has so often not been overcome, is to move beyond symbolism to create functional polities within state borders that can deliver public goods and security to their citizens irrespective of ethnic identities.¹¹⁴ Permanent solutions to apparent ethnic inclined conflicts in Africa are yet to be achieved and Njoro Sub-county in Kenya has had a share of interethnic conflict which hasn't been resolved.

¹¹¹ Ake Claude (1993), p.2.

¹¹² Besley Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol (2014), p.9.

¹¹³ Ake Claude (1993) p.1.

¹¹⁴ Besley Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol (2014), p.9.

2.2 A History of Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-county

In the 19th century, ethnic fighting was frequent within the region, just like other regions in Kenya with a persistent conflict being between Nandi and Kipsigis.¹¹⁵ The two groups placed a high premium on livestock, and they organized raids, which more often degenerated into the killing of their neighbors and animals as well as destroying property. A case is also cited where the Kipsigis often raided neighboring Mugirango people and extended to Kitutu, Nyaribari, Bassi, and Majoge and also Luo of Nyakach, Kabondo, Kasipul, and Kano.¹¹⁶ From the preceding, various Kalenjin tribes were present in the region before colonialism, and there existed an interethnic conflict. In post-independent Kenya, the recurrent interethnic conflict affecting Njoro Sub-county is associated with events of 1991, a period when the multi-party system of governance was reintroduced.¹¹⁷

Viewing the political process in Kenya retrospectively, colonial administration had attempted to introduce multi-party democracy in Kenya but one aligned to the Westminster model and institutional infrastructure of the regional (*majimbo*) system but it collapsed.¹¹⁸ The attempt failed to take into account ethnic diversity within the regions and the country at large and to lay the foundation for the development of a nation-state.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Ochieng, William Robert. An Outline History of the Rift Valley of Kenya Up to AD 1900: Up to AD 1900, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, 1975, p.104.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.p.104.

¹¹⁷ Karuti, Kanyinga. "Political change in Kenya", in P. Wanyande, M. Omosa and C. Ludeki, *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*, Nairobi, University of Nairobi Press, 2007, p.83.

¹¹⁸ Owuoche Solomon. *The church in the struggle for Democracy in Kenya*, Nairobi, Mvule Publishers, 2010, p.16.

¹¹⁹ Musambayi K. and Mary Omosa. "Leadership and governance in Kenya" in P. Wanyande, M. Omosa and C. Ludeki., *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*, Nairobi, University of Nairobi Press, 2007, p.60.

The regional system (*majimbo*), as understood by a section of the society, meant the balkanization of communities into their native regions posing a challenge to the efforts that were aimed at enhancing nationalism within the territory of Kenya.

At independence, the country was polarized because of preceding happenings slightly before Kenya was declared independent where several parties had emerged but which were patterned into a conglomeration of ethnic leaders.

> Major parties at the dawn of independence were KANU and KADU. When Kenyatta was released in August 1961, he attempted to mediate a truce and a possible merger between the two. Such proved futile, but having accepted the KANU presidency, he succeeded in leading KANU into a coalition government with KADU in 1962. Later on and upon independence, KANU formed the government alone with Kenyatta as the Prime Minister.¹²⁰

Kenyatta and KANU had the task of addressing the expectations generated by independence beginning from those of his own Kikuyu ethnic community and to those of the rest of the country. There is a view that he consolidated himself within Kikuyu of Kiambu, and by so doing, Kikuyu of Muranga, Nyeri, Ndia, and Rift valley felt alienated. His apparent inability to deliver land to the Kikuyu peasantry only reinforced this view.¹²¹ To gain control and deal with growing concerns over unfulfilled expectations from his ethnic community and others, he picked ethnic leaders loyal to him.¹²² The action formed a tendency that has run through subsequent regimes. Some of the elected or appointed individuals attempt to consolidate their ethnic base to help retain power which happens at the expense of building nationalism across ethnicities. In the

¹²⁰ Githu, Muigai. "Jomo Kenyatta and the Rise of Ethno-Nationalistic State in Kenya," in Berman B., Eyoh D. and Kymlicka W., Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa, Oxford, James Currey, 2004, pp. 200-217.

¹²¹ Ibid p.211.

process national leaders lose the opportunity of directly dealing with citizens and instead, they go through the ostensible ethnic leader further entrenching ethnicity in governance.

One year into independence, another defining incident occurred. Kenyatta replaced the Westminster-type of parliamentary democracy with one system of government.¹²³ KADU collapsed into KANU, but that did not satisfy some of the key political players at the time and the uneasy relationship saw the jolting out of radicals and trade union leaders who formed KPU in April 1966.¹²⁴ Formation of the party polarized and strained relations among the politicians and it gradually cascaded down to their respective ethnic groups, further aggravating ethnic suspicions and mistrust.

The campaign against Oginga Odinga and his accomplishes and the killing of Tom Mboya, for example, created a strained relationship between Kikuyu and Luo ethnic communities' political leaders and, by extension, their respective communities.¹²⁵ It caused severe irreversible consequences for the country and pointed to a serious manifestation of the inherent weakness of the new state and the fragile nature of the ethnic alliance.¹²⁶ The assassination of Tom Mboya was reportedly carried out by a gunman from Kikuyu ethnic community, apparently with the connivance of the authorities. The event was followed by the infamous oathing of 1969 that was on the premise of protecting the presidency but it served to create even a greater suspicion against the Kikuyu ethnic community among other ethnic groups in Kenya.¹²⁷ The

¹²² Ibid. p.213.

¹²³ Owuoche, Solomon, (2010) p.17.

¹²⁴ Ibid. p.18

¹²⁵ Muigai, Githu, (2004), p.213.

¹²⁶ Gatu G. John, (2016), p.193.

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp. 213-214

incongruous historical event and the consequences thereof have run through the history of post-colonial Kenya.

Oathing of Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru (GEMA) nations supposedly to defend the presidency against opposition by Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) further exacerbated the budding ethnic suspicion and mistrust.¹²⁸ The formation of Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru association in 1971 was meant to assist in steadying Kenyatta's presidency but it also contributed to ethnic rift.¹²⁹ It encouraged the formation and strengthening of similar ethnic-based formations such as Luo Union and New Akamba Union further drifting the hope for nationalism.¹³⁰ The majority of Kenyans identified themselves more with their respective ethnicities when pursuing political interests.

By the time of his death in 1978, Kenyatta had made significant progress towards the country's stability and prosperity but, ethnicity had been entrenched as the basis for political identity among politicians and communities.¹³¹ It had increasingly become ingrained as the dominant basis of political mobilization. The underlying ethnic discontent remains unresolved making the desired nationhood a mirage.

Moi ascended to the presidency in 1978 after the death of Jomo Kenyatta on the virtue of being a vice-president.¹³² Politicians successively pledged loyalty to him and things appeared to start normalizing, thus defying some predictions that there would be

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.189.

¹²⁹ Karimi, Joseph and Ochieng Philip. *The Kenyatta succession*, Nairobi, Transafrica Book Distributors, 1980, p.64.

¹³⁰ Muigai Githu., (2004), p.214.

¹³¹ Ibid p.215.

¹³² Njeru, Geofrey. R and Njoka John M., "Political ideology in Kenya" in P. Wanyande, M. Omosa and C. Ludeki, *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*, University of Nairobi Press, 2007, p. 22.

violence upon Kenyatta's demise.¹³³ The anticipated violence that would seemingly result from the ethnic and political fracture in Kenya didn't happen at the time. Moi received support from a majority of politicians, and he premised his presidency on a "*Fuata Nyayo*" (following footsteps) philosophy, which was interpreted to mean perfecting what Kenyatta had started.¹³⁴ There was, however, a severe discordant. Kenyatta had managed partly because of personal charisma and the historical claim of championing the clamor for independence.¹³⁵ Moi presidency could not automatically succeed in thriving based on Kenyatta's presidency because of the difference in historical circumstances and charisma.

GEMA elite had initially been mollified by Moi's promise of following Kenyatta's footsteps.¹³⁶ Things took a different turn soon after when some of the politicians who were perceived to have stood his way were dropped. Additionally, the constitution was changed in 1982 to make Kenya a one-party state.¹³⁷ The excesses of the government began to reverberate in almost all spheres of life, stifling people's participation in politics, and constraining the democratic space.¹³⁸ Political freedoms became restricted, and repression of political opponents and co-option of some civil society organizations into the ruling party was enhanced.¹³⁹ Moi revitalized KANU and made it his critical state governing tool. He deployed and utilized provincial administration with unprecedented vigor to suppress people's freedoms and generally

¹³³ Karimi Joseph and Ochieng Philip., (1980) p.8.

¹³⁴ Parsitau, Damaris Seleina. "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space," 2012. P.2. Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1]

¹³⁵ Muigai Githui, (2004) p.215.

¹³⁶ Muigai Guthu, (2004), p.216.

¹³⁷ Owuoche, Solomon (2010), p.22.

¹³⁸ Ibid. p.21.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p.21.

violate their rights including detentions without trial.¹⁴⁰ He objected to articulation of people's interests outside the government. His regime was marked by the infamous national elections of 1988 when those with shorter queues were declared winners in the full glare of media and citizens.¹⁴¹

The excesses exhibited by the government and the ruling party caused discontent among a section of the population leading to the clamor for change in the late 1980s and 1990s. Political movements such as the Forum for Restoration of democracy in Kenya (FORD) emerged to challenge the government and the ruling party. The Church, Law Society of Kenya, among others also joined in the quest for political reforms.¹⁴² The clamor led to repealing of section 2 (a) allowing for the reintroduction of multi-party politics.¹⁴³ There was optimism that Kenya finally had gotten into a trajectory that would lead to social, political, and economic transformation.

While a section of the population celebrated the reintroduction of the multi-party system, ethnicity emerged as a determinant factor in the formation and composition of political parties. Gradually, the mobilization along ethnic identities morphed into interethnic mistrust and eventually into interethnic conflict. Rift Valley region become a patent battleground for interethnic conflict. Njoro Sub-county, which is within Rift Valley, has since 1992 experienced the conflict. As was found out during the study, between 1992- 2012, there had been at least eight episodes of interethnic violence i.e. 1992, 1993, 1997-1998, 2003-2004, 2006, 2007-2008, 2010, and 2011.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. p.23.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p.22.

¹⁴² Ibid. p.23.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p.23.

2.3 Characteristics and Pattern of Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-country

Interethnic violence has unique manifestations in terms of patterns and characteristics.¹⁴⁴ From the findings, the violent period of the conflict was noted to have had a predictable trend of occurring around the electioneering period. It happened slightly before elections, during elections, or immediately after the election's results were announced, creating an almost predictable pattern. ¹⁴⁵ After every five years, there would, therefore, likely be interethnic violence or ethnic tensions since 1992 with exemptions of 2002.¹⁴⁶ Elections tended to heighten the already existing ethnic suspicion, mistrust, and hatred and acted as one of the triggers of interethnic violence. The near distinct continuity and patterned progression of conflict seemed to be well understood by the local communities who alluded that after elections, the fragile ethnic relations tended to be marked by heightened tensions that occasionally degenerated into violence. ¹⁴⁷

Suspicion thrived on a kind of awareness that each community had distinctive qualities that made them different from the rest and which tended to be used in mobilizing and determining political support by candidates at various electoral levels. Even on the occasions when there is no violence; there exists deep-rooted tensions in the area, which still gravitates around ethnic identities. The tensions impaired interactions between ethnic communities and economic activities.¹⁴⁸ The ethnic differences tend to be

¹⁴⁴ Akiwumi, Augustus Molade (1999), p.161.

¹⁴⁵ Esther Ruto, Oral Interview, Neissuit April 15, 2016.

¹⁴⁶ Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009), p.86.

¹⁴⁷ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

¹⁴⁸ Cranaplus, "Stages of Conflict Development," p. 3. Retrieved from [<u>https://crana.org.au/uploads/pdfs/Other_45.pdf]</u>

conveniently utilized by politicians to pursue their ambitions, which sometimes fuels or sustains strained relationships between ethnic groups.

The continued suspicion perpetually keeps communities in readiness for violent confrontations. Such a reality explains why incidences considered provocative by any of the ethnic communities attract a disproportionate reaction against the perceived aggressor. Negative meaning would be attached to events considered normal in an environment of peaceful interactions. With such occurrences, ethnic communities morph relatively minor feelings of tension to mistrust, and things are done or said, which gives the impression that a problem exists, which makes parties feel irritated.¹⁴⁹

For illustration purposes, a case was reported in 2004 where a lady from the Kalenjin ethnic community accidentally dropped her wrist-watch into a well that was located in Ndeffo farm, which borders Mauche Division. The lady shouted to get help to retrieve the watch but it was misconstrued by her tribesmen who thought she had been attacked over water resources that had become scarce due to a prolonged dry season. The incidence resulted in interethnic violence affecting all the four administrative divisions in Njoro Sub-county.¹⁵⁰ Some members of the communities live in perpetual distrust of each other, and sometimes simple occurrences of disagreements in the cause of interactions across ethnic communities trigger interethnic violence.

Common incidents that occur when communities are trading or are engaging with each other on various social issues occasionally vicious reactions purely because facts tend to be obscured when there are suspicions and mistrust.¹⁵¹ In such situations, simple

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p.3

¹⁵⁰ A Government of Kenya administration official interviewed on April 15, 2016.

¹⁵¹ Cranaplus, "Stages of Conflict Development", p. 3. Retrieved from [https://crana.org.au/uploads/pdfs/Other 45.pdf]

occurrences involving an individual from either ethnic group are sometimes interpreted through ethnic lenses. Where there is an already entrenched negative attitude among communities, each tends to have fixed positions and there is fear that the grounds for a standard solution are lost.¹⁵² They lose hope for a reasonable outcome making interactions become hostile and sequentially degenerate into violence.

It was apparent that in the region, there existed a conflict in a latent form that occasionally developed into crisis levels leading communities to take arms against each other. The warriors use bows, arrows, guns, machetes, and various crude weapons. Homes, schools, and other social amenities are destroyed by arsonists and some of the business premises are looted.¹⁵³ In response, the government and other agents have intervened mainly to calm the situation. The government, deploys police to separate the warring communities, followed by meetings organized to stop the violence from escalating further but the solution to the violence tend to go as far as having the communities put down the weapons. Meanwhile, another episode of violence starts to bud, and hence the pattern and the cycle have continued for over three decades.¹⁵⁴

2.4 Communities in Njoro Sub-county

Interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county was identified to occur mainly between the members of Kikuyu and the Kipsigis, a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin ethnic communities.¹⁵⁵ The two ethnic groups were also identified as being the dominant communities in the Sub-county. Other significant communities involved in the interethnic

¹⁵² Ibid p.3.

¹⁵³ Mbuthia Moses, Oral Interview, April 22, 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Mbuthia Moses, Oral Interview, April 22, 2016.

¹⁵⁵ Muluka Barack and Gona George, p.86.

conflict included the Ogiek and the Kisii even though these two were marginally conspicuous in the conflict compared to Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic communities.

Interethnic violence is expressed through the burning of the homesteads, looting, maiming, killings, and displacements of the human population. Episodes of interethnic violence are preceded by derogatory insinuations or hate speech against each other, particularly in alcohol bars and liquor drinking dens, refusal to shake hands, and trade across ethnic communities.¹⁵⁶ Other provocative activities include livestock theft across communities, destroying and stealing farm produce, threats using leaflets, and barricading roads.¹⁵⁷

2.5 Causes of the Interethnic Conflict in Njoro Sub-county

Right from pre-colonial to post-colonial Kenya, ethnicity is entrenched in virtually all spheres of life. Such reality has influenced interethnic human relations in the Njoro Subcounty. In the Subcounty, the population is exceptionally ethnic conscious which makes ethnicity a significant factor while interpreting social, economic, and political development and considerably religious or denominational affiliation within the region. The conflict between communities in the region tends to be influenced by ethnic identities and the underlying causes of the conflict are expressed through ethnic confrontations. Experts, government, and residents presented several issues that are considered to contribute to or catalyze interethnic conflict. A common thread was the use of ethnicity as the fulcrum on which interethnic conflicts are galvanized.

¹⁵⁶ Rev. Paul Rono Lago, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016.

¹⁵⁷ Rev. Paul Rono Lago Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016

2.5.1 Land Ownership Claims

Land ownership is one of the causes of conflict, especially in the Rift valley.¹⁵⁸ Respondents explained that some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community argued that Rift Valley was rightfully theirs which includes the land in Njoro Sub-county.¹⁵⁹ Some respondents from the Kalenjin ethnic community explained that they lost their land first to the colonial administration and later to other ethnic communities when Kenya attained independence.

Among members of the Kalenjin community, some were of the view that the Republic of Kenya's first president did not address historic injustices. He failed to facilitate a process that would revert to them the land that was historically theirs and that being of Kikuyu ethnicity he favored his tribesmen to instead acquire the land.¹⁶⁰ An elder from Kalenjin ethnic community commented, "There is a view among some members of my community that Kikuyu ethnic community is an immigrant from central Kenya."¹⁶¹ Within the Kalenjin ethnic community, some individuals firmly held that there was unfairness on land distribution after independence.

The view was exacerbated by a twist in the interethnic relations that took place in 1994 when the idea of federalism (*Majimboism*) was propounded gaining traction in Coast and Rift Valley provinces.¹⁶² It was imbued with intentions to evict ethnic groups who had moved into these areas from other regions within Kenya. Indigenous communities reportedly wanted to be in charge of their social, political, and economic

¹⁵⁸ Tarimo Aquiline, and Manwelo Pauline, (2007, 2008) p.92.

¹⁵⁹ Akiwumi Augustus Molade (1999), p.149.

¹⁶⁰ Elder Chirchir, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 17, 2016.

¹⁶¹ Elder Paul Ruto, Oral interview, Mosop, April 17, 2016.

¹⁶² Njogu, Kimani, ed. Defining moments: reflections on citizenship, violence, and the 2007 general elections in Kenya. African Books Collective, 2011. p.10.

growth and development within their regions. A chief (a locational government administrator) from the Kalenjin ethnic community observed;

Politicians informed them (Kalenjin) that this is their ancestral land, and therefore they continue to lay claim on it. They hold that the Kikuyu ethnic community was allocated the land but it historically belonged to them.¹⁶³

The expression reflects the view among some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community that they were being alienated from a resource that was historically and rightfully theirs.

On the contrary, members of the Kikuyu ethnic community disputed the claim.

They argued that they bought the land from the settlers through land buying companies or independently as individuals or families in subsequent years following independence. In other incidences, they argued individuals from the Kalenjin ethnic community sold to them through a willing seller-willing buyer arrangement. An elder from Kikuyu ethnic community contended,

They (some members Kalenjin ethnic community) sold their land to willing buyers. My grandfather came to Rift Valley in 1958 and bought the land. As a result, I was born and brought up in Njoro, where else would I go? I don't know any other place I can call home. They want to evict us and occupy the land but we do not have anywhere else to go. During the clashes, especially the worst of all that happened in 2008, I told my sons if anyone dies, it will be alright, but they will have died while fighting for their land. We are like Jews (Deuteronomy 28:7) and firmly believe that if enemies come from one direction, they will disperse from us in seven directions. Therefore, God is going to fight for us.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Area chief, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 26, 2016.

¹⁶⁴ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

The argument alludes to the post-colonial era in which the Kikuyu ethnic community members claim that they legally bought land from the Kalenjin. It was apparent that members of the Kisii ethnic community had settled in the area and bought the land from the members of Kalenjin or the Kikuyu ethnic communities who had settled there much earlier. Both viewed the idea that the land belonged to the Kalenjin a distorted narrative. The whole discussion about historical injustices according to them is false asserting that during the pre-colonial period, the region was not occupied a situation that allowed even members of the Kikuyu ethnic community from central to graze in it just like the Maasai ethnic community.¹⁶⁵

Members of the Kikuyu ethnic community migrated from the central region to buy land in other regions after Kenya was declared independent. They moved from various parts of central and eastern provinces then. Mathangauta farm in Njoro Subcounty is occupied by people from Mwea Sub-county in Kirinyinga County who claim to have bought it from a white settler. They expressed disappointment that some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community were freely settled in the neighboring Mauche Settlement Scheme that was hived from Mau- Forest in 1996 and1997.¹⁶⁶ Kikuyu ethnic community considered that their Kalenjin counterparts had been favored by the ruling regime then because they were the sole beneficiaries of Mauche Scheme. They pointed out that some members of the Kikuyu ethnic community who were settlers in the same forest had been evicted a decade earlier and were never considered when the new human

¹⁶⁵ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

¹⁶⁶ Kimani Kamenja, and his family, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016.

settlement scheme was created.¹⁶⁷ The action was interpreted by members of Kikuyu ethnic community as a form of discrimination.

Despite the Kikuyu's claim of entitlement to the land, some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community maintained that Rift Valley remained an ancestral land that was taken away from them by the colonial administration and after gaining independence, the land did not revert to them.¹⁶⁸ They resented the presence of what they termed as foreigners in their midst whom they referred to as *madoadoa* in 1991 and 1992.¹⁶⁹ In Njoro area, some members of Kalenjin community were of the view that settlement schemes needed to be ethnically aligned, guaranteeing those of the same ethnicity to live together.¹⁷⁰ Such a view was the source of the idea that the ultimate solution was to have the Kikuyu ethnic community vacate from their land and go back to the central part of Kenya.

The enterprising approach of distributing land after independence may not have foreseen a future where certain communities would feel marginalized. The land is a diminishing resource because of the high demand. With limited options particularly on how to survive, communities are bound to strive against each other. The way land was distributed in Njoro Sub-county during the reign of former presidents Kenyatta and Moi was and remains a recipe for interethnic conflict. Some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community asserted that former President Jomo Kenyatta favored the Kikuyu ethnic community. On the other hand, the Kikuyu ethnic community alleged that the Kalenjin ethnic community was favored by former President Moi, who hived part of Mau Forest

¹⁶⁷ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

¹⁶⁸ Elder Kiptur, and his family, Oral Interview, Mauche Location, April 17, 2016.

¹⁶⁹ Mbuthia Moses, Oral Interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

¹⁷⁰ Akiwumi Akiwumi, Augustus Molade (1999), p.65.

and created the Mauche Settlement Scheme. The settlement scheme was allocated to members of the Kalenjin ethnic community. The situation is such that each of the two communities views the other as having settled there illegally a factor that has sustained the tensions between them.

The divergent views towards land ownership held by the two communities remain a cleavage for potential interethnic conflict. The issue will require a well-negotiated settlement where justice will appear to have been rendered. Land is the main means of livelihood with mixed farming being the main source of income. Being on the foothill of Mau escapement, the soil is loamy, and the climate is suitable for farming. Among the four divisions that make up the Sub-county, three of them i.e., Njoro, Mauche, and Mau-Narok, have favorable weather and sufficient rainfall that makes them suitable for farming almost throughout the year. The main crops are potatoes, carrots, cabbages, wheat, beans, and maize. Lare division experiences relatively low levels of rainfall compared to the rest, but it is fertile and suitable for maize, beans, wheat, and barley production. The productivity may explain the high population density, which stood at 341 in the Kenya Population, and Housing Census 2019.¹⁷¹ The increasing population has made the land a scarce resource. Owning a piece of land in the region is sentimental for individuals, families and communities.

The increasing demand for land had accompanying challenges. Buying prizes had maintained an upward trend making it difficult for some people to acquire. The subdivision of arable land driven by the need to give inheritance to children and by the allure of seemingly good prices was noted to be a common phenomenon. It was considered a quick means of getting money for school fees, medical bills, and to meet costs for court cases. Saving groups, popularly known as *chamas*, were noted to play a significant role in the subdivision of land. Members of these groups bought land with their savings, which they later sub-divided mainly into smaller portions of 0.25 or 0.125 acres for selling.¹⁷² The subdivision had an overall negative effect on the household economy and that of the area because small pieces of land were increasingly becoming unviable for agribusiness. The increase in population coupled with subdivision affected land productivity in the region.

Overall, the demand and downward productivity of land created tensions among individuals, families, and communities. Competition for land resources had caused conflict among the communities. There was also the encroachment of Mau-Forest, which was reported to have started in the 1990s when the Mauche settlement scheme was hived off. It was found out that the influx of the Kalenjin ethnic community led to encroachment of land beyond the marked borderline and therefore some of the families and individuals were not given title deeds, a fact that made them frustrated. One family in Mauche Settlement Scheme complained about frustrations they had gone through trying to get the title deeds because the government argued their piece of land was part of Mau Forest.¹⁷³ Some members of the Kikuyu ethnic community seemed to taunt them, referring to them as illegal occupiers who would one day be removed from the land by the government. Compounded by lack of title deed for the land among a section of the

¹⁷¹ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, "2019 Kenya Population, and Housing Census November 2019 Volume I: Population by County and Sub-County." p.9

¹⁷² Area Chief, Oral interview, Mauche, May 1, 2016.

¹⁷³ Kones, and his family, questionnaire, Teret, April 18, 2017.

community, infuriation was noticeable, further entrenching the ground for strained relationships and propensity to interethnic conflict.

2.5.2 Ethnic Identities

The ethnic composition in Njoro Sub-county has Kikuyu ethnic community as the majority, followed by the Kalenjin ethnic community that comprises the Tugen, the Ogiek, and the Kipsigis sub-tribes and Kisii ethnic community.¹⁷⁴ There is a representation of other ethnic communities but mainly in urban centers, but they tend to have little influence on interethnic relations in the region. The Maasai ethnic community even though found in Narok North Sub-county also gets involved in the conflict.In October 1993, there was significant violence that led to the displacement of the Kikuyu ethnic community from their homes, especially along the border between the two sub-counties.¹⁷⁵

Communities are conscious of their ethnicity, which significantly contributes to interethnic conflict. They have consciously embraced the ethnocentric approach in their political, economic, social, and religious pursuits and it is central to virtually every issue involving resource distribution and governance in the region.¹⁷⁶ Typically, ethnic identities precipitate cultural groupings identified by the presence of conventional customs and cultural practices. The customs and practices are applied to distinguish one ethnic group from the other where each lays claim to some kind of common language, cultural and physical location. In other instances, the ethnic community identifies itself with body shapes, types, and even skin color. The social aesthetics tend to be culturally

¹⁷⁴ Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009). p.89.

¹⁷⁵ Muthua Ndungu, Kianugu, Oral interview, Likia, May 21, 2016.

¹⁷⁶ Muluka, Barack, and Gona George (2009), p.112.

and ethnically based and some of the established cultural practices are utilized to perpetuate intolerant tendencies and to negatively profile certain communities.¹⁷⁷

Occasionally allegiance to one's ethnic group supersedes the one for the nation. Despite the commitment of most national leaders to instill a sense of national identity, most African peoples' allegiance to their ethnic groups still supersedes loyalty to the national community.¹⁷⁸ Colonial government exploited the practices to divide and rule the Kenyan people for example.¹⁷⁹ In independent Kenya, ethnic identities exploitation, particularly by politicians, remains a source of ethnic cleavage derailing the process of nationhood. Former President Moi argued Kenyans were not cohesive enough and would likely experience ethnic based violence.¹⁸⁰ Lack of cohesiveness among ethnic communities has contributed to the interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county for close to three decades.

There is a view that ethnic identity is not bad, but there are conditions under which ethnicity becomes a problem to an individual or a community.¹⁸¹ In the area of study, ethnic identity has adverse effects that affect adults and children alike. Children are acquainted with conversations about the relationship of their community with other communities that tend to be connoted with mistrust and suspicion.¹⁸² They suffer directly during the violence, through loss of parents, destruction of livelihoods, burning of homes, schools, and various forms of abuse, all of which contribute to the negative view of the

¹⁷⁷ Amuka Peter.S.O., "The Romance of Nationhood: Kenya as Word and Desire" in King'ei K. and Indangasi H. (eds), Writers Speak: essays on literature and democracy, Writers association of Kenya, 1997, pp.89-93.

¹⁷⁸ Koki, Muli, *Defining Moments: Reflections on Citizenship, Violence, and the 2007 General Elections in Kenya,* Nairobi, Twaweza communication, 2011, p.3.

¹⁷⁹ Amuka Peter .S.O. (1997), p.89.

¹⁸⁰ Koki Muli (2011), p.8

¹⁸¹ Tarimo Aquiline and Manwelo Pauline (2007,2008) p.93.

perceived perpetrating community. Communities in the region have an ethnic consciousness that is imbued with ethnocentric tendencies with mistrust and suspicion highly ingrained in their relations.

Ethnically oriented claims are used to justify prejudices among communities. For illustration, there was a view that more members of the Kikuyu ethnic community compared to those of the Kalenjin ethnic community were in government employment. Some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community considered that they were intentionally segregated from government employment because of their ethnic identity.¹⁸³ Against such background, ethnic identity becomes an ideology that is used in agitation for resources and competition for elective and appointive positions.

The strained social ethnic relations have, over the years, bred suspicion, and deep mistrust. A hate relationship is almost palpable, with each emitting derogatory terms about the other. Some members of the Kikuyu ethnic community, for example, had a generalized view of the members of the Kalenjin ethnic community as lazy, thieves, and envious while some from Kalenjin ethnic community, on the other hand, perceived members of the Kikuyu ethnic community as proud and arrogant.¹⁸⁴ The perception and terms they use to describe each other are part of the impediments to co-existence.

There is a perpetual fear of each which significantly works towards sustaining the recurrent interethnic violence. When violence emerges, there is an aggressive attempt to inflict maximum pain on the other community. The deep-rooted ethnic prejudices do blur the opportunity for reconciling the historical and contextual factors that are invoked in

¹⁸² Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

¹⁸³ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous government official, Oral interview, Njoro, July 10, 2016.

the distribution of resources and governance. The situation has led to endless resentments that hinder positive prospects for constructive interethnic interactions.

2.5.3 Political Contests

Communities in Njoro Sub-county mentioned local and national politics as contributing to the recurrent interethnic violence. The struggles for political power tended to be aggressive and paying no attention to the cost of the lives of those politicians seek to lead.¹⁸⁵ Some of the presidential candidates in national elections advanced their interests of ruling the country and sharing public resources in a manner that disregarded the effects on the lives of the citizens.¹⁸⁶ Using ethnic identities in pursuit of political ambitions affects how a particular ethnic group behaves concerning others in the arena of a multi-ethnic state.¹⁸⁷ Competitive politics in Njoro Sub-county were identified by informants to be utilizing ethnicity as a tool while attempting to secure elective positions.¹⁸⁸ Politicians, while appealing for support, invoked their ethnic identity and therefore manipulated ethnic communities to either vote in their favor, or occasionally destabilized perceived opposing community from voting. From 1992 to 1997, violence was orchestrated on those supporting opposition parties at the expense of KANU, which was the party in power at that time.¹⁸⁹ State-sponsored conflict motivated by a need to acquire or preserve power by individuals or the ruling party was found to be a factor in

¹⁸⁵ Manwelo Pauline, "Root causes of the December 2007 Post-election Crisis in Kenya," in A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo (eds), *ethnicity conflict and future of African states*, Paulines Publications, Nairobi, 2009, p.91.

¹⁸⁶Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Lonsdale J., "Moral and Political Argument in Kenya" in Berman B., Eyoh D. and Kymlicka W. (eds), *Ethnicity And Democracy In Africa*, James Currey, 2004, p.77.

¹⁸⁸ Anonymous, Oral interview, Ndeffo – Mauche border, June 10th, 2016.

¹⁸⁹ Koki, Muli (2011), p.8.

interethnic conflicts. Politics are entrenched in recurrent interethnic conflicts in Njoro Sub-county and its adjacent regions.

The fact that the period before, during, or immediately after elections tended to be characterized by ethnic animosity, which would degenerate into violence, is an indicator of local and national political involvement. Politicians preyed on ethnic identity to compete. They mobilized for a voting pattern that primarily thrived on one's ethnic identity. During campaigns, politicians raised emotive issues such as land when discussing historical injustices, issuance of land title deeds, and encroachment of Mau Forest. Ethnic communities tended to hold divergent views on the issues mentioned above and politicians used the situation to rally their communities for political support, dividing the residents between those in support and otherwise. The view that politics were actively involved in sustaining interethnic conflict was premised by some residents on the notion that before 1992 when multi-party was reintroduced, the Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic communities did not perpetuate ethnic-based animosity on each other.¹⁹⁰

A section of politicians who thrived on politics by dividing ethnic communities gained popularity from their community by supporting the evictions of specific ethnic communities from the region. During the 1997 elections, it was reported that politicians from the Kikuyu ethnic community campaigned for elective positions on a platform of stopping encroachment and preservation of the Mau forest.¹⁹¹ The Maasai ethnic community that occupied Narok County, where part of the Mau-forest was located, also supported the call to preserve the forest. They argued that the forest needed to be preserved for the sustainability of rivers, which they relied on for watering their

¹⁹⁰ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

livestock.¹⁹² The Kalenjin ethnic community considered such an affront to their livelihoods fomenting violence between them and the Maasai and Kikuyu communities.

In the elections where Kikuyu and the Kalenjin ethnic communities had opposing candidates, especially competitors for the position of Members of Parliament, mobilization of voters that profiled the electorate based on ethnic identities played out. The competition was stiff between candidates from the two dominant ethnic communities and the political alliances they formed determined interethnic relations in the Sub-county. In 2007 for example, the Kalenjin ethnic community supported a candidate from the Luo ethnic community for the presidential election at the national level, and there was conflict. In 2013, the Kalenjin ethnic community supported a candidate from Kikuyu ethnic community, and there was no interethnic violence.¹⁹³ When the two dominant communities united during the national election, interethnic tensions were reduced. According to an elder, such phenomenon was an indication there was a political influence on the conflict in the region.¹⁹⁴ When politicians from the antagonizing ethnic group improved their relations, incidences of violence between communities decreased.

There was a colloquial view in Njoro Sub-county that the ethnic community that produced a member of parliament at any given election benefited more from the national resources. The elected leader was believed to bring national resources to his or her community. Members of the Kikuyu ethnic community who were dominant had produced a Member of Parliament since Njoro constituency was created. Communities considered

¹⁹¹Akiwumi, Augustus Molade (1999), p.150.

¹⁹² Solomon Maina, Oral interview, Ndeffo, May 3, 2017.

¹⁹³ Elder Chirchir, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 17, 2016.

¹⁹⁴ Elder Chirchir, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 17, 2016.

a Member of Parliament as being instrumental in the distribution of resources, particularly the National Constituency Development Fund.

2.5.4 Allocation of National Resources

Communities complained that resources were not distributed equally. The perceived favoritism fomented ethnic discord. A pastor of the Kalenjin ethnicity commented that his kin felt the National Constituency Development Fund benefited more individuals and groups that belonged to the Kikuyu ethnic community.¹⁹⁵ The fund was constitutionalized and placed under the Members of Parliament and the fact that the Kikuyu ethnic community had produced members of parliament from 1992-2012, the Kalenjin community considered itself a victim of ethnic alienation. Social facilities such as dispensaries, health centers, and bursaries were reportedly not distributed equally among communities. It was noted that certain areas were purely inhabited by the members of the Kikuyu ethnic community, which provided the ground for comparing projects funded by the government in respective areas.

Distribution of jobs in the Sub-county was a concern as well. Some members from the Kalenjin ethnic community expressed a view that the Kikuyu community was favored in the distribution of government jobs in the area, especially in the recruitment of the police force, NCDF office, and county administration.¹⁹⁶ The Kikuyu and Kisii ethnic communities, on the other hand, considered the Kalenjin ethnic community to have been favored by the government, which was then headed by the former President Moi. They

¹⁹⁵ Pastor Ruto, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 15, 2016.

¹⁹⁶ Elder Chirchir, Questionnaire, Nessuit Location, April 17, 2016.

specifically mentioned the distribution of land in Mauche Scheme, which exclusively benefited the Kalenjin community.¹⁹⁷ Exclusivity along ethnic lines was considered a challenge that denied some access to state resources. Those who considered themselves excluded tended to use conflict with the hope that they would get away to the resources. The discontent that emanated from distribution of resources was an active catalyst that harbored conflict and hindered the integration of communities.

2.5.5 Social-Cultural Tension

Ethnic communities are identified through their distinctive qualities, mainly in their customs, socio-cultural and economic practices, and languages.¹⁹⁸The consciousness of one's ethnicity and subsequent identity seemed to contribute to interethnic conflict among communities in Njoro. The Kikuyu ethnic community was noted to have fared well economically with a hand in farming and other forms of small businesses.¹⁹⁹ A section of Kikuyu argued that the Kalenjin ethnic community engaged in violence because of harboring jealousy against them. The community considered itself as progressive and way ahead on the economic front and that their children were more educated, which gave them a sense of pride. The supposed achievement was attributed to their hard work and they castigated the Kalenjin ethnic community for not being committed to hard work.²⁰⁰

Some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community considered Kikuyu ethnic community as proud and that they bragged about their wealth and looked down on other

¹⁹⁷ Muthua Ndungu, Oral interview, Kianugu, May 21, 2016.

¹⁹⁸ [www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1561] accessed on September 24, 2018

¹⁹⁹ Akiwumi, Augustus Molade (1999), p.147.

²⁰⁰ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

communities.²⁰¹ Such indicated an opinionated view of each other, which ultimately worked against harmonious co-existence. The two communities traditionally had different economic activities with Kalenjin ethnic community being pastoralists, while members of the Kikuyu ethnic community practiced mixed farming. The demands of the modern economy and diminishing land resources had prompted the Kalenjin ethnic community to adopt mixed farming, which included tilling of the land. The reported success in crop growing among the Kikuyu community needed not be misconstrued to perceive the Kalenjin as less hardworking. It was a chance of historical and cultural experiences that placed the Kikuyu ethnic community as a land tilling community and the Kalenjin ethnic community as pastoralists. The shortage of land, changes in land use, and market demands made them turn to crop-growing, which is a more recent development.

2.5.6 Increasing Population

As observed by an agricultural officer, the population increase had caused a strain on natural resources leading to a shortage of water, firewood, and land resource.²⁰² The result was constrained means of livelihood and competition over the available resources. Water shortage had increasingly become a concern in the area because streams and rivers were drying up such as River Enjoro or *Ndarugu*.²⁰³ Rains had become unpredictable affecting rain-fed agriculture, and wells were drying up leading to scarcity of water resources, all which were reported to be factors that aggravated the interethnic conflict in the region.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

²⁰² Gachiengo (Agricultural officer), Oral interview, Mau-Narok, April 19, 2016.

²⁰³ Walubengo Dominic, "Community-led action to use forestry in building resilience to climate change: A Kenyan case study of Njoro Division," Nakuru District, Kenya. p.6.

²⁰⁴ A Pastor from Kalenjin ethnic community, Questionnaire, Mauche FGCK Church, April 16, 2017

Firewood, a main source of fuel in the Njoro Sub-County had increasingly become scarce because of dwindling forests and the clearing of trees in the farms to pave way for crop farming. One of the implications was that women and young girls had to venture deep into the Mau forest to fetch the firewood posing risk to them with cases of rape cases and molestation of young girls reported. The perpetrators of these crimes were reported to come from communities within the Sub-county or the adjacent Narok North and it had caused ethnic resentment whenever an incident occurred, further heightening ethnic animosity.²⁰⁵ Much as these incidences were criminal, communities often opted for violence instead of legal recourse. As opposed to perpetrators facing legal charges as individuals, occasionally it turned out into an interethnic confrontation.

The population increase also implied the inability of the land to produce enough for people and livestock. An incidence of ethnic violence was reported when the Masai and the Kalenjin ethnic communities' grazers clashed over pastures in Mau-Forest.²⁰⁶ Inherent competition for available resources was therefore identified to be a cause of conflict among communities residing in Njoro Sub-county.

2.5.7 Poverty

The increase in population in Njoro Sub-county had consequently contributed to the depletion of natural resources and the shortage of rainfall had negatively affected livelihoods. The number of people struggling to access basic needs was reported to be on the increase.²⁰⁷ Such was marked by an increase in poverty levels and the associated criminal activities which are a threat to peaceful co-existence, noting that they happened

²⁰⁵ Area Sub-chief, Oral interview, Likia, April 25, 2018.

²⁰⁶ Area chief, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 26, 2016.

across communities. ²⁰⁸ Offenders did not have boundaries, and they tended to cause tensions when they got arrested or harmed through mob justice in the territory of the other community. Some individuals in their respective communities tended to stand with them irrespective of the crimes they had allegedly committed. The actions taken against persons who had committed crimes were considered aggression to the entire ethnic community they belonged to leading to the frosty relationship among communities.

2.5.8 Livestock Theft Cases

Cases of livestock theft were identified as a factor in the interethnic conflict. In particular, the Kikuyu ethnic community argued that some members of the Kalenjin ethnic community worked in a cohort with some young men from the Kikuyu ethnic community to steal their livestock.²⁰⁹ Theft of livestock arguably had perpetrators drawn from different communities residing in the Sub-county.

The vice stifled economic growth because some farmers had opted to stop livestock keeping. Others opted to put up with livestock in their houses at night to prevent them from being stolen limiting the size of the flock. One of the chiefs stated that theft of livestock was one of the critical threats to security in the region.²¹⁰ Several recoveries were made through corroboration between the security agents, thus minimizing retaliatory attacks. The fact that most of the animals stolen were recovered from the Mauche settlement scheme or were tracked and found to have gone through the scheme onward to livestock markets in Bomet served the opinion that it was members of the

²⁰⁷ Hannah Mbugua, Oral interview, Naishi Division, June 23, 2018.

²⁰⁸ Mbuthia Moses, Nakuru town, Oral interview, April 22, 2016.

²⁰⁹ Kimani Kamenja, and his family, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016.

²¹⁰ Area chief, Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 26, 2016.

Kalenjin ethnic community were committing the crime.²¹¹ Incidents of livestock rustling were noted to affect the proper relationship among communities negatively.²¹² Incursion in others' territories, to steal or recover stolen livestock, heralded a ground for violence. There were reported cases of stealing farm produce such as maize, potatoes, and house break-ins with members of the Kikuyu ethnic community directing the blame to members of the Kalenjin ethnic community that supposedly harbored the criminals.²¹³ Such perceptions and activities fuelled animosity between the communities.

From the preceding, the source of conflict can only be attributed to several causes. Ethnicity stands out as a critical factor and it is deeply entrenched in individuals' and communities' consciousness. Such has made the interethnic relations thrive in an environment of perpetual ethnic feelings. Ethnic identity supersedes other forms of social relationships, economic activities, and political affiliations.

2.6 The Effects of Interethnic Conflict

The interethnic conflict has ramifications on the lives of individuals and communities in the Njoro Sub-county. It affects social, psychological, economic, political, and religious spheres of life. It interrupts the growth and development of individuals and communities. The government also suffers because a section of the population viewed it as being ambivalent, indifferent, biased, or ineffective in facilitating the establishment of lasting solutions. The following discusses the effects of the interethnic conflict that were identified during the study.

²¹¹ Chief, Oral interview, Mau-Narok, July 15, 2016.

²¹² Akiwumi, Augustus Molade (1999)., p.67.

²¹³ Muthua Ndungu, Oral interview, Kianugu, Likia, May 21, 2016.

2.6.1 Looting and Burning of Homesteads

The burning of houses and other structures in the homestead was reported to be a common characteristic during incidents of interethnic violence. The first incidence was reported on March 18, 1992, at Larmudiac near Egerton University.²¹⁴ Some of the homes near the boundaries between the involved communities were destroyed by burning, and owners have never reconstructed them. They moved out to areas they considered safer. In January 1998, members of the Kalenjin ethnic community residing in Naishi were attacked by members of the Kikuyu ethnic community leading to the death of 35 people and complete eviction from the area.²¹⁵ It was noted that when the tension mounts or the first incidence of violence reported, people move into areas they consider secure, including schools, churches, or homesteads near the main road, which is Njoro-Mau-Narok Road. The deserted homes became a target of arson attacks causing suffering to those affected by the violence.²¹⁶

The area has marks of homesteads burnt down as early as October 1993 and have never been rebuilt. One informant stated he had rebuilt his home four times, but every time the interethnic violence erupted, it was burnt down and he had resigned from further reconstruction but instead, he had sort housing himself and his family from a friend. ²¹⁷ Ndingi, a former archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, noted such was a common occurrence in the region's ensuing interethnic violence and that houses were wrecked mainly through burning to stop displaced persons from ever getting back.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.111.

²¹⁵ Political Violence Spirals, Retrieved from

[[]https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/148000/afr320191998en.pdf]

 ²¹⁶ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia Sub-location, Likia, April 18, 2016.
 ²¹⁷Karanu Kaminja Oral interview, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

²¹⁸ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.104.

The fact that destroyed and deserted homesteads could be identified in all the four divisions of the region was an indicator of broken trust, persisting fear, and anticipation of violence in the future. A home contractor in the area lamented construction of homes had scaled down because people feared they would be destroyed during interethnic violence.²¹⁹ The fear slows down initiatives for decent housing in the region. In the process of destroying homes, some individuals and families lose valuable documents such as land title deeds, identification cards, marriage certificates, education certificates, and birth certificates. The process of reacquiring these critical documents was reported as being long and sometimes expensive. The loss of clothes, preserved foods, money stored at homes, among others, brings situations of despair and aggravates suffering among the people. Their livelihoods are destroyed, bitterness is rife, and according to the communities involved there are no concrete measures to address the indignant feeling that stand on the way to reconciliation.

2.6.2 Maiming and Killings

During the violent incidents, communities used lethal weapons that included poisoned arrows, machetes, spears, guns, and crude weapons that comprised stones and clubs. The weapons were used to cause deaths and to maim individuals from the perceived enemies based on ethnic identities.²²⁰ There was a loss of human life while other people sustained physical injuries.²²¹ Some people were scared, but fortunately, they survived.²²² Loss of life and bodily harm marks the enduring suspicion and mistrust

²¹⁹ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

²²⁰: Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.104.

²²¹ Nyukuri Baraza Kundu (1997), p.15.

²²² George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

among ethnic groups in the region. To them, the scars remain a painful reminder of the effects of the persistent interethnic conflict and the ensuing interethnic violence.

A bitter resident narrated how his brother was killed in 1998, leaving behind a young family.²²³ The pain of losing family members was notable, in which case the burden of taking care of the orphaned children was left with the respective relatives.²²⁴ There was a report of traumatized children who witnessed their parents being killed or maimed and destruction of their homes through looting or by being set ablaze.²²⁵ The unresolved trauma served to sustain interethnic tensions. Children were aware of the descriptions and stereotypes that portrayed other communities as enemies or ascribed qualities that portrayed other ethnic communities negatively. Trust among children, even in the school environment, is affected.

Ndingi, Zacheus Okoth, Cornelius Korir, and John Njue, and father Ndikaru all members of the clergy in Roman Catholic in Kenya, did a visit in the region in 1992 and observed;

Dead bodies lay strewn along the road, and warriors armed with arrows were spoiling for war. They saw lost children crying for their parents, some unaware that their parents had been killed or seriously wounded. They also saw the charred remains of what used to be homes, the scorched expanses of what used to be fertile earth.²²⁶

The callousness involved in maiming and killing defies the fact that they have common elements that tie them together. Ordinarily, they trade with each other and their children go to the same schools. They also belong to the same churches and even celebrate social events together but despite such understanding there exist issues that defy

²²³ Karanu Kaminja, Likia, Oral interview, April 19, 2016.

²²⁴ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

²²⁵ Mbuthia Moses, Nakuru town, Oral interview, April 22, 2016.

full integration and appreciation of differences in ethnic identities. These differences positively utilized would enrich the reality of humanness. The sanctity of human life in the real sense surpasses ethnic identity. Such behooves the antagonizing communities to participate in activities that offer a harmonious trajectory for co-existence.

2.6.3 Interruption of Electoral Process

In some of the electioneering periods, violence was reportedly orchestrated to prevent some of the communities from participating in voting.²²⁷ One of the aims of interethnic violence in 1992 that affected several parts of Rift Valley was to interrupt supporters of the Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) from voting.²²⁸ Anytime there was violence, people tended to be displaced from their homes, denying them an opportunity to participate in universal suffrage. The violence forces them to move out of the area; hence they do not vote and sometimes they keep off polling stations for fear of being attacked.

2.6.4 Resentments against the Seeming Government Inaction

There were accusations on the government by the communities for an apparent unsatisfactory response to interethnic conflict. Some members of the Kikuyu ethnic community complained that the government abandoned them whenever interethnic violence erupted with claims that raiders were receiving police protection, and even when perpetrators were identified, they were not apprehended.²²⁹ There were complaints that the government fails to protect internally displaced persons. Communities also grumbled

²²⁶ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009). p.107.

²²⁷ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

²²⁸ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.105.

that the local government chiefs were not fair in the distribution of the relief aid provided by the government and humanitarian organizations. There was also a view among a section of the population that the government showed favoritism in the distribution of resources based on ethnic consideration. These accusations were rife across communities involved, illustrating discontent towards the government and lack of trust in the initiatives carried out by the government.

2.6.5 Displacements of Sections of the Population

Interethnic violence leads to the displacement of people from their areas of residence. Families displaced from their farms seek refuge at schools and churches with their livestock and some of their property.²³⁰ Others relocate to urban centers or other counties with the hope of returning after the violence has subsided. The attackers loot some of the abandoned homes.²³¹ In the Lare division, members of the Kalenjin ethnic community were displaced in 1997/98 and had not returned to their farms two decades later. Some of them sold or leased their land to members of the Kikuyu ethnic community. In Meta, Likia, Utalii, and Mathangauta farms of the Mau-Narok division, a section of the involved communities moved from their farms and settled along the tarmac road that connects Narok North and Nakuru town and urban centers.

In the region, pieces of land considered to be in safer regions are and continue to be subdivided into smaller sizes and sold to those displaced from their farms to build their new homes. Some individuals relocate from Njoro Sub-county altogether a phenomenon the Chief of Nessuit location considered to have momentarily reduced the

²²⁹ Ibid, p.105.

²³⁰ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

population in his location.²³² There was concurrence in all interviews that displacement of people did happen every time there was an episode of interethnic violence hence changing the pattern of human settlement in the area.

2.6.6 Weakening Marriages and families

Marriages and families are faced with a myriad of challenges in interethnic conflicts contexts. Interethnic marriages, in particular, suffer remarkable damages as the social and psychological well-being of individuals in these unions get affected. Stemming from the interethnic conflict and tensions are suspicions that run through marriages.²³³

I am from the Kikuyu ethnic community married to a lady from the Kalenjin ethnic community. When we moved to the internally displaced camp with my wife, members of the Kikuyu ethnic community considered me a traitor. My wife was considered a traitor when she tried to move back to her ethnic community. For two years in the camp, we were tormented psychologically. We suffered rejection by our respective ethnic communities.²³⁴

Decisions to intermarry are severely affected. Some parents are cagey about their children being married or marrying from the communities perceived as enemies. In one specific case, a father confessed to having told his son that he would not accept his marriage because the bride was from the Kalenjin ethnic community. He argued that he would not fathom having members of the Kalenjin ethnic community as his in-laws because they had caused him untold suffering by destroying his livelihood.²³⁵ His son was caused to break the marriage. There were reported cases of intermarriages, but interethnic conflicts remained a threat to their survival with a possibility of separation or

²³¹ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.105.

²³² Anonymous respondent, Oral interview, Mosop, April 21, 2017.

²³³ Nyukuri Baraza Kundu (1997), p.20.

²³⁴ [<u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PUUcjWC6rG8]</u>, accessed on August 21st, 2017.

breaking always looming.²³⁶ In some instances, wives and children were reported to have been sent away by the husbands or the husband's families. They found it challenging to be accepted by their respective communities, primarily because of their children's mixed ethnic identities.²³⁷ Those mainly affected were marriages between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin ethnic communities. While interethnic marriages are part of contemporary marriage unions' ethnicity and the encompassing differences will continue to be a source of tensions and mistrust between couples, the extended family, and the communities.

The interethnic conflict neither spares intra-marriages. During the violence, men reportedly go out to fight while women move to IDP camps. The separation can sometimes be prolonged into weeks or months.²³⁸ The separation during the period of violence contributes to mistrust between spouses²³⁹. Cases of promiscuity and sexual abuse were reported in IDP camps.²⁴⁰ Besides, maiming and killings affect the stability of families psychologically, socially, and economically. Deaths, particularly of husbands during the violence, have a contribution to the phenomenon of single parenting.²⁴¹

Children in interethnic families experience difficulties in locating their ethnic and cultural identity. They find themselves torn between maternal and paternal allegiances.²⁴² In such a situation, they are not sure whether to side with their mother or their father. When violence erupts, they either move to different IDP camps or board vehicles to a destination they aren't sure about. Separation with parents made some children move to

²³⁵ Njuguna W, Mathangauta village, Oral interview, Likia, May 19th, 2016.

²³⁶ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

²³⁷ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

²³⁸ Kimani Kamenja, and his family, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016.

²³⁹ Mbuthia Moses, Nakuru town, Oral interview, April 22, 2016.

²⁴⁰ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22nd, 2016.

²⁴¹ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

²⁴² Nyukuri Baraza Kundu (1997), p.20.

Njoro and Nakuru town, thereby turning to street life.²⁴³ In certain instances, children are sent to different relatives in the safer region of the country as the family tries to resettle after disruptions caused by the violence further separating them from their parents.²⁴⁴

A lack of basic needs marks the aftermath of violence and in some cases, men leave their families to seek alternatives means of livelihood leaving women to raise the children on their own.²⁴⁵ Such a phenomenon contributes to child-parent separation in instances where fathers stay away from home for prolonged durations. Interactions across ethnic groups among children are affected as tension marked by suspicion and fear grasp them. A headteacher noted it normally takes time and effort for children to interact in school after an occurrence of interethnic violence;

It is usually challenging to bring children from different communities together after the reopening of the school. In 2007, it was difficult for members of the Kikuyu ethnic community to accept their fellow pupils from the Kalenjin ethnic community. They were of the view they burnt their houses and the school.²⁴⁶

The fact that even children are sucked into the cycle of interethnic mistrusts and suspicion is a pointer to the possibility of a prolonged interethnic conflict. Children's involvement offers an opportunity for continuity of the conflict into the future unless remedied by a deconstruction of negative perceptions about ethnic identities.

²⁴³ Hannah Mbugua, Oral interview, Naishi, June 23, 2018.

 ²⁴⁴ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.
 ²⁴⁵ Rev.Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

²⁴⁶ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

2.6.7 Interruption of Education Sector

The education sector has, over the years, been affected by constant violence through destruction of schools' infrastructure either by burning or vandalism.²⁴⁷ Similarly, some of them are turned into refugee camps for internally displaced persons thereby interfering with school running programs and facilities getting damaged in the process. Some schools are closed down for days or even months due to the violence between ethnic communities. ²⁴⁸ Some students and teachers are forced to transfer from schools considered to be insecure leaving some of the schools with a deficit of teachers hence interfering with their running. ²⁴⁹. The violence affects the capacity of the parents and communities to support their children's education mainly due to the socio-economic constraints attributed to the effects of the interethnic conflict. It hurts the education sector because on losing their income sources during the violence, some of the families are unable to meet financial obligations that include paying education fees for their children.²⁵⁰ Some children drop out of school at the primary level, others secondary and other at the college level when their parents become unable to pay their fees.²⁵¹

The performance in primary and secondary schools national examinations plummets every year there is interethnic violence.²⁵² The low performance is attributed to the effects of interethnic violence which occasionally causes some pupils to stay out of school for prolonged periods fearing attacks while at school. The trauma associated with the violence and the ensuing repercussions, which include witnessing maiming, killings,

²⁴⁷ Hannah Mbugua, Oral interview, Naishi, June 23, 2018.

²⁴⁸ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009). p.111.

²⁴⁹ Nyukuri Baraza Kundu (1997). p.20.

²⁵⁰ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

²⁵¹ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

²⁵² Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

sleeping outside houses, their homes burnt down, and hunger works against a suitable environment for education.²⁵³ Another compounding problem is school dropouts because of desperation on the part of the students and parents whose social and economic lives get destabilized.²⁵⁴ Interethnic conflict, therefore, affects the child's fundamental right to acquire education, a right that is enshrined in the constitution of Kenya.²⁵⁵

2.6.8 Affecting the Health of the Population

Interethnic violence has ramifications on health within the region. Conditions in churches, schools, and open places that get set up as camps for internally displaced persons are characterized by inadequate water supply and poor sanitation.²⁵⁶ Communicable diseases are reported and the vulnerability of women and children to sexual abuse.²⁵⁷ Some health facilities get looted and burnt in certain areas. Likia Dispensary that serves Likia, Mathangauta, Toplife, and Mauche for example was gutted down in 2007/2008 violence.²⁵⁸ Chronically ill patients miss appointments out of fear of traveling during periods of violence. The roads to Nakuru town where major health facilities are situated get barricaded, denying residents access to health services. A resident reported that his child died in 2007 because of pneumonia after he had gone into hiding with family on one cold and rainy night when violence erupted. ²⁵⁹

²⁵³ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

²⁵⁴ Sub-chief from Kalenjin community, Questionnaire, Ngongogeri, April 22, 2016.

²⁵⁵ The National Council for law reporting, *The Constitution of Kenya* 2010, p.62.

²⁵⁶ Hannah Mbugua, Oral interview, Naishi, June 23, 2018

²⁵⁷ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

²⁵⁸ Muritu Waiguru, a headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

²⁵⁹ Anonymous family, Questionnaire, Nessuit April 21, 2016.

He could not access Nakuru town for treatment because roads were barricaded leading to the death of his child.²⁶⁰

The psychological turmoil resulting from stress, depression, and the accompanying trauma causes health problems to the residents. Witnessing the massive destruction and loss of lives affects individuals' social and psychological stability, and communities, including the disillusionment, caused by the loss of livelihoods. Interethnic violence, therefore, hurts psychosocial and physical health.

2.6.9 Interrupting People's Livelihoods

The continued conflicts in the region significantly contribute to poverty levels. Every time violence occurs, people's livelihoods are affected negatively.²⁶¹ Loss of livestock or selling them at the throw-away price is common during the violence. ²⁶² Burning down granaries and destroying crops in the fields by setting them on fire or allowing livestock to feed on them as part of ethnic aggression affects food security and income. In the case of Mauche, Kikuyu ethnic community from Likia and Ndeffo complained that their Kalenjin ethnic neighbors from whom they leased land for farming harvested their crops or let their animals graze on them.²⁶³ There was also a reported decline in production when farmers ran away from their farms.

Incidences of entrepreneurs purchasing the land from the victim at throw-away prices during the crisis period were reported.²⁶⁴ The land is later subdivided and sold as small portions enough for only building a home, thus affecting the agricultural

²⁶⁰ Kimani Kamenja, and his family, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016.

²⁶¹ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

²⁶² Elijah Mungai, and family, Oral interview, Naishi location, July 25, 2016.

²⁶³ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia location Apr 18, 2016.

²⁶⁴ Nyukuri, Barasa Kundu (1997), p.21.

productivity of the area. In the cause of violence, people also lose their property that includes homes, clothes, land, and businesses.²⁶⁵ After every incidence of violence, communities take several months before free movement to either territory is re-established.²⁶⁶ During such period, they do not trade with each other which slow down the economy of the region.

Homes, industries, factories, transport, and communication infrastructure get affected too during the interethnic violence. Public service vehicles do not operate normally at times paralyzing the free flow of people and goods and services. The prices of food increase because raw materials for factories became few or difficult to access because of transport difficulties due to barricaded roads, and withdrawing of transport vehicles from operations.²⁶⁷ Social facilities such as schools and hospitals get looted and destroyed or closed at the height of interethnic violence which affects the markets for the locally produced commodities reducing the income for the local farmers and small traders.²⁶⁸ The effects of economic slowdown affect all the communities in the region alike.²⁶⁹ The conflict was noted to be disfranchising and contributing to increasing poverty cases in such region.

²⁶⁶ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

²⁶⁵ Rev. Paul Rono Lago, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016.

²⁶⁷ Nyukuri, Barasa Kundu (1997), p.23.

²⁶⁸ Anonymous respondent, Oral interview, Sululu, July 20, 2017

²⁶⁹ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi location, April 15, 2016

2.6.10 Obstinate Mistrust among Communities

People expressed the existence of a constant fear that interethnic violence would reoccur. A deep-rooted mistrust among ethnic groups does exist, which was exhibited by avoiding each other before the incidence of interethnic violence occurred.²⁷⁰ Trust in interethnic relations is severely broken. A member of the Kikuyu ethnic community reported how in the face of intense violence from the Kalenjin ethnic community, his ethnic community could not move into Maasai land to seek refuge. Even though they (Maasai ethnic community) offered to host them they could not trust because they had been involved in interethnic violence with them in 1993 severing their relationship.²⁷¹ Suspicion and mistrust are well-engrained in communities' interactions in the region. An elder observed,

Interactions are very cosmetic. The future of the interethnic relationship is blurred. Deep within communities is a wound that never healed. The last time we had the conflict, which was in early 2008, the Provincial Commissioner brought the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin ethnic communities for a meeting at Likia shopping center. He asked those interested in reconciliation to lift their hands. The members of the Kalenjin ethnic community did so, but we (members of the Kikuyu ethnic community) refused. We could not trust them because we have seen them commit to keeping peace with us enough times. Yet they repeat the violence, and every time they blame "Satan" or the "devil". We don't trust them anymore.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

²⁷¹ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia location April 18, 2016.

²⁷² Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

From the study, people interact, do business together, and worship in the same churches, among other activities. The aforementioned happens amidst a plethora of suspicion and mistrust, which is ethnically sustained. There exists a conflict in a latent form that waits to be triggered into open violence.

2.6.11 Strained Intra-Ethnic relations

In the process of settling down after displacements, some members of the Kikuyu ethnic community have opted to move to Kiambu, Nyandarua, Nyeri, and Muranga. The movement creates tension with their kin in these regions who became hesitant to accommodate them because of fear that the available land resource is not sufficient to take in more settlements.²⁷³ The happening is not unique to the current conflict having happened during the pre-colonial period when the European administration attempted to repatriate Kikuyu to their reserve. They had moved to Rift Valley, especially in Olenguruone, but with land consolidation and subsequent repatriation, they could not get land from *Mbari* (clan), creating an intra-ethnic conflict.²⁷⁴

Kikuyu in Rift Valley white highlands started moving back to their native land in Central Kenya voluntarily or while some were evicted by the settlers who sought to replace their labor with that of the people from other tribes. Many, however, had lived in Rift Valley and did not have a place in the reserve. Their relatives did not welcome them too. Overcrowded and unwanted, the young men moved on into the prohibited forests of

²⁷³ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

²⁷⁴ De. Warrenne Waller H., "the District Commissioner's office, Population pressure and unemployment " letter to all District Commissioner Rift valley Province, September 16, 1958

Aberdares and Mt. Kenya, where thousands of other discontented young men were banding together in the name of Mau Mau.²⁷⁵

In post-independent Kenya and following evictions from certain parts of Rift Valley, the same fate would meet some of those who opted to migrate into their ancestral place, hoping their relatives would accommodate them. On the contrary, they became unwelcomed. Conflict in the extended family occurred because of the land and economic burden of hosting their displaced relatives, most of who had lost their property and hence lost their livelihoods.²⁷⁶ Rejection by their kin was difficult to bear, and a new form of conflict now intra-ethnic in nature seems to have been bred by interethnic conflict. Those in Rift Valley had fallen into the allure of plenty and productive land. Interethnic conflict made some of them return to their native land. Others had moved to their relatives seeking to be accommodated if not to get a share of land which brought forth unanticipated tensions, with some being flatly rejected and told to back and fight for their land in the Rift valley.²⁷⁷ The interethnic violence, therefore, not only affects the relationship between ethnic communities, but it also causes strained relationships within families and within respective ethnic communities.

2.7 Conclusion

Conflict in the area is multi-faceted. As illustrated, the interethnic conflict cannot be attributed to one cause but rather a litany of underlying issues. Ethnicity has been tactfully applied as a determinant in human relations within Njoro Sub-county.

²⁷⁵ Best Nicholas, *Happy Valley; The Story of English in Kenya*, Berkshire, Marlborough editions, 1979, p.181.

²⁷⁶ Muritu Waiguru, a headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia Location, April 16, 2016.

²⁷⁷ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

It is one of the paradigms used by communities to interpret complex socio-cultural, economic, and political issues. While it provides a sense of identity and pride, it does propound cultural differences that tend to bring out superiority that creates tension, bias, and prejudice.²⁷⁸ Superiority bleeds ethnocentrism blurring the great opportunity and strength contained within ethnic diversity. It has negatively distinguished, and isolated individuals and communities and has been used to perpetuate discrimination, mistrust, and hatred, which have occasionally graduated into violence.

Causes of conflict in Njoro Sub-county are diverse, but a common thread that ties and sustains them is the manipulation of ethnicity. Regardless of the cause, ethnic identity becomes a rallying clarion from which opponents in the conflict are identified and marked for attack. It is fundamentally important to appreciate the role of ethnic identities in sustaining the conflict.

Unbridled ethnic propensity or rather where benevolent ethnicity is sacrificed, grave consequences can ensue in form of megalomania, superiority complex, pathological self-esteem open to disregard other's legitimate interests and rights, and many other forms of psychotic behavior that human beings are capable of contriving.²⁷⁹

Ethnicity has the potency to breed negative views of those others that belong to a different ethnic group consequently leading to resentments, hatred, and conflict.

Problems arising from the use of ethnic identities to malign others can be overcome when the individuals and communities become wary of the destructive nature of the negative consequences of ethnocentrism. The task is onerous since issues engrained in the ethnic prism that sustain interethnic conflict and triggers open violence

²⁷⁸ Getui Mary, "The persistence of ethnicity in Kenya's Public Life", in Tarimo A. and P. Manwelo, *ethnicity conflict, and the future of African states*, Nairobi, Paulines publication, 2009, p.44.

in the region are rife. The fabric of co-existence is depressed with individuals from respective communities doubting the possibility of ever achieving lasting peace and harmonious interethnic relationship in the region. In response to the conflict, Christian leaders and Christian based institutions have been providing interventions to address the effects of interethnic conflict. Their interventions are explained in the next chapter.

²⁷⁹ Nyasani M. Joseph, "The meaning and implication of ethnicity", in Tarimo A. and P. Manwelo, *ethnicity conflict and the future of African states*, Nairobi, Paulines publication, 2009. P.16.

CHAPTER THREE

CHRISTIAN BASED INTERVENTIONS TO MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF INTERETHNIC CONFLICT

3.0 A Background on Christian Based Interventions

The interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county and the neighboring sub-counties has attracted interventions from state and non-state actors. The interventions provided to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict are either carried out by individuals or implemented through institutions. Clergy and Christian institutions rank among conspicuous actors that provide relief and participate in efforts aimed at seeking a resolution to the recurrent conflict in the Sub-county.

Peace is a theme in all the religions of humanity, a factor that tends to influence religious persons' and institutions' interventions when conflicts between communities occur.²⁸⁰ Religion is considered to offer an important framework that is useful in addressing all aspects that impair humanity's well-being.²⁸¹ Some traditions in religion possess a positive vision of peace in all dimensions; a vision that acknowledges human dignity, the importance of harmony, flourishing of individuals and communities, and the notion of ultimate fulfillment.²⁸² They have institutions that have an inestimable role in

²⁸⁰ Shenk David. *Peace and reconciliation in Africa*, Uzima Press, 1983 p.46.

²⁸¹ Ndzovu Hassan. "Religion in the Political Culture of Kenya" 2005. Retrieved from, [https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789047407492/BP000012.xml] p.267.

²⁸² A Multi-Religious Vision of Peace. [http://religionsforpeace.org/sites/default/files/pubications/9th%20WA%20Theme%20Paper. pdf. Accessed on September 13, 2017].

the peace-building process, and they articulate the possibility of resolving conflicts that threaten interethnic relations.²⁸³

In the teachings of Christianity, separating spiritual and material when responding to the needs of the people would be a deviation from biblical principles.²⁸⁴ Biblical teachings espouse a fulfilling life, as presented in Luke 10:10. In the text, the reason why Jesus came was to ensure man gets life and gets it in abundance, positively affecting all facets of life. The suffering caused by interethnic violence negates the teachings on abundant life, which forms the basis of Jesus' mission for humankind.

Christianity presents the ministry of Jesus as one that stands at the core of Christians' involvement in practices that propose and propagate communities' well-being. Jesus' response to human suffering is acclaimed to have been driven by compassion and love.²⁸⁵ He was prompted to act by the situations of the world's pain and sorrow.²⁸⁶ The ethic of love was love was an overriding factor in decisions decisions and action. His response towards those who were various forms of needs provides the requisite impetus to be involved in activities that are aimed at alleviating human suffering. It further denotes religion to be a social reality that powerfully affects society in terms of thinking and behavior and has a significant influence on social behavior.²⁸⁷ Communities can solve conflicts and foster peace by referring to the principles articulated by Christian teachings that embrace love at the greatest commandement.

²⁸³ Kilonzo Susan, "Silent religiosity in a Sniveling Nation: The Role of Religious Institutions in Promoting Post-conflict Reconciliation in Kenya", Council for the development of social science research in Africa, 2009, p.99.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p.100.

²⁸⁵ Adeyemo Tonkuboh., Is Africa Cursed? A vision for the radical transformation of an ailing continent. Nairobi, World publishers limited, 2009, p.63.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p.63.

²⁸⁷ Shorter Alyward, African culture, an overview, Paulines Publications, Nairobi, 2001 p.38.

On moral facets, the Church in Kenya is considered to be the conscience of the nation, and as such, it is expected to spell out the morally correct in life.²⁸⁸ Such understanding is aided by ethics that guides and regulates individual and communal behavior, gives a paradigm to maintain peace and resolve conflicts.

The role of Christian based interventions in addressing issues that negatively affect human development in Njoro Sub-county and other regions in Kenya is engrained in a culture that existed long before colonialism. It is plausible to locate these interventions from the heritage of the indigenous African people where religion is interwoven within all other aspects of their lives.²⁸⁹ Religiosity was part and parcel of everyday life. To an African, religion is a lived experience imbued by ethics and morality that guides social interrelationships and ensures peace for humans and nature. Africans' religious heritage seek to maintain peace in its entirety taking into account the universe, and it plays a fundamental role in the affairs of peace and reconciliation.²⁹⁰

In the African Religion, there is more action on peace and less speculation about it which is motivated by a worldview, where life is understood to be a sacred power that needs to be preserved and strengthened through co-existence.²⁹¹ Included in their understanding is peace and reconciliation in person-to-person relations, in the family, in the neighborhood, in the community, and among peoples that may have disputes or fights with one another. Peace is not taken for granted; the fact that people quarrel, have disputes and significant differences, fight, and even injure or kill one another is a tragic

²⁸⁸ Tarcisio Agostoni (1997). p.45.

 ²⁸⁹ Mbiti S. John, *African religions and philosophy*, Heinemann, Nairobi, 1969. p. 1.
 ²⁹⁰ Ibid. p.57.

²⁹¹ Nyamiti Charles., *Studies in Africa Christian Theology*, Catholic University of East Africa, 2005. p.65.

reality of life.²⁹² Though not necessarily with success, religion provides ways of harnessing reconciliation and peace.²⁹³

Within the African religious and cultural heritage, there existed mechanisms that provided for the means to make and maintain peace. A fundamental element in the theory and practice of peace was the use of covenants whose focus was to provide preventive measures against threats to peace and tranquility.²⁹⁴ They addressed various relations with the intent being to enhance peace and harmony within individuals, families, and communities. Relations addressed included marriages, agreements, settling of disputes, adoption of children or other people, admission into 'societies,' employment arrangements, borrowing of property, and various promises.²⁹⁵ Covenants cemented peace, but when broken, they would attract a curse, and thus parties involved were to abide with the terms therein solemnly.²⁹⁶ There were proverbs, wise sayings, riddles, songs, and symbols for furthering peace and harmonious relations.

In essence, traditional African religious heritage was marked by consciousness and actions to peace and harmony. Peace within intra-ethnic and interethnic relations was cherished and efforts were made to maintain peace with other ethnic groups as well.²⁹⁷ Where incidences of interethnic conflicts occurred, there were laid down mechanisms to restore peace among the warring parties.

²⁹² Mbiti S. John., Peace and Reconciliation in African Religion, 2010., [http://www.upf.org/resources/speeches-and-articles/3226-js-mbiti-peace-and-reconciliationin-african-religion]. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Shenk David (1983), p.73.

²⁹⁷ Muluka, Barack and Gona George (2009), p. 5

Covenants acted as preventive measures against any threat that could endanger peace and tranquility among ethnic communities.²⁹⁸ It was reinforced through oaths to ensure the parties involved did abide to covenants arrived at for sake of peace and harmony.²⁹⁹ The religion of indigenous Africans did play a role in peace and harmony which make discourses and efforts towards peace and conflict resolution in contemporary settings conceivable.

3.1 Colonial Period, Christianity and Peace among Ethnic Communities

The role played by African indigenous religion in peace and conflict resolution would face unprecedented challenges resulting from the entry of colonialism and missionary enterprise. Kenya fell under British rule after three decades of the scramble for Africa, which ended in 1912.³⁰⁰ Through the Imperial British East African Company, Kenya was declared a British protectorate.³⁰¹

Britain appealed to its citizens to move into Kenya with a promise of fertile highlands suitable for farming. In 1902, the Crown Lands Ordinance was enacted in Kenya, which paved the way for undeveloped or unoccupied land to be forfeited. It was followed by surveyance and alienation of unoccupied land in 1904 in the southern parts of Kikuyu land, specifically Kiambu and Murang'a. A further agreement between the Maasai ethnic community and Britain was made leading the Maasai ethnic community to vacate from Suswa, Ol-Joro-Orok, and Ol-Kalau as well as areas to the southern Ngong. That was

²⁹⁸ John S. Mbiti (2010), "Peace and Reconciliation in African Religion", 2010, [<u>http://www.upf.org/resources/speeches-and-articles/3226-js-mbiti-peace-and-reconciliation-in-african-religion</u>]. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

²⁹⁹ Ikenga K. E. Oraegbunam, "The Principles and Practice of Justice in Traditional Igbo Jurisprudence", August 23rd, 2018, p.70. Retrieved from [https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ce17/1cd3aaef87f4587a32f18046222e12f10f85.pdf].

³⁰⁰ Gifford Paul, African Christianity; Its public role, Hurst and Company, London, 2001, p.3.

³⁰¹ Hildebrandt Jonathan, *History of the church in Africa*, African Christian Press,

later extended to Laikipia. Colonial administration extended the invitation for settlers to occupy the fertile land. The call for settlers to move into Kenya was responded to, and by 1905, nearly three thousand settlers had moved in and settled on the fertile land on the highlands.³⁰²

Having secured land leases of 999 years, settlers and colonial administration alienated Kenyans from their land.³⁰³ When communities lost their land, they became squatters and victims of forced labor and subsequently, glaring inequality in land ownership and use, landlessness, squatting, land degradation, poverty, and compulsory taxes emerged.³⁰⁴ British administration introduced an indirect rule through chiefs. With the newly acquired status that was marked by unprecedented privileges, the chiefs implemented the colonial administration policy attracting the distaste from some of the fellow Africans.³⁰⁵ Resistance against the chiefs mainly happened because they acted to serve the will of the colonial administration whose hallmark was oppression and exploitation. In the face of the colonial administration, their freedoms were quickly getting eroded a reality that was marked by restrained movement.³⁰⁶ Essentially, Africans were no longer free to move and freely interact.

Christianity came along with colonialism. The coming and spreading missionaries got established almost concurrently with the colonial administration. There were close liaisons between the two prompting some Africans to point out that there was no

Achimota, 1996, p.142.

³⁰² Elkins Caroline, *Britain Gulag: End of brutal empire in Kenya*, Jonathan Cape, 2005, p 10. ³⁰³ Ibid. p.11.

³⁰⁴ Kanogo Tabitha, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau 1905 – 63 Oxford Publishing Services, Oxford, 1987, p.13.

³⁰⁵ Furedi Frank, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*, Heinmann Kenya, Nairobi, 1990, p.41.

³⁰⁶ Kanogo Tabitha (1987), p.27.

difference between them.³⁰⁷ Missionaries in certain instances provided information to their respective mother countries, which interested adventure by Europeans and eventual colonization. They further supported colonial administrations in their rule over Africans.

On the one hand, they propagated the kingdom of heaven, and the message of salvation in Jesus Christ, the son of God. On the other hand, they served to advance the empires of European kings and queens. They created maps, dictionaries, established relationships with local rulers, mediated and interpreted alliances, and, perhaps most important, published their heroic stories in Europe and created a fascination for the African adventure.³⁰⁸

By the time Ludwig Kraph set his foot in Mombasa in 1844, Islam was already being practiced.³⁰⁹ The spread of Islam was substantial through the influence of the Busaidi Sultanate of Zanzibar and its commercial empire centered on Zanzibar and stretched from the Persian Gulf to Mozambique.³¹⁰ The culture of the coastal people had blended with that of Arabs, creating an Islamic culture along the coastal line. Christianity gained more spread inland and obtained influence in Kenya during the colonial period because of the overt support extended by the colonial administration.

Notwithstanding the entry of foreign religions, the African religion has been resilient, and its heritage continues to influence African believes and practices. Religions are valuable institutions in helping man respond or adjust during crises and therefore in the face of disfranchising British juggernaut, Africans used their traditional religion to respond to challenges that were brought about by colonialism.

³⁰⁷ Role of Missionaries in Colonization of Africans, [<u>http://www.globalblackhistory.com/2012/10/role-of-missionaries-in-colonization-of-africans.html</u>]. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

³⁰⁸ Ghislaine Lydon, *Johann Ludwig Krapf A precolonial European missionary in Islamic Mombasa*, Benjamin Blom, University of Utrecht, 2006, p.3.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. p.3

Among the Kikuyu, for example, they used traditional dances to protest against colonial oppression. *Muthurigu* was used as a political ballad through which Kikuyu expressed their frustrations and the desire for freedom.³¹¹ Religious activities and practices came in handy in the Africans struggle for independence.

Africans to a significant proportion also utilized church to show their rejection of Europeans and a desire for dignity and freedom. For illustration, the *Murathi (arathi)*, or prophet of traditional Kikuyu emerged preaching salvation in a semi-Christian and anti-European form.³¹² In 1945, the refusal of some squatters to sign the contract to work in settlers farms was associated with the presence of a mysterious religious organization in central Kenya and part of Rift valley.³¹³ Some churches were utilized by Africans to assist them in achieving their social goals. When colonial administration and missionaries denied Africans' access to education, the African church considered such injustice and raised questions.³¹⁴ Denying Africans access to education propelled a more assertive approach to missionaries and colonial administrators on issues they considered unjust.

Africans questioned the attack on their culture. One issue that raised a severe confrontation with missionaries was circumcision of girls among the Kikuyu. Missionaries viewed it as the worst barbaric custom but Kikuyu including the Kikuyu Central Association viewed the opposition to the circumcision as an affront to their culture.³¹⁵ The disagreement led to the founding of breakaway Kikuyu Churches and schools. African Orthodox Church was founded, which organized its own Kikuyu

³¹⁰ Ibid, p.3.

³¹¹ Maina Paul, Six Mau Mau Generals, Gazelle Books Co. Ltd, 1977, p.10.

³¹² Furedi Frank (1990), p.69.

³¹³ Ibid. p.69.

³¹⁴ Gatu G. John (2016) p.182.

³¹⁵ Kibicho G. Samuel (2006), p.142.

Karing'a schools, and the African independent Pentecost Church, which launched the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA). *Karing'a* schools become the stronghold for squatters in the forest. The growth of independent churches indicated the need for an independent institution.³¹⁶ Counter-institutions formed by Africans were an enigma to European people, and Christianity, as it was interpreted and practiced by Africans, influenced their formation.³¹⁷ The formation of counter-institutions was an affirmation that churches were active in addressing issues of concern to Africans. African people utilized Christianity to further their welfare, including confronting the evils of colonialism.

The missionaries' attack on girls' circumcision made Kikuyu protest leading to a division that created two groups with one group comprising those who opposed and the other one those who accepted the rite. The mission at the center of the apparent controversy was the Church of Scotland. As it escalated, those who supported formed the African Independent Pentecostal Church.³¹⁸ It was not only a spiritual assertiveness but social and economic in the sense that they also established schools and a teacher's college.³¹⁹ While there was a section of Christians who sided with missionaries and hence advocated for peace as opposed to conflict, there was support for all means, including the shedding of blood by Africans to regain their freedom. The struggle was for justice and freedom against domination by European in all realms of life and determination to

³¹⁶ Furedi Frank (1990). p.69.

³¹⁷ Ibid. p.69.

³¹⁸ Maina Paul (1997). p.10.

³¹⁹ Ibid p.10.

liberate themselves from injustices, oppression, and humiliations.³²⁰ Christianity from a missionary paradigm was not entirely in support of the African quest for freedom.

When the *Mau Mau* movement emerged, missionaries launched propaganda that illustrated the movement as an irrational, atavistic, and bestial cult whose aim was to wipe out Christianity and civilization.³²¹ Some African Christians collaborated with missionaries and colonial administration and were thus viewed as traitors by Africans who supported the quest for freedom.³²² The emergence of groups in support or against missionaries strained intra-ethnic relationships, especially within the Kikuyu ethnic community.

Missionaries had flaws that elicited resentment from the Africans. Even though they spoke out in support of native African rights, they were noted to perpetuate the same injustices, such as alienating them from their land just like the government did.³²³ Protestant churches and missionaries were accused of lacking nationalistic interests, which, over time, had become a primary quest by a majority of Africans.³²⁴

From the preceding, the role of religion during the colonial period has two facets. On the one hand was the African religion, whose heritage remained momentous in the Africans believes and practices despite coming into contact with other religions. The religious worldview therein became paramount in responding to social, economic, and political repression. It became a reaction in the face of hostile response by missionaries and colonial administrators. Christianity, which broadly supported colonial administration, was, on the one hand, loathed for seemingly perpetuating injustices.

³²⁰ Kibicho Samuel. G. (2006). p.135.

³²¹ Mugai Githu. (2004). p.20.

³²² Kibicho Samuel.G. (2006). p.149.

³²³ Gatu G. John (2016). pp.182.

Some Africans discovered the resounding truth within Christianity's teachings, which resonated with their quest for freedom. They sought to use such teachings to articulate their religious, social, economic, and political aspirations indicating the significant participation of Christianity to mitigate human suffering during the colonial period. There was however a section of Christians who were silent on the social injustices of the colonial era, while others preferred instead to engage in political diplomacy with colonialists.³²⁵ Christianity did play a significant role in education, health and in improving the living standard of African people. Conversely, a section of Christians, particularly within the mission churches, appears to have neglected the well-being of Africans in its entirety.

3.2 Post-Colonial Period, Christianity, Peace and Ethnic Conflict

In post-independent Kenya, Christianity continued to play a role in the reconstruction, which was fundamental now that the country had attained independence. The reconstruction process was an essential undertaking for its theme highlighted a critical need for Africans to create a new society within the same geographical space but in a different historical moment.³²⁶ For reconstruction to take place, it was necessary that it happened at a personal, cultural, and ecclesial level.³²⁷ Christian leaders and Christian institutions hence had a responsibility to contribute to the task of nation-building, a fundamental requisite for development.

³²⁴ Parsitau, Damaris Seleina (2012). p.2.

³²⁵ Kilonzo Susan, p.101.

³²⁶ Mugambi J.N.K, From Liberation to reconstruction: African Christian Theology after the cold war, East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi, 1995, p.15. ³²⁷ Ibid. p.15.

It is observed that in 1960, African church leaders in Kenya held a meeting, and there arose a question of whether the church needed to speak out or keep silent on matters touching on the state and struggle for independence.³²⁸ On agreeing that there was a need to be involved as church leaders, a group of clergy visited former President Kenyatta who was at Maralal and after getting back to Nairobi, they stated that he needed to be released.³²⁹ In a rather bold move at the time, the leaders moved a notch higher in stating their readiness to be counted in independent Kenya's efforts. They became more active and conspicuous in articulating matters that related to the people's well-being through the government and other established institutions. Religious groups are notably privileged for they focus on well-being, a virtue that cuts across ethnic enclaves and has a spiritual conviction that can rally individuals and communities towards nationhood.³³⁰ Such view played a role in occasioning Christian leaders and their institutions to participate in the making of a Kenyan nation.

When the country attained independence, their engagement tilted in favor of spiritual well-being, and therefore, other aspects were subservient. The church focused more on saving souls and minding its own business, hence turning a blind eye to the glaring social, political, and economic injustices of the new order.³³¹ The deafening indifference to social, political, and economic issues affecting post-colonial Kenya became conspicuous in the church soon after independence.

³²⁸ Gatu G. John, p.182.

³²⁹ Ibid. p.183.

³³⁰ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.105.

³³¹ Mue Njonjo. "Regaining Our Saltiness: The Role of the Church in Post-Election Kenya". 2012. Retrieved from [<u>https://kenyananalyst.wordpress.com/2008/06/05/regaining-our-saltiness-the-role-of-the-church-in-post-election-kenya/</u>].

Christianity had to face the test of challenges that evolved soon after Kenya become independent. The hope for nationhood soon ran into difficult terrain. The founding president was faced with tough choices between building a broad-based nationalist agenda or Kikuyu sub-nationalism. He opted for the latter on being aware that one could not attract a national following without a strong domestic following.³³² Ethnic identity competed with the dream of creating a nation. The ensuing discontent and different opinions on how the young nation would progress created fractures within the political class. The primary difference at independence was between Odinga and Kenyatta, a difference that was observed to have been ideological and a reflection of different understandings and dreams.³³³ Their different ethnocultural backgrounds are considered to have influenced the understanding of politics and exacerbated their differences and in particular the strong link between man and his community in African culture.³³⁴ The situation placed a significant burden on them on how to balance the urgent need to nurture nationalism and of serving the interests of their respective communities. The differences ensued, and at the height of it, Kenyatta and his confidantes articulated a move that would help them protect the power and by extension property. An oath was introduced with the target being the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru nations.³³⁵

Through the oathing exercise, Kenyatta aggravated the brewing challenge of ethnic suspicion, mistrust, and rivalry in post-independent Kenya. The clergy and its institutions, especially in central Kenya, found themselves at a crossroads when they opposed oathing which they considered divisive and hence against their beliefs and spirit

³³² Mugai Githu (2004), p.204.

³³³ Ibid., p.204

³³⁴ Atieno Odhiambo E.S., *Ethnicity and the Politics of Democratization in Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Oxford, James Currey, 2000. p.177.

of nationhood.³³⁶ On the other hand, proponents of oath expected them to pledge allegiance to the cause of the community. The difficulty they went through is exemplified in the case of Rev. John Gatu and Rev. Obadiah Kariuki who together with others were invited to take the oath. Out of their moral convictions, they unanimously agreed they would not take the oath, and neither would their flock which caused some of the Christians, to suffer harassment and some deaths occurred in the process.³³⁷ Some of the leaders of Christian denominations and their followers stood firm against what they believed affected the unity of communities and a recipe for interethnic conflict.³³⁸

The involvement of part of the clergy and institutions in the Kenyatta government may not have been overt. Such churches and their leadership had opted to work towards maintaining a relationship and appear to have had little audacity to criticize and question the excesses of the government. Their interventions were primarily on spiritual needs but were gradually extended to social sectors such as education and health.

Moi, the former President who succeeded Kenyatta, was himself a professing Christian. A section of the clergy had turned to him for help in the face of the forced oath-taking of 1969 and even though being the vice president to Kenyatta, he could not help, he empathized with them.³³⁹ On becoming the President, he continued association with churches and kept a few of their leaders close to himself. A good example is that of Reverend Gatu who stated that he shared Christian devotions and prayed with Moi at the state house daily for about five years. The pastoral service, according to Reverend Gatu, made an impact on the life of the President and, by extension, contributed to the welfare

³³⁵ Ibid. p.178.

³³⁶Gatu G. John (2004), p.189.

³³⁷ Ibid., p.189.

³³⁸ Ibid., pp.190-224.

of the nation.³⁴⁰ Beyond devotions and prayers, he gave counsel and developed a relationship in which he would point out excesses of the President's government.³⁴¹

The Moi regime was considered repressive and intolerant to the opponents. In the face of repression by the state, the church's voice gradually emerged to defend those oppressed thereby providing a social and political space for resistance to a one-party dictatorship.³⁴² A few courageous church leaders became vocal critics of the political establishment. The church and individual clergymen became the voice of the people in the absence of an active opposition party and a repressive government.³⁴³

The repression affected political expressions and participation to unprecedented levels and therefore the voices of clergy among other religious officials grew louder. Notable Christian leaders who were involved included Bishop Henry Okullu, Alexander Muge, and David Gitari of the Anglican church of church, Ndingi Mwana'a Nzeki of the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. Timothy Njoya of PCEA Church, and Rev. Mutava Musyimi of the NCCK among others.³⁴⁴ In essence, there was a mounting need for the church to be more engaged, especially in the absence of opposition parties. Some of the clergymen came out to denounce an attempt to use them to legitimize injustices or restrain them to the confines of spirituality. Waithaka and Ndikauru observed:

The church does not exist to bolster any regime, neither to tolerate nor oppose. Instead, the church belongs to the apostolate of truth and courage, pity and healing, unselfishness, and love. It hence belongs to

³³⁹ Ibid., p.236.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p.236.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p.237.

³⁴² Mue Njonjo (2012).

³⁴³ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009). p.84.

³⁴⁴ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.101.

all regimes that promote and support such values. It is critical of all regimes that do not support and promote truth and courage.³⁴⁵

Ndingi Mwana a' Nzeki, a former archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, believed that if the church did not speak, it would lose opportunities to lead from the front and risk losing its followers' faith.³⁴⁶

As the voice of the clergy became louder, and they criticized the change of the voting system that took place in the 1980s with Ndingi Mwana –a- Nzeki, a Roman Catholic Bishop then stating he was entirely opposed to it.³⁴⁷ Timothy Njoya began calling prayers for political detainees in 1983, who were about 60 at that time and protested against a regime that wasn't willing to be questioned at whatever cost.³⁴⁸ KANU had become very powerful during Moi's regime overriding powers of a minister and members of parliament and a media that was cautious, leaving the senior ecclesiastical figures to defend civil rights and condemn excesses and corruption.³⁴⁹ It was clear from the leadership in the face of those crises intervention was necessary. Christianity had to be made meaningful to the experiences of people at the time. Reacting to the church's compulsion to act, a prominent clergy observed that the church was not going to preach to people to only get saved, but it was going to respond to all other needs that would contribute to their well-being. The clergy stated;

In my ministry, I have taken it as another excellent opportunity to challenge those who are in authority. It is something that requires much courage, for it is not easy tackling the power that is of this world. Now,

³⁴⁵ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009). p.89.

³⁴⁶ Ibid. p.97.

³⁴⁷ Ibid. p.88.

³⁴⁸ Robert M., "Peaceful Resistance: Advancing Human Rights and Civil Liberties", Aldershot, 2006.

 ³⁴⁹ Gitari M. David and Knighton B. "On being a Christian leader: story contesting power in Kenya."
 2001. P.248. Retrieved from

[[]https://www.jstor.org/stable/43053955?seq=1#page scan tab contents.]

these struggles are not in vain. We believe that people feel encouraged that we can stand and speak, though we could also like them to be empowered so they can speak for themselves.³⁵⁰

The involvement of the clergy did not impress the government and ruling party leadership at the time. They opined that the church needed to restrict itself to spiritual issues. Conversely, however, they did not have a problem with the church whenever it undertook humanitarian action, which included building schools and hospitals and caring for the refugees and providing relief food for the hungry. It is anything that made the ruling party and its establishment uncomfortable that attracted fury both to the clergymen and to their institutions.³⁵¹ The period is remarkable in light of the subject of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county. It is a distinct dispensational period that evidenced the re-introduction of multi-party politics and beheld the commencement of contemporary and recurrent incidences of interethnic conflicts.

Christian based interventions have had contributions towards constitutional reforms in Kenya. The *Ufungamano* Initiative that forced former president Moi to make certain important concessions and agree to a people-driven constitutional reform process had anchored on activities conceived and driven by religious leaders.³⁵² Part of the religious leaders became a fulcrum around which reform agenda was propounded emboldening the civil society and the politicians. The space for self-expression had now significantly expanded but subsequently, the challenge of interethnic conflict mounted. Christian based interventions became valuable in providing interventions to relieve the communities of the sufferings that resulted from frequent interethnic violence.

³⁵⁰ Ibid. pp.253-255.

³⁵¹ Ibid.p.256.

³⁵² Mue Njonjo (2012).

3.3 Interventions towards mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict

Before the gains of multi-party could be consolidated, Kenya began to experience undertones of interethnic suspicions and mistrust. As political parties formed and politicians re-aligned themselves, ethnicity became a critical factor eventually spiraling into interethnic conflicts from 1992 onwards.³⁵³ The effects of conflicts attracted interventions from various agencies and individuals, among them the Christian based responses. The clergy find themselves compelled to act because they are shepherds and their flock is adversely affected by interethnic conflict.³⁵⁴ The conflicts negatively affect people's spiritual, psychosocial, economic, and political life prompting Christian based interventions. As it was found out in the Njoro sub-county, the interventions to the ethnically characterized conflicts included the following:

3.3.1 Relief aid Provision

Relief was identified to be among the immediate responses whenever the interethnic violence occurred in Njoro Sub-county. It involves mobilizing resources within the Sub-county, within the country, and sometimes from well-wishers drawn from international donors. The relief is targeted to provide help to those in distress and focuses mainly on providing food rations, blankets, clothes, water, and medicines.³⁵⁵ The burning of homesteads and looting, which is a characteristic of the conflicts, leaves families in need of basic needs. A clergy recounts the task he carried out after the post-election violence in 2008;

³⁵³ Kimani Njogu (2011)., p.111.

³⁵⁴ Mbuthia, oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016

³⁵⁵ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

After the pronouncement of the presidential winner in 2008, interethnic violence erupted. The magnitude with which it happened was not anticipated at all. It compelled people to flee from their homes in Ndeffo, Kianjoya, Milimani, Kihingo, and Mbagaria. They came to Naishi town, which is the center of the Lare division. It was saddening to see women and children arrive in droves carrying a few household items they had managed to salvage. Those who had managed to salvage their livestock came along with them. It was raining and cold, and therefore, two chiefs approached me with a request to open the church compound for the people. It was the only honorable thing to do. I accommodated over 2,500 people in the church compound, many of them being women and children. I had to open the church hall and the classrooms to shelter them from the rain. Others pitched tents that were provided by Red Cross within the church compound. I mobilized pastors in Rhoda and Pwani areas (areas within and neighboring Lare division that were not affected by violence), and through their churches, people brought food, mattresses, blankets, clothes, among others. Those who had been displaced stayed in the church for two months awaiting the violence to subside.³⁵⁶

Mobilization to action was noted to be common and attracted support, particularly through donations, in the form of food, clothes, and other basic needs.³⁵⁷ As an illustration, those who were not directly affected assisted the victims to plough their farms in readiness for planting season.³⁵⁸ After every occurrence of violence, some of those displaced rented houses near shopping centers mainly along the Nakuru – Narok road. The displacement accounted for the observed concentration of homesteads along the main road that linked Nakuru and Narok town. Even in such instances, church members assisted such families in cultivating their land to caution them of food shortage.

³⁵⁶ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

³⁵⁷ Pastor Kones, oral interview, Mauche, April 26, 2016.

³⁵⁸ Oral interview, Rev. Ananias, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

The efforts made church officials especially the clergy and their respective institutions actively involved in reconstructing livelihoods that had been interrupted by violence.

A single mother of five children had the following to say about the relief aid support she received from Christian based interventions:

Before we moved to this village in 1992, we were evicted from the Olenguruone division in Kuresoi Sub-county. Ndingi Mwana a' Nzeki brought trucks to evacuate us to Elbugon Camp for Internally Displaced People. The evacuation took a whole week, and the Bishop never got tired. He came to pray and comfort us at Olenguruone shopping center. Surrounded by the warriors from the Kalenjin ethnic community and faced with a situation where police did very little to protect us, Bishop became a source of hope. Determined to rescue us, he mobilized trucks to transport us. The evacuation took place at night to avoid collision with the provincial administration that was opposed to our evacuation and Kalenjin warriors who were determined to disrupt it. The trucks would arrive at the Olenguoruone shopping center carrying milk and bread, which was distributed to feed, especially the children. The trucks would then ferry people through the night to Elbugon. The Bishop himself came one evening and prayed for us and then accompanied us, and the fleet of trucks went through Mau Forest onward to Elbugon. It was a treacherous journey considering it was rainy, and the road was slippery. The truck got stuck in the mud for many hours before arriving in the IDP camp at Elbugon. Besides, many people and especially children contracted respiratory illnesses because of being rained on during the journey, and some even lost their lives. 359

The role of Ndingi Mwana a' Nzeki as a Roman Catholic Bishop in Nakuru diocese was well remembered by the communities. He mobilized help for the victims of the interethnic conflict that included medicine, water, and clothes.³⁶⁰. In some instances, members of the clergy utilize their institutional infrastructure to render help to the

³⁵⁹ Catherine Kamau, Oral interview, Likia location, July 15, 2016.

³⁶⁰ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009). p.117

hungry, the sick, and the homeless. Their involvement makes them feature prominently among the individuals who provide relief provision during interethnic violence.

3.3.2 Lobbying and Advocacy

Members of the clergy were reported to have been included in initiatives aimed at petitioning the government to protect life and property from interethnic violence. They speak on behalf of those affected, thus giving them a voice in the face of despair and hopelessness.³⁶¹ They recognize the role of the state in addressing the interethnic violence through its institutionalized agencies that have the mandate to maintain peace and bring about social change and therefore the need to engage it.³⁶² Through commission or omission on the part of the government, there is a view that it tends to abdicate the responsibility of protecting the citizens and their property.³⁶³

The interventions have therefore included the establishment of channels to communicate with government administration and crime investigating bodies.³⁶⁴ The involvement includes political actions that comprise lobbying the duty bearers, especially elected political leaders, to address the condescending state of interethnic relations. To clergy, the silence constitutes political action and hence the compulsion to engage the political class actively. ³⁶⁵ Politicians are viewed as critical stakeholders, prompting the Christian leaders to include them in their mapping of actors who are valuable in addressing interethnic conflict.

³⁶¹ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15[,] 2016.

³⁶² Njoroge, Muiru Paul, and Martha Wanjiru Muraya. p.8.

³⁶³ Hannah Mbugua, Oral interview, Naishi, June 23, 2018.

³⁶⁴ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

³⁶⁵ Gitari M. David and Knighton B. (2001). p.256.

3.3.3 Supporting Government's Security Agencies

Through the interventions, the government and non-state actors recognize and engaged members of the clergy as part of the stakeholders while addressing interethnic violence. They engage some of the Christian officials to distribute relief incentives to the affected communities. Red Cross and other non-state actors also engage them to distribute basic needs and to help communities reconcile and access basic needs.³⁶⁶ Drawing from their privileged access to information, some clergymen have played a critical role in providing intelligence to the government. A clergyman commented;

I have direct communication with senior security officers in the country, and I do provide intelligence information that assists in foiling ethnic-related violence. I am privileged to have been in peace work for over three decades, and such has earned me trust. I have phone contacts of the current and previous security ministers, heads of intelligence, and provincial administration. I continually update the government on the status of security in the region.³⁶⁷

By providing intelligence, they help the government to act in advance to preempt interethnic violence and control its spread when it occurs. One of the bishops gave a portion of his land to facilitate putting up of a police station at the Milimani area in Nakuru as a commitment to peace and security.³⁶⁸ There is an element of proactiveness on peace and security matters through collaboration with the government agencies.

³⁶⁶ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

³⁶⁷ Anonymous informant, Questionnaire, Nessuit April 15, 2016.

³⁶⁸ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

3.3.4 Peace-building and Reconciliation Initiatives

Christian leaders and Christian based institutions concern themselves with peacebuilding efforts. NCCK was mentioned as being instrumental in providing capacity building on conflict resolution and peace.³⁶⁹ It also assisted in identifying early warning signs for potential violence and liaised with the government and other stakeholders engaged in defusing conflict buildup and being an ecumenical body, its presences, and contributions, according to the respondents, were remarkable.

Likia and Beyond Peace and Conflict Resolution Council as an institution that brought some churches together involved in the prevention of interethnic conflict and cultivating peace and reconciliation.³⁷⁰ The body compromised over twenty-five clergymen drawn from various denominations. The Free Pentecostal Church of Kenya (FPFK), in partnership with International Aids Services (IAS), worked extensively in Lare and Mauche divisions to resettle internationally displaced persons and facilitate peace and reconciliation after the 2007/2008 interethnic conflict.³⁷¹ They were also involved in efforts geared at bringing the political nemesis together as part of enhancing peaceful and harmonious relationships among communities.³⁷²

Participation in the reconciliation process dates back to 1992 when communities in the region began perpetrating violence against each other.³⁷³ Some members of the clergy have been at the center of peace initiatives to prevent and reconcile communities

³⁶⁹ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

³⁷⁰ Njoroge, Muiru Paul, and Martha Wanjiru Muraya (2017), p.12.

³⁷¹ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

³⁷² Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.103.

³⁷³ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22nd, 2016.

when violence occurs by facilitating dialogue and negotiations among the conflicting communities.³⁷⁴ In Lare and Mauche divisions; FPFK was noted to have had extensive efforts to restore peace between communities after the 2007/2008 violence.³⁷⁵ FPFK activities included community dialogues on peace and harmony and education on peace and security as enshrined in the Kenyan Constitution. The church had created action groups targeting teachers, government administration, youth, women, men, and children in the reconciliation exercise.³⁷⁶ There were efforts by several churches in Kenya through a movement dubbed Caravan of Hope whose aim was to offer prayers, distribute food to the displaced persons, and to further the efforts of bringing unity among the divided communities.³⁷⁷

Jesuits were reported to have organized training for teachers on peace-building targeting to equip them with reconciliation skills and also skills on how to address the mistrust among pupils in the schools.³⁷⁸ They joined hands with the government to bring people together and rebuild broken relationships.³⁷⁹ The government did and do appreciate the potential within the religion and it reportedly invited the members of the clergy as a critical constituent of officials put together to reconcile the warring communities.³⁸⁰ It did so on the understanding that, Christianity does influence a critical mass of the citizenry within the region and that Christianity professes pro-peace and life-enhancing values. The fact that members of the clergy and their institutions have direct

³⁷⁴ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

³⁷⁵ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi location, April 15, 2016

³⁷⁶ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi location, April 15, 2016.

³⁷⁷ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.103.

³⁷⁸ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia Location, April 16th, 2016.

³⁷⁹ Kilonzo Susan (2009), p.103.

³⁸⁰ Kimani Kamenja, and his family, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016

contact with the victims and that they have an edge to influence them as their leaders, make them a critical group in peace work within the region.

Some residents observed that even though efforts have been made persuading people to reconcile, such does not address the restitution of lost lives, destroyed homesteads, and livelihoods.³⁸¹ Such view has made reconciliation to be elusive. A case was mentioned where a meeting was convened at Likia Shopping Centre by the then Minister for Internal Security in early 2008 whose objective was to bring Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic communities together and have them reconcile in a *Baraza* (community gatherings).³⁸² While the Kalenjin ethnic community stated their willingness to reconcile, the Kikuyu refused. Some members of the Kikuyu community in the gathering argued that they never initiated the violence, and they were the ones who were aggrieved. They reportedly said they were never interested in negotiations for peace at the time because such meetings in the past had not put to an end the incessant interethnic violence and therefore they walked out of the meeting without any negotiated settlement.³⁸³ "We didn't initiate neither did we participate in what they referred to as a peace meeting at Likia Shopping center."

The reconciliation process still has a long way before it is achieved. The absence of violence at any given time in the region does not indicate the absence of interethnic conflict. The underlying causes are still rife. Communities have continued to interpret social relations from ethnic perspectives. Distribution of resources, management of natural resources, and politics still prey on ethnicity.

³⁸¹ George Karanja, and his family, Oral interview, Likia location April 18, 2016.

³⁸² Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia , April 19, 2016.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia location on April 18, 2016.

From the findings, there was an affirmation that religious traditions have the potential to harness peace and harmony and lead to reconciliation where relationships have been broken. Religion can emphasize the re-discovering of a new conscience in individuals and society through moral reflection, repentance, confession, and rebirth.³⁸⁵ Conflicts do not just happen to people; people are active participants in creating situations and their experiences, such as the conflict.³⁸⁶ Typically at times of increased tension, there is a less direct exchange between those experiencing the conflict and increased indirect communication severing primary relationships and the broader social context in which the conflict occurs.³⁸⁷ In Njoro Sub-county therefore, Christian based interventions are useful agents in reconciling the communities affected and they can be utilized in the efforts towards resolving the conflict.

3.3.5 Homilies on Harmonious Co-Existence among Ethnic Communities

As part of addressing the interethnic conflicts, some of the clergymen were applauded by the government and the community for using the pulpit to preach the oneness of humanity.³⁸⁸ According to Christianity, all people are made in God's image and hence the need to co-exist, a message that was common at social events that included weddings, burial ceremonies, and other forms of community gatherings. They preached good interethnic relationships while condemning hatred, violence, killing, and destruction of property.³⁸⁹ They alluded to the fact that they draw their members from diverse communities and hence the need to unite them. Advancing messages of peace and

³⁸⁵ Njoroge, Muiru Paul, and Martha Wanjiru Muraya (20017), p.12

³⁸⁶ Lederach P. John (1995), p.9.

³⁸⁷ Ibid. p.17.

³⁸⁸ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

³⁸⁹ A pastor from Kalenjin ethnic community, questionnaire, Mauche FGCK Church, April 16, 2016.

harmony also increased credibility for some of the leaders and their respective institutions, because it made them be considered to be serving the interests of the various communities in Njoro Sub-county.

During peace forums, Christian leadership through clergy was provided for sessions to give sermons that were imbued with messages of unity and reconciliation. During the moments of relative peace, denominations organized interdenominational worship services and evangelization. The services were manifested through Keshas (overnight church services) and joint crusades (evangelizing engagements) among Christian denominations. Christian unions in public universities were mentioned as having contributed to the cooperation among denominations through their occasional revival meetings and crusades in the area that required the churches to work together, thereby enhancing interaction among members that are drawn from different communities.³⁹⁰ The characteristic of denominations was such that some had congregations that constituted only one ethnic group. The opportunity to come together helped diffuse ethnic mistrust among communities. Beyond preachings about peace, leaders engaged in activities that fostered unity among ethnic communities through special ceremonies such as weddings and graduations.³⁹¹

3.3.6 Use of Churches' Compounds as Safe Spaces

During the period of violence, occasionally some members of the communities' in the Sub-county get displaced from their homes. They seek refuge in church buildings and

³⁹⁰ Rev. Paul Rono Lago, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016. ³⁹¹ Ibid

respective church compounds which they considered secure.³⁹² They tend to move in with their household items and livestock. Families find church compounds secure places to seek refuge during the violence. A respondent remarked, "I took refuge at Lamudiarc Roman Catholic Church with a few items I managed to salvage during the violence." ³⁹³ Some of the community members fleeing violence move to their pastors' homes for safety and to be comforted.³⁹⁴

Ndingi Mwana a' Nzeki, a former bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, rightly observed that as more homes were burned, more people killed, and thousands of anguished and displaced people thronged churches for help and consolation of their hearts.³⁹⁵ Institutional infrastructure owned by churches, specifically church halls, and schools, provided a sense of security. Churches have spaces that are often fenced that provide some help when controlling the movement of their livestock and children who are vulnerable to separation from their families. It also aids families in tracing each other after being dispersed from their homes by the conflict which sometimes happens in haste and at night. For the clergymen, there is a higher duty to ensure that the trust of the church compound as a sacred and secure place was sustained.

3.3.7 Prayers and Pastoral Counseling

Faced with the trauma associated with violence, victims benefit from Christian based interventions that came through counseling and prayers.³⁹⁶ Churches and parachurch institutions organize forums for spiritual and psychological healing which

³⁹² Kilonzo Susan (2009), p.97.

³⁹³ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

³⁹⁴ A pastor from Kalenjin ethnic community, Questionnaire, Mauche FGCK Church, April 16, 2016.

³⁹⁵ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009). p.112.

³⁹⁶ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

helps those affected refocus after the disruptions occasioned by violence.³⁹⁷ The clergymen are expected to provide such support, considering that those affected turn to them for comfort and encouragement. The suffering from the interethnic conflict is sometimes immense and therefore needs interventions that heal the heart and the mind.

3.3.8 Community Projects to Address Causes of Interethnic Conflict

Christian based interventions also involve the initiation of relevant projects to address some of the causes of violence. FPFK, in partnership with IAS as an example, began training members of the communities on entrepreneurship and mobilized them into groups for them to mentor one another and mobilize resources to engage in income-generating activities.³⁹⁸ One of the reported challenges was that the youth tend to be taken advantage of by political leaders and made to perpetrate violence and commit a crime (thieving), heightening interethnic conflict in the area.³⁹⁹ Youth are therefore part of the beneficiaries of Christian based initiatives with the aim being to empower them economically through income-generating activities. NCCK was reported to have provided smalls loans to help residents re-establish their businesses.⁴⁰⁰

3.3.9 Reconstructing Destroyed Homesteads in Njoro Sub-county

The respondents appreciated Christian based responses through support in rebuilding homes that had mainly been burnt down or demolished by providing construction materials.⁴⁰¹ Anglican Church of Kenya has helped on various occasions by

³⁹⁷ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

³⁹⁸ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Pastor Kones, Oral interview, Mauche, April 26, 2016.

providing them with poles and iron sheets to rebuild their houses.⁴⁰² After the 2007/2008 interethnic conflict, NCCK got actively involved in resettling internally displaced persons.⁴⁰³ Some Christian based institutions sheltered some of the abandoned, lost, and orphaned children and some of the aged persons.⁴⁰⁴ There was a view that Christian based interventions had a role in resettling the displaced persons either in their original pieces of land or buying land in other locations and settling them.

3.4 Indictment on Christian Leaders

The Christian based interventions have attracted some disenchantment with some members of the communities residing in the Sub-county expressing misgivings. Such include complaints of blatant manipulation of the victims by the Christian leaders who are considered to be advancing their interest and whom they accuse of mobilizing resources to support those affected only to misappropriate them. One of the residents retorted that some of the leaders participate in peace and reconciliation work to meet their personal material needs.⁴⁰⁵ They pointed some of the donations to the victims of violence were sold by some of the leaders who were entrusted to distribute to the communities, hence using the situation to enrich selves.⁴⁰⁶ Others considered them as brokers between donors and victims of interethnic conflict who had personal interests and who advanced nepotism and tribalism when distributing the relief aid provided by well-wishers.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰² Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

⁴⁰³ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016

⁴⁰⁴ Pastor Kones, Oral interview, Mauche, April 26, 2016.

⁴⁰⁵George Karanja and his family, Oral Interview, Likia location, April 18, 2016.

⁴⁰⁶ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

In the run-up to the 2007 general elections, part of the clergy and Christian based institutions were reported to have participated in partisan politics.⁴⁰⁸ Cases were recounted of individuals who described themselves as prophets and prophetesses with a message from God. Such messages indicated God had told them who would be winners of various electoral positions.⁴⁰⁹ There were instances of overt support for particular candidates based on ethnicity and regionalism. Such deeds did affect the credibility of some of the clergymen. It loaded negative baggage on them, and in certain instances, it blurred their moral authority to intervene. The apparent loss of credibility witnessed the burning of over 300 churches during the 2007/2008 violence.⁴¹⁰

In the run-up to the 2007 General Election, the church was seen as being openly biased along ethnic lines. Christian believers were clearly confused by conflicting "prophesies" of prominent Christian leaders, which predicted victory for various candidates, prayed, and anointed them as God's choice for President. The uncertainty generated by these conflicting views fuelled the divisions in the church.⁴¹¹

Reports from the Rift Valley indicate that the Christian leaders used civic education, prayer meetings, and other occasions to campaign for their preferred parties and candidates openly aggravating ethnic divisions.⁴¹²

They were accused of having retained a low profile with minimal involvement in championing the rights of the displaced and peace activities.⁴¹³ The voice mainly emanated from civil society. During President Kibaki's regime, the church was generally

⁴⁰⁸ Maupeu Hervé. "Violence in the Post-Election Period: The Role of Religious Institutions." OpenEdition Journals, 2007 no. 38.

⁴⁰⁹ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

⁴¹⁰Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.102.

⁴¹¹Mue Njonjo (2012).

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.101.

quiet. Perhaps it was caught up in expectations on the new regime with which it had fought the excesses of President Moi's regime. When the 2002 pre-election pact started crumbling down and challenges of governance emerged and apparently continuity of corruption, the church spoke but not as strong as it would have been expected.⁴¹⁴

There was a problem associated with the constitutional referendum. Initially, the draft constitution of 2005 attracted opposition from vocal Christian leaders, but some backtracked and requested voters to use their conscience. The church's prophetic voice to act as the conscience of society was lost, and the church did nothing to evaluate its own role even after the people voted to reject the draft constitution soundly.⁴¹⁵ The Christian based interventions lost moral standing and become a subject of ridicule. The divisions among churches and the clergy have not augured well for peace and conflict resolution in the Sub-county and have often resulted in a divided voice robbing of the church and its leaders the higher calling of uniting the people.

3.5 Conclusion

The role of Christian based interventions in mitigating the effects of the conflict in the Njoro Sub-county is acknowledged by the communities, state, and non-state actors. At times, their interventions are spontaneous and reactive, but they are also involved in organized projects and programs. They render their pastoral service through prayers and pastoral counseling to assist those affected by the conflict. The interventions happen against the backdrop of suffering occasioned by the conflict, which affects the victims'

⁴¹⁴ Maupeu Hervé (2007).

⁴¹⁵ Mue Njonjo (2012).

social, psychological, and economic stability. Church buildings and the compounds become a place of refuge during the violence.

The clergy also preach peace and unity among residents and strengthen the communities' continuing search for co-existence. They support security operations within the Sub-county by providing information that helps prevent the eruption of interethnic violence. The interventions also include lobbying duty bearers to act to prevent loss of property and life and to resettle those who occasionally get displaced during the violence. They participate in mobilizing resources locally and even abroad to relieve communities from the effects of interethnic conflict.

Some limitations confront Christian based interventions. They operate in an environment that is marked by ethnic mistrust, divisions, and apparent embezzlement of resources provided for victims. Such creates apparent hesitation by the residents who, despite acknowledging the positive contributions of the interventions, view some of the clergymen as untrustworthy. During the violence, Christians including their leaders within communities in the Njoro Sub-county reportedly side with their ethnic communities and participate in the violence. Such raise moral contradictions because the leaders are essentially expected by the communities to be agents of peace and reconciliation. The effectiveness of Christian based interventions' appears hedged on how they will manage the negative image that they have attracted from a section of the population. The interventions are however a critical factor in the ongoing and future endeavors of addressing the underlying causes and building lasting relationships between communities in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED CHRISTIAN BASED INTERVENTIONS BETWEEN 1992-2012

4.1 A Background on Religious Interventions in Interethnic Conflict Situations

The role of religion in the context of interethnic conflict has two sides. First, there is the perspective that it has fuelled tensions and polarization between and within communities, perpetuated discrimination, and violence with some of the worst injustices in human history arguably being committed in the name of religion.⁴¹⁶ As such, it is considered one of the underpinnings in various conflicts in different parts of the world. The conflict in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Nigeria, and Somalia are illustrations of cases where religion has been used to cause or sustain the conflict.⁴¹⁷ Religious beliefs and misinterpretation do come along in disputing, justifying, and fuelling conflicts.⁴¹⁸ Such a view causes a section of the population to harbor mistrust on religion's involvement in the peace process.

On the other hand, there is an immense positive religious contribution to conflict resolution and peacebuilding that behooves appreciation. The involvement of evangelicals in South Sudan helped shed light on the nature of the conflict.⁴¹⁹ Buddhists in Myanmar have been actively involved in advocating peace and justice and there are efforts to facilitate mediation between Christians and Muslims in Egypt, Israel,

⁴¹⁶ Rasul Amina. "The Role of Religion in Peace-Making", Presented at the CSID 10th Annual Conference May 5, 2009, retrieved from, [www.csidonline.org/documents/pdf/Amina_Rasul_Role_Religion_CSID_Paper.pdf]

⁴¹⁷ Smock David. *Religion in world affairs*, Washington DC, 2008 p.2

⁴¹⁸ Kasomo Daniel. "The position of African traditional religion in conflict prevention", International Journal of sociology and anthropology, 2010. p. 24. Retrieved from [http://www.academicjournals.org/article/article1379416346_Kasomo.pdf].

⁴¹⁹ Smock David (2008). p.2.

Nigeria, and Sudan, among others.⁴²⁰ Such involvement of religion calls for consideration and appreciation of its immense potential to contribute to contemporary societies' peacemaking process.421

There are religious traditions that are fundamentally important in providing peaceful paths for conflict resolution and maintaining harmonious relationships between human beings and the rest of creation. Even with the diverse ethos and religious traditions, there are shared common characteristics that include promoting mutual respect for one's neighbor irrespective of their race, ethnicity, creed, culture, sex, or age.⁴²² To decipher the potential within religion in preventing and resolving conflicts, understanding the unique principles enshrined in the sacred scriptures and their interpretation is necessary. Such requires an approach that considers the influence of religion on individual behavior concerning others and the environment. It holds sway on individuals' and communities' practice of religion, a crucial element in religious interventions in the face of conflict.

Within the purview of such influence, the role of preventing the occurrence of violence, articulation of peace and unity, and resolving conflicts is feasible. Religious leaders, and institutions offer credibility, a respected set of values, moral warrants to oppose injustice and unique leverage for promoting reconciliation among conflicting parties.⁴²³ It also can mobilize community, nation, and international support

⁴²⁰ Ibid. p 6.

⁴²¹ Rasul Amina (2009)

⁴²² Kasomo Daniel (2009) ⁴²³ Smock David (2008), p.3

for a peace process and a sense of calling that often inspires perseverance when faced by debilitating obstacles.⁴²⁴

Regarding the African context within where the study was conducted, religion in traditional understandings and practices permeates virtually all aspects of life. Based on its immense influence, Mbiti J.S has termed Africans as being notoriously religious.⁴²⁵ Such view is derived from the fact that, traditionally, religion played the role of guarding a people's tradition, guarding morality, giving meaning to life, holding people together as communities, and regulating behavior. Life within the African religion was highly regarded, and religion was counted as a profound resource in protecting humanity from the challenges of conflict including interethnic hatred. In the traditional setting, there was no dichotomy between religion and other aspects of life and conflicts. It was interwoven in the entire fabric of life, including intra-ethnic and interethnic relations.⁴²⁶ Such provided one of the avenues to nurture and reinforce intra-ethnic and interethnic relationships and further resolve conflicts whenever they emerged.

African traditional religion established and sustained institutions whose functions were to foster the overall well-being of the communities. As an illustration, the ancestors played a valuable role in the religious worldviews of people at the individual and community levels. The religion called on the living to ensure a harmonious relationship with the ancestors and, in return, enjoy peace and tranquility. Ancestors were actively engaged and they required a specific pattern of behavior and conduct, which was expected to lead to peace and harmony. There was respect for elders and appreciation of

⁴²⁴ Ibid. p.3.

⁴²⁵ John S. Mbiti., "Peace and Reconciliation in African Religion," 2010, [http://www.upf.org/resources/speeches-and-articles/3226-js-mbiti-peace-and-reconciliationin-african-religion]. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

their role in guiding the people. Such a view of elders bestowed on them responsibility for ensuring peace within the community and with other communities. There were also designated religious leaders whose guidance was widely accepted. Covenants to guarantee harmonious co-existence by preempting conflicts or restoring peace and relationships that were otherwise broken were part of African traditional practice.⁴²⁷ Such profoundly rooted religiosity applied in all aspects of life. It provided Africans with shared values and objectives that held various relationships.⁴²⁸ Relationships mattered, and there was a deliberate pursuit to maintain them. Peace within and with other communities was necessary for a people's prosperity hence the use of covenant to foster the value.

A good neighborhood is encouraged and it is considered an authentic part of the African religion.⁴²⁹ People can interact and participate in a shared cultural life, and therein exists a mechanism for resolving disputes hence preventing and mitigating the effects of violence. People come to aid each other in activities such as building houses, farm clearing, and harvesting.⁴³⁰ The heritage of harmonious and peaceful relations has had continuity even in the face of other religious worldviews that have been introduced to Africa. Africans continue to idealize the community which is engrained in the philosophy and worldview of what a good and a functioning community is about.⁴³¹ Africans are multiethnic, and hence the concept of community has a profound link to the ethnic community. In a multiethnic setting such as is Africa, interethnic relationships are part of

⁴²⁶ Kibicho Samuel G. (2006). p.40.

⁴²⁷ Kasomo Daniel (2010) p. 24.

⁴²⁸ Ibid, p.26.

⁴²⁹ Shorter Alyward (2001). p.96

⁴³⁰ Ibid. p.96.

⁴³¹ Shenk David (1983), p.3.

enhancing life and prosperity even though it has a flip side of potential to bring out otherness's negativities based on ethnic identities. It does get to that moment when groups prioritize their ethnic communities in ways and means that exclude others based on ethnicity. Such occurrence has contributed to the recurrent interethnic conflicts in Africa in the twenty-first century.

The African understanding of community and subsequent perspectives on life and peace bequeaths valuable opportunities that can be utilized to enhance harmonious relations. One such perspective is the African theistic worldview.⁴³² They are conscious of the sacredness of life primarily because it is a gift from God and hence a sign of his benevolence.⁴³³ To Africans, life has to be protected because the giver is the Supreme Being who also provides life-sustenance.⁴³⁴ Such a view is a necessary incentive for ensuring peaceful co-existence, noting that one of the causes attributed to interethnic conflict is the theft of livestock and farm produce. Acknowledging that it is God who gives would reduce the tendency to steal from other people. It is going against God because he is the one who gave the other person.⁴³⁵ God gives these gifts to the community to use them to maintain and enhance life and well-being.⁴³⁶ Suffice that to an African, community is paramount. God is the giver of life and in return, what he expects most from humanity is the enrichment of life within communities.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Mbiti S. John, African Religions and Philosophy, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1969, p.29

⁴³³ Shenk David (1983), p.5

⁴³⁴ Ibid. p.5

⁴³⁵ Ibid. p.6

⁴³⁶ Kibicho Samuel G (2006). p.21.

⁴³⁷ Ibid. p.20.

The concept and practice of justice among Africans is a part of their religious beliefs and practices. They claim and have confidence in God's justice and those who act unjustly cannot do so unabated.⁴³⁸ People irrespective of ethnicity, clan, age, and gender must act justly towards each other. The primary function is to uphold unity and goodwill within the community.⁴³⁹ Justice is paramount in the sustenance of harmony. Tendencies such as stinginess, selfishness, and self-isolation were considered to be a detriment to the unity in the community.⁴⁴⁰

In the African religious worldview, it indicates that God did approve just punishment. The punishment was not to be meted as revenge but rather a reasonable action and that God had the freedom to administer punishment.⁴⁴¹ Justice attracted a reward from a fellow human agency or from the superhuman agency, in which case the longevity was considered God's reward for leading a just life.⁴⁴² To Africans, God of justice is also God of peace and hence establishes peace within the community and between communities.⁴⁴³ He wants people to enjoy the fruits of peace.

African worldview is also imbued with forgiveness and atonement as part of justice. Relationships are fundamental and have to be protected and salvaged at any cost when they are threatened. They ensure the survival of an individual and the community. To this extent, forgiveness was critical. Where the offender or offenders were needed to part with something, it was meant to bring out remorsefulness and be a token of his

⁴³⁸ Shenk David (1983), p.7.

⁴³⁹ Kinoti H. Wangeci, African Ethics; Gikuyu Traditional Morality, CUEA Press, Nairobi, 2013 p.161.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. p.158

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. p.160

⁴⁴² Ibid. pp.154-155

⁴⁴³ Shenk David p.7

repentance.⁴⁴⁴ The offense against an individual or a community had to be addressed to ensure a harmonious relationship was maintained.

In the community context, attempts were made to contain emotional feelings of loss, mainly when decisions were being made. A consensus was, therefore, the preferred means of arriving at decisions. Such a process in decision making did not permit humiliation and depersonalization of defeat as everybody needed to be a winner through the process of the right decision.⁴⁴⁵ The process of consensus-building in which everybody was allowed to speak, was encouraged because it allowed an opportunity for unanimity to be achieved.⁴⁴⁶ The process affirmed African community life is important for reference when reconciling warring ethnic communities. The process ensured there was no room for any participant to feel humiliated or considered a loser.

There is recognition in Africa that God is the creator of all people who creates people and requires them to be treated as his creation.⁴⁴⁷. Even though they belong to a different clan or ethnic group, they are a creation of God and on such premise traditionally, even strangers were always fed and welcomed either permanently or temporarily.⁴⁴⁸ There were exceptions where the tribal community had a leader inclined to the extermination of a clan or a tribe, but such did not last for long. It was never the generally accepted way of dealing with other clans or ethnic groups.

⁴⁴⁴ Kinoti H. Wangeci, (2013)., p.162.

⁴⁴⁵ Shenk David (1983). p.23

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid. p.23

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid. p.24

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid. p.25

Africans idealize peace, but there is persistent recognition that man fails to experience it fully.⁴⁴⁹ At times, the failure to attain peace is explained through myths that state that humanity is separated from God, and the hallmark is marked by the occurrence of death. Calamities such as droughts, floods, and diseases come because of a severed relationship with God and the broken relationship pervades the relationship between human beings.⁴⁵⁰ They were aware that efforts were necessary to make or remake the relationship with God and with men. Sacrifices were pivotal in re-establishing harmony and preserving life, whether with the environment, God, or fellow human beings within the ethnic community and interethnic communities.⁴⁵¹ To offer sacrifice, people needed to undergo cleansing and reconciliation.⁴⁵² Such a prerequisite was necessary for harnessing peace among the people and with their environment.

Reconciliation was further enhanced through covenants which aimed at eliciting sincere and earnest commitment to perfect human relationships. Through covenant, harmony would be restored and reaffirmed, further bringing about a rebirth in the face of broken relationships. There was blood brotherhood, which occurred when two people decided to become brothers forever. It involved making an incision on the forearms and licking the blood and making a solemn pledge to become brothers forever.⁴⁵³

A friendship covenant marked permanence to a precious relationship. There was a kingship covenant meant to restore harmony in cases where family relationships had broken down or that of a father and a son. In certain instances, a covenant was extended

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. p.31

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. p.33.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. p.40.

⁴⁵² Ibid. p.52.

⁴⁵³ Ibid. p.53.

to a stranger to adopt and make them permanent members.⁴⁵⁴ Marriage covenant was a covenant in most African societies marked by animal sacrifice and beer which was meant to strengthen marriage.⁴⁵⁵ There was a land covenant that guided the acquisition of land and solved disputes, especially over boundaries and ownership, and was elaborate in different communities.⁴⁵⁶ The existence and exercise of covenanting in Africa was a clear indication of a need to maintain a harmonious relationship with the communities.

Africans generally abhorred war because it typified a breakdown of harmony, and it did go against the will of God and ancestors.⁴⁵⁷ To experience peace among the Africans meant to be close to God.⁴⁵⁸ War meant disharmony and subsequently distance from God, and therefore covenants for peace were established to redress such unwarranted occurrence. It was presided over by elders from the warring communities. It involved shedding the blood of an animal to keep the peace after discussing and agreeing indicating a quest for peace among the African communities.⁴⁵⁹ They knew their survival depended on peace with a fellow human being, the living dead, and with God.

The premise is that Africans are privy to the need for peace, and they derive the understanding right from their religious worldview. According to Africans, life is willed by God, and therefore he is the originator and the sustainer but the gratuitous gift of life is

⁴⁵⁴ Kanu, Macaulay, "The Indispensability of the Basic Social Values in African Tradition: A Philosophical Appraisal".

[[]www.ajol.info/index.php/og/article/download/57930/46296]. Accessed on June 26, 2018.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Shenk, David (1983). p.59. ⁴⁵⁷ Ibid p. 66.

⁴⁵⁸ Kanu, Macaulay, The Indispensability of the Basic Social Values In African Tradition: A Philosophical Appraisal. (2010). pp 157-158.

[[]www.ajol.info/index.php/og/article/download/57930/46296]. Accessed on June 26, 2018. ⁴⁵⁹ Shenk, David (1983). p.70.

experienced when people live as a community.⁴⁶⁰ The basis for peace and co-existence that is identified with African religion offers an ally of building blocks across communities. Matters of peace and conflict resolution aren't alien to Africans religiosity, and such provide impetus and basis to Christian based interventions and the communities' understanding of their participation. The African religiosity significantly reconciles with contemporary Christian teachings on justice and peace.

Even when endowed with remarkable resources to prevent interethnic conflict or resolve such conflicts when they occur, African religion continues to face a myriad of challenges.⁴⁶¹ Judicial system for example has been taken up by states as an alternative to resolving matters that traditionally within the domain of African religion. Over time, governments have taken over the role of religion in resolving various forms of conflict. In certain instances, the elders' approach to matters of conflict resolution and peace contradicts the laws of respective countries, in which case they are preceded by the law.

The embrace of modernity, Christianity and other foreign religions has significantly reduced the relevance of the traditional approach in conflict resolution. The rituals and practices accompanying African approaches are at times considered antichristian and outmoded. Closely related is the diminishing role of elders as the custodians of the processes to resolve the conflicts.⁴⁶² Traditionally elders were looked upon to lead their respective ethnic communities in the reconciliation and peacebuilding process. In Njoro Sub-county, there was reported deviance by the youth to listen to the elders they considered misinformed thus reducing their (elders) control in moments of

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid p.22.

⁴⁶¹ Muluka, Barack and Gona George (2009)., p.107

⁴⁶² Ibid p.107

violence.⁴⁶³ The exclusion of women and youth is rebuffed in contemporary societies, a factor that may be contributing to the declining influence of elders. The influence of elders is waning limiting the traditional method of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The emphasis placed on elders was such that youth and women were at the peripheral in decision making.⁴⁶⁴ The apparent diversity of cultures and lack of initiative to harmonize the respective ethnic approaches to conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Njoro Subcounty also has created the challenge of applying traditional methods.

Despite the preceding difficulties facing the application of traditional African methods to resolve interethnic conflict, the awareness that points to the value of religion in peacemaking among the Africans is rife. Communities, agencies of peace, and Christian based interventions operate not in a vacuum but within a prism of the proactive role of religion in reconciliation, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding processes that are entrenched in the African psyche and practice. The heritage has an impeccable imprint on contemporary Africans' psychology and worldview in general. With the coming of the foreign religions, the African consciousness, as informed by culture and religious worldview is still resilient and hence aware of the need to live in peace and resolve conflicts where they emerge. Within such context, Christian based effort to intervene in the situations of interethnic conflict is discussed.

4.2 A Theological Reflection on Christian Based Interventions

The Christian based situational ethics encourage unity and reconciliation among communities. Love that has birthed the situation ethics is a valuable subject in Christian theology and it avers that response to any situation should be guided by values and

⁴⁶³ Ibid p.88

actions of love and not legalism.⁴⁶⁵ Love acknowledges the different situations human beings find themselves in and calls for action to address the suffering that arises in such conditions. Fletcher expressed love, which is the guide to situational ethics as follows;

Love is always good, the only norm, and is justice distributed. It is not necessarily a liking, and only the end of love justifies the means. It makes a decision there and then as to how to act in each situation.⁴⁶⁶

Jesus exemplified love through actions that sometimes defied religious law. Christian believers are expected to love their neighbors and their enemies in equal measure. Such love can be realized through forgiveness, service to one another, a show of compassion, unity, empathy, exercising faith, and sacrifice. The ethical foundation through love offers a significant basis on which decisions and actions are to be judged. ⁴⁶⁷ Love is concerned with the holistic well-being of humanity. Jesus demonstrated the virtue of love by reaching out to those that were disadvantaged. As reported in Matt 4:23-25, he healed the sick, defended the poor, and spoke for those segregated based on gender, ethnicity, and environment, among many other examples. Christians are therefore to involve themselves in addressing matters that affect the well-being of individuals, families, and communities in contemporary settings, as exemplified by Jesus.

The religious teachings expounded by Christianity have contributed significantly to the motivation of mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict. The teachings articulate theological views on conflict resolution and peace and the church considers itself as

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.p.107.

 ⁴⁶⁵ Fletcher, Joseph. *Situation ethics: The new morality*. Westminster John Knox Press, 1997
 ⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Seven Ways Jesus Taught us How to Love humanity, [<u>http://www.beliefnet.com/inspiration/galleries/7-ways-jesus-taught-us-how-to-love-humanity.aspx#rsZefvYHttfYeYgG.99</u>.] Accessed on March 13, 2018.

having a God-given mandate within his overall plan for humanity and the rest of creation.⁴⁶⁸ The motivation to participate in the development and human transformation agenda is based on the premise that the creation belongs to God.⁴⁶⁹ Such concedes that individually and corporately, people have a responsibility in God's plan for humanity and transformation enterprise that includes changing structures that oppress and enslave people. In the mission, the manifestation of God's renewal, healing, and reconciliation becomes plausible.⁴⁷⁰ God's redemptive mission through his act of love expressed through Jesus his son is demonstrated as being people-centered, and it calls for accountability.⁴⁷¹

In stewardship, which is a discourse in Christian theology, there exists an acknowledgment of ownership where God is considered the owner of the resources and human beings. He created everything, including man (Gen 1:28), and hence a recognition of responsibility and accountability for what has been entrusted to individuals and the church as an institution. Ethnic violence destroys human lives, the fabric of communities, and nature as well. Weapons have adverse effects on the environment as they destroy plants and animal lives and therefore negate the principle of stewardship.

Domestic animals bear the brunt as they also get maimed or killed as means for warring communities to inflict pain on each other.⁴⁷² Accountability is required on the part of human beings for their actions as a critical aspect of stewardship.

⁴⁶⁸ Rhoads David, "Stewardship of Creation",

[[]http://www.webofcreation.org/archive-of-resources/505-stewardship-of-creation]. Accessed on June 27, 2018.

⁴⁶⁹ Noko, Ishmael. "Mission and development" in Lutheran World Federation", *Stewardship- our accountability to God*, LWF Documentation, Switzerland 1994, p.15.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. p.15.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. pp.16-17.

⁴⁷² Kamenja, and his family, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016.

Every decision needs to be matched with a sense of accountability owed to the owner, which in this case is God. Whatever man does with God's creation will attract a reward or a punishment.⁴⁷³ When an individual promotes values of justice, love, equality, and stewardship, there will be a reward (Col 3:23-24, Matt 25: 21). There will be a reward for those that are accountable and responsible for God's creation, where man is the greatest within the understanding of the creation (Gen 1:28).

Stewardship is to be exercised by the church which in Christian theology is the body of Christ comprising individual members who are also saints in communion.⁴⁷⁴ The reality that members who constitute various denominations within the region were drawn from different ethnic groups prompted the coming together of churches and Christian leaders and hence the subsequent formation of Likia and Beyond Peace and Reconciliation. The church in such a context becomes the body of Christ and brings life to the essence of responsibility and accountability prompting the resolve to promote peace among the people. The church intervenes to address human suffering, making it have a space in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts.

One aspect of the life of a Church is that it is an institution of society. There is a social responsibility within it and an expectation that acts as an active participant, offering interventions whenever a crisis within the society arises. The expectations place it in the realm of social sciences since its role can empirically be studied.⁴⁷⁵ Christian Holy Scripture brings out an element of believers as being the church. Matthew 16:18

⁴⁷³ Rhoads David, "Stewardship of Creation",

[[]http://www.webofcreation.org/archive-of-resources/505-stewardship-of-creation]. Accessed on June 27, 2018.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

implies that the church is the body of Christ, a view that is also held by Paul (Eph 1:22-23, 4:4, 5:23). The image of the church is portrayed as the body of Christ and refers to a group of believers in a given geographical locality (1 Corinthians 1:2 and 1 Thessalonians 1:1).

The church is seen as a group of believers who are actively engaged in good works. As an institution and a body of Christ, it brings together people who are drawn from different cultures, ethnicities, nationalities, ages, and statuses and who are to unite irrespective of their backgrounds. Such a form of unity is highly emphasized in the New Testament. John 17: 20-23, illustrates a prayer by Jesus, where he prayed to his father for the unity of believers. The unity opens a justification of firmly remaining together as Christians and overcoming the divisions brought about by differences in ethnicity.

Paul the apostle discussed the church as being made up of the sons of God through Christ Jesus and that it is through him all people are chosen (Ephesians 4:1-16). To the believers in Philippi, Paul charged them with being like-minded, having the same love, and being one in spirit and purpose (Phil 2: 2). The early church exemplifies the unity that should mark the church. Early Christian believers shared what each had with others equally (Acts 4:32). In the context of interethnic conflict, the teaching and practice of unity among believers have a bearing on resolving conflicts and restoring broken relationships. Such teachings and practices fundamentally alter the basis of one's identity by expanding the horizon through the formation of unity across cultures and ethnicities. It propounds the oneness of believers in spirit (Romans 15:5-6).

Christian believers are to be bound by love for each other, even if there is no physical contact because of geographical location or otherwise. They are to be of the same faith thereby calling them to express faith through visible unity (Galatians 3:26-28). The strength of such understanding is the ability to help followers overcome ethnic divisions and foster relationships. It has the potential to bring out the unity that goes beyond ethnic and denominational identities and calls the believers of the Christian faith to consider each other as brothers.

Christians' text brings out the image of the church as a community that constitutes the people of God and considers that God dwells in such a community (2 Cor. 6:16). Christians are viewed as God's people and he called them up to make a community that forms the church (2 Thes. 2: 13- 14, 1 Thes 1:4). He rejoices and takes pride in them and provides care and protection, a form of protection like that provided to the apple of the eye (Deut 32:10). God expects that they are His people without reservation and divided loyalty. The commitment to one's ethnicity that negates the primary focus of being God's is a form of disloyalty to Him. A particular quality of holiness is expected of Christians as people of God (Ephesians 5: 25-27). With such an understanding, it would be expected that Christians are free from hostilities arising from ethnic competition, mistrust, and hatred which would deny them the quality of being God's people.

In Christian teachings, Christ is presented as the head of the people formed into a body called the Church (Col 1:18). Individual believers have been described as making the body in which Christ is the ruler (Col 2:9-10) and hence the one guiding and controlling it. Members are to respond to his teachings. He taught the greatest commandment is to love God and love the neighbor irrespective of their ethnic inclinations. Such teaching proposes a kind of relationship among the followers that surpasses one ethnic inclination and, therefore, an antidote to interethnic conflicts.

For the adherents of the Christian faith, there is interconnectedness and dependence on each other (Ephesians 4:11-16). They are to serve each other because they are one (Gal.6:2) a requirement is encouraged further by the call to have a genuine fellowship among themselves (1 Cor 12:26). The kind of fellowship propounded is to welcome anybody who believes irrespective of ethnicity or nationality (Col 3:11). While commissioning his disciples, Jesus told them to go out into the whole world and welcome everybody regardless of their nationalities or ethnicities (Matt 28: 19). The church is not to discriminate because all people are qualified to be part of Christ's body and when people embrace one another, peace thrives among them.

With the coming and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the church gains the status of being a divinely established institution existing for a divine cause (Acts 1: 8, 1 Cor. 3:16-17, Eph. 2.12-22). It is a divine creation with a mandate to express the qualities of Jesus when advancing its works among men. The qualities include pursuing peace, considering that Jesus is illustrated in the Christian teachings as the prince of peace (Isaiah 9:6).

The church is pronounced as existing to evangelize (Mat 28:19) through spreading the good news that creates a new man and brings freedom. Jesus mentioned that he had been anointed to preach the good news to the poor, proclaim freedom for the prisoners, recovery of sight to the blind, and release of the oppressed (Luke 4:18). Jesus passed the mandate to proclaim good news to the believers through the disciples when he commissioned them to evangelize every part of the world. Christian leaders and their respective institutions' awareness of Christ's mandate means responding to issues that concern Him. It means confronting systems and individuals who sustain suspicion, mistrust, and hatred that lead to interethnic conflicts.

The church is equally faced with the onerous task of preparing individuals for good works. Christ has given gifts and charged the bearers with the responsibility of equipping believers for good works.

> It was he who gave some to apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists and some to be pastors and teachers to prepare God's people for the works of service so that the body of Christ may be built up (Eph 4: 11-12)

The church is called to prepare believers to engage in service that will build the body of Christ. Jesus's status is that of the son of God, genuine humanity, his death for man's sins, his burial, resurrection, subsequent appearance, and future coming in judgment. Paul sees the gospel as all-important and declares it as the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jews first, and then to the Greeks (Rom 1:16). It is the masterpiece of salvation. Every human being is entitled to receive salvation and the accompanying benefits. The gospel cuts across ethnic, racial, economic, and educational barriers (Rom 1:16, Gal 3:28), allowing salvation to all men. Salvation is all-encompassing for it brings freedom in all aspects of life. Jesus is pronounced to have come for man to have life and have it for more abundantly (John 10:10). The abundance comes when man and community are freed from various forms of violence, including interethnic conflict and all other forms of exploitation and oppression that deny the man the opportunity to be free.

Jesus expects the church to address social concerns as exemplified in his declaration about the purpose of coming to the earth which was to bring abundance in life (John 10:10). There, exist factors that curtail such enjoyment and the church has a

mandate to respond to these circumstances. Through the showing of Christian love and compassion for both Christian believers and non-believers, the church aligns with Jesus' ministry, which cared about the problems of the needy and the suffering. He healed the sick and even raised the dead. Being faithful to His ministry requires engagement service that reaches out to the needy and the suffering as illustrated in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37). To be a good believer is to show love to the neighbor (Mat 25:31-46) and demonstrate it through actions. Christian text presented the true religion as the one that takes care of the orphans and widows in their affliction (James1: 27). It also includes condemning the unrighteousness or that which afflicts humanity, which includes the ravaging effects of interethnic violence.

The church appreciates the great commission to spread the gospel to the whole world (Matt 28: 18ff). However, the need to apply the gospel in the African context has created a need for the theology and practice of Christianity with the African cultural milieu in perspective. It is increasingly becoming the basis for action in the face of diverse challenges in the continent. There is an appreciation that Jesus Christ as God came among people within their unique settings creating a basis for Christianity to address the problems facing people within a particular context.

Jesus was crucified because of man's transgression (Isaiah 53:4). In Christ, God experiences the evil of broken relationships that destroys life.⁴⁷⁶ In his ministry, Jesus confronted evil. He could not keep silent when the poor, women, and children were being marginalized. He was determined to bring peace to the people. He died as a great person but with bitterness. He asked his father to forgive them that had wronged him (Luke

⁴⁷⁶ Shenk, David (1983). p.89.

23:34). Even in death, he affirmed life.⁴⁷⁷ Following the foregoing, Christians are to give themselves for the sake of others as Christ did. They are to stand against interethnic conflict which is counter to Jesus' mission and stand for peace.

Christ being the head of the church becomes an example of excellence in giving service to humanity. The ultimate is illustrated by offering self to save man from the bondage of sin and other oppressing situations. He gave himself as a sacrifice so that life can be affirmed and obtained (Hebrew 2: 10ff). The ultimate sacrifice serves as an example to the Christian leaders who are required to overcome ethnic inclinations, profiling, and demeaning criticism to mitigate the suffering caused by the interethnic conflict. Christ has fulfilled atonement as the sacrificial lamb and his sacrificial blood has united humankind in a covenant of peace.⁴⁷⁸

Through his blood, Jesus cleanses from death and establishes life (Heb 9:11-14). The breaking of bread, which is alluded to in the mentioned passage, happened amidst division among the disciples. There was a question of who would be the leader after Christ leaves⁻ and at the same time, there was notably a betrayer among them. Jesus moved to address the budding conflict through the ritual of Holy Communion. He wanted to see peace prevail among them and preempt probabilities of conflict.

The blood of Christ, the Lamb of God, established a cosmological covenant between God and man, between God and the living-dead, between the living-dead and the living, God and the living, and between man and nature. This is a new covenant of peace of God's initiative. It superseded all other covenants. It transcends all national and ethnic ties. It is a new covenant of righteousness that establishes peace and harmony in the community of man. It is a covenant of

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid. p.90.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid p.92.

forgiveness and life. The covenant sealed by the blood of Christ supersedes all other loyalties.⁴⁷⁹

Communion is necessary at such a moment to bring about reconciliation. When church leaders administer communion, it is a semblance of pulling together and creating unity among people. If the brethren are to eat Holy Communion, they are required to repent and reconcile with one another (Mathew 5:23, 24 and 1st Cor 11:27-32). Fundamentally, such rituals become essential in bringing about reconciliation among the people. They become aware that sharing communion brings reconciliation in an environment that guarantees harmony, tranquility, and love for one another, offering plenty of possibilities to be together irrespective of ethnicity.

The above makes Christian based interventions valuable in participating in activities that unite the people of different communities noting churches derive membership from different ethnic groups in Njoro Sub-county. The unity of the body means living together in brotherhood, irrespective of ethnic, racial, and economic status. Essential factors that played a role in the involvement of Christian based interventions in Njoro Sub-county identified during the research are discussed herein below.

4.3 Motivations for Christian Based Interventions in Njoro Sub-county

Christian beliefs and subsequent teaching offer a basis for respective leaders and Christian based institutions to pursue interventions aimed at bringing about peace and prosperity among community members. They envision the possibility of the co-existence of people irrespective of their ethnicities. Leaders and their respective institutions find validation to intervene in interethnic conflict situations from Christian teachings.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid p.94.

Some of the victims of interethnic conflict belong to Christian denominations in Njoro Sub-county. Such places an expectation on Christianity because its members look up to it to provide help during the violence. People go to the churches for refuge and, by default expect to receive relief aid. ⁴⁸⁰ The leadership of the concerned churches and Christian based institutions is aware of the expectations of the affected followers which significantly stimulates their responses.

In Njoro Sub-county, individuals providing Christian based interventions pointed out that Christian teachings motivated their interventions to mitigate the suffering occasioned by interethnic conflict. They alluded that there were biblical and theological persuasions that occasioned their actions. Various agencies involved in resolving conflict opined that Christianity wielded a critical influence that could be utilized to enhance peaceful co-existence among communities.⁴⁸¹

The ethic of love, which is a component in Christian theology, was a critical contributing factor to their participation in resolving conflicts and efforts to provide relief during interethnic violence. The call to love is a virtue within Christian beliefs and practices. Christian teachings propose that man bears the image of and likeness of God, which means man, can be like God.⁴⁸² God is assigned an all-loving attribute without any form of discrimination. His love is referred to as Agape love pointing to a gratuitous endowment for which one did not qualify, but God graciously extended it to all. ⁴⁸³ If a human being is the image of God, then he is to bear the love of God. Having a love of God creates the possibility of people loving one another and loving people without ethnic

⁴⁸⁰ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

⁴⁸¹ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.99.

⁴⁸² Smith Lucie Alexander, *Foundations of Moral Theology*, Paulines Publication Africa, Nairobi, 2006, p.24.

biases, for all people need to be loved equally.⁴⁸⁴ It also serves the will of God, who calls on human beings to love one another.

Interethnic conflict negates love by severing the relationship to the extent that human life is violated. Such contravenes the principle of God's love, which is the fulcrum of the ethics of love. Interethnic conflicts affect the expression of God's love among the communities living within the region a factor that prompts Christian based interventions. Love vouches for the equality of all people. Christians view and refer to each other as brethren. Church membership is drawn from different statuses, and therefore it principally belongs to everyone.⁴⁸⁵ It opens an avenue of putting into practice selflessness.⁴⁸⁶ When the ethics of love are actualized, there unbolts an opportunity for uniting people and overcoming divisions.

Luke 6:35ff stipulates that love demands one to love even their enemies and do so without expecting anything in return. It is a higher demand but useful in the cases where communities count each other as enemies during the violence. The members of the Kikuyu ethnic community complain that some members of the Kalenjin ethnic refer to them as *vunyo* (enemy), and likewise, Kikuyu considers them as *thu* (enemy).⁴⁸⁷ Even with such perception, the individuals providing these interventions inferred that biblical teachings provided an opportunity to unite by treating each other well. Love ought to consider others and thus challenge individuals irrespective of their ethnic, religious, economic, or political status to treat others the way they would expect to be treated (Luke 6:13).

⁴⁸³ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁴⁸⁴ Anonymous religious officials, Questionnaire, Nessuit April 21, 2016.

⁴⁸⁵ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

⁴⁸⁶ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.100.

By practicing love, there emerges a new opportunity to close ethnic divisions. John 4:2-26 illustrates ethnic and cultural differences standing between a woman who was a Samaritan and Jesus, who was a Jew. Jesus had some help for the woman because he had the living water, but the woman was being held back by ethnocultural differences existing between them. Jesus, however, was willing to break this historical division and hence engaged with a willingness to sustain a dialogue with her. She eventually opened to the gesture, and she spread the same message of hope to other Samaritans. It is a clear case of overcoming the existing barriers and sustaining structures. Roman 12:9, and 13:10 present love as a virtue imbued with sincerity and does not harm the neighbors. In it, there is patience and kindness and has no envy, no boast, no pride, no rudeness, it is not self-seeking, not easily angered, and keeps no record of wrongs (1 Corinthian 13:4-8). Such love is committed to helping the sick be healed, hungry to obtain food, and the homeless to gain access to shelter.⁴⁸⁸ It is a love that dedicates its practice towards the elimination of human suffering.

The practice of love helps cover a multitude of sins (1 Peter 4:8) hence allowing communities to handle misunderstanding without resulting in violence. A Christian leader observed, "Love has to be there if we are to serve the people and such emanates not from an individual but God himself because by nature He is love and therefore to love is to know Him.⁴⁸⁹ 1 John 4:7 urges people, and by extension, communities to love one another for love come from God. As a way of demonstrating salvation, one has to show love, and it indicates that one knows God. In other words, without love, one does not

⁴⁸⁷ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

⁴⁸⁸ Kilonzo Susan (2009), p.99.

⁴⁸⁹ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

know God (1 John 3:16). Jesus fronted love for God and neighbor as the first and second commandments (22: 37-39). When practiced, it eliminates the fear of one another. People develop trust and live together as brothers (1 John 4: 19-19). Love is discussed as a binding factor that has the potential to pull people together (Colossians 3:14). It has a sacrificial cost, and as a result of love, God gave his son (John 3:16). It is not a rosy trajectory but a genuine commitment faced by doubts but whose results can be trusted to bring about a harmonious relationship among the people of different ethnicities.

To make peace in situations characterized by interethnic conflict is to heed to the biblical call. Jesus pronounced a special blessing to those who pursued peace (Matt 5:9, James 3:18). Peace brings joy to people (Proverbs 16:7).

Peacemaking is a continuous mission stretching back to Adam and Eve. A separation between man and God triggered it because of disobeying, but Jesus came to mend this relationship. By doing so, he restored peace between God and people, and every day we are making people reconcile with God and with fellow human beings. It is not within Christian love to reconcile human beings to God and not among themselves. These two go hand in hand. Such conviction has made me use my material resources and time to help communities develop a culture of peace.⁴⁹⁰

Christian leaders find motivation from the biblical view on peacebuilding among human beings and between God and human beings. It is a promise of God in Christ, but along are alternates that bring death for which Christianity has to intervene in the ethical sense. The sacrificial blood of Christ unites humankind in a covenant of peace.⁴⁹¹ Galatian 4:22 considers peace as a fruit of the Holy Spirit. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit among people and the church bears fruits among them the fruit of peace.

490 Ibid

Peace is not automatically available, but it must be sought after (1 Peter 3: 11). It behooves Christianity to lead the communities in search of peace and maintain it for prosperity and obedience to God's commandments, a task that demands effort and commitment (Roman 14.19). It is a deliberate and conscious effort to bring about peace and requires to be sought and pursued (1 Peter 3:9-11). In the endeavor, being offended by an individual or individuals from the other ethnic group does not call for revenge, an act the bible paints as a threat to peace.

Evil committed against an individual can be overcome with good deeds (Romans 12:17-21). Wrongs committed by individuals, thus affecting ethnic relations, can be managed through good deeds and not revenge. Christ, in his message, called for peace. He was prophesied that he would be the prince of peace (Isaiah 9:6), meaning he is peace himself. He also bequeathed peace to the believers (John 14:27). His kingdom is one of peace (Romans 14:17-19). God is not a God of disorder but peace (1 Corinthians 14: 33). A member of the clergy referred to Isaiah 40: 1-5, which predicted the coming of Jesus, which would help all human beings see God's glory.⁴⁹² After his coming through reincarnation, his glory is to be experienced by everybody. Ethnic related conflicts need to be prevented and stamped out where they emerge so that all human beings may experience God's glory. Situations of conflict bring pain and suffering, all of which are in contrast to the essence of Christ as the prince of peace.

⁴⁹¹ Shenk David (1983), p.92.

⁴⁹² Bishop Abraham Gitu, *Oral interview*, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

Another reason that prompted the involvement was the view that Christians are salt to the world. A bishop in Njoro Sub-county gave an analogy using the purpose of the salt. He looked at it as being a preservative chemical. On that breadth, Christian leaders are to cultivate and preserve peace. The justification is drawn from Matt 5: 13-16 in which Jesus charged that believers are the salt and, as such, must have saltiness. It meant having a good impact and preventing or redressing situations that contain or are made of that which is evil. The teachings also indicated that believers are the light of the world and they are to help bring clarity in situations of darkness which in the case of Njoro Sub-county the incessant interethnic conflict.

Believers who, make up the body of Christ are to be united. They referred to each other as brothers and sisters and see the church as one that belongs to everyone, signifying a special unity.⁴⁹³ The leaders of these churches, therefore, considered it worthwhile to mitigate divisions caused by the conflict. Christians are charged to be in agreement and avoid divisions (1 Corinthians 1:10). They are to seek to be united in mind and thought in which case love becomes fundamental and an absolute requirement for the pursuit of unity (Col 3: 13-14).

God is viewed as one interested people's pursuit of unity as it is considered good and pleasant (Psalms 133:1). Christianity vouches for a life of harmony with one another, showing no pride but a willingness to associate with people of low position (Romans 12:16). Pride and arrogance partly contribute to the recurrent interethnic conflict, and the Christian faith bequeaths a panacea by calling people to associate freely without social, economic, or political prejudices (Ephesians 2:14).

⁴⁹³ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

There is no form of discrimination that is granted for there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male or female, for all are one (Gal 3:26-28). If the value of equality, harmony and willingness to associate are practiced, co-existence in mutual respect can be realized, discrimination vanquished, and a brotherly relationship would blossom. A member of the clergy commented, "We are all images of God irrespective of our ethnicities. No one is special than the other. God treats us alike"⁴⁹⁴

The divisions based on ethnicity, political affiliations, religion, or culture need not supersede that human possesses God's image. Christians view humanity as a creation of God that is made in His image and they find the reason for human existence, in Him. Each individual was created for a reason mainly to have a conscious personal relationship with the creator and therefore, should not be exterminated.

Though all human beings are finite because of having a beginning time, they are eternal for the creator prepared for them an eternal future. His creation right from the beginning had a reason (Genesis 1:26-27). God made a conscious decision to make human beings and their primary role, which was to be fruitful and multiply and have dominion over the earth (Gen 1:28). To that extent, violating, harming, or killing means going against God. Human beings are part of the rest of the creation; hence no one is to decimate their life. It is within God's plan and with a unique place that man possesses the image of God. The idea of the image of God affirms a special bond among human beings. They have a common descent from one original pair meaning that they are all related to one another. The negative aspect is that all people are rebellious children of the heavenly father. They are finite, and as a result, they might be wrong and such reality implores

⁴⁹⁴ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

humbleness. Human beings are wonderful because they are the only ones made in the image of God. They are the highest among all the creatures, and God created them to be so (Psalms 100:3-5). The reality of God's image means overcoming the differences brought about by ethnic traits and celebrating equality in the image of God.

Christ cherishes the communion of brethren. In the night he was crucified, he made a new covenant that binds the members together (1 Corinthian 11:24-25). The Lamb of God, according to the Christian experience, is the nourishment of communion and fellowship.⁴⁹⁵ It is required, that individuals reconcile before communing (Mat 5:23, 24). Christian based interventions are hence compelled to intervene when there are conflicts among ethnic communities because they operate in the society, and members of their congregations are part of the society.⁴⁹⁶ As a social institution, it does have a social role concerning issues affecting communities. An informant commented;

We do think about tomorrow for our children. We want to secure the future of our generations by cultivating peace among communities. A peaceful environment is a requisite for their survival.⁴⁹⁷

Reconciling the communities and making them learn to live together is necessary for the current and future generations. There is a consciousness that the perpetual suspicions, mistrust, and violence should not be there infinitely. It is not suitable for future generations. Christian institutions and respective owe to these generations the responsibility of creating more cohesive communities. Such is visible in a situation where ethnic groups incline more towards a shared vision of unity and oneness.

⁴⁹⁵ Shenk David (1983), p.95

⁴⁹⁶ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

⁴⁹⁷ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

For some Christian leaders, Christianity should intervene in social situations that bring and sustain conflict among the ethnic communities in Njoro Sub-county. Jesus Christ, who states that his mission on earth was to proclaim the good news, heal, and liberate those who are oppressed stands out as motivation in their responses to the effects of interethnic conflict.⁴⁹⁸ Luke 4:18-19 points out the responsibility of proclaiming the good news. It has a message that can transform the status of the people. In the face of interruption caused by the conflict, the good news brings out a sense of resilience that is necessary to overcome adversities. God's kingdom aims to set free those in various forms of oppressive situations. They cannot be free unless there is a pursuit of righteousness and justice.

It is a Christian requirement that people learn how to do good, seek justice, reprove the oppressor, and defend the fatherless (Isaiah 1:17). Interethnic conflicts bring about the suffering of individuals, families, and communities. Children become orphaned when parents die; men are subjected to maiming and killings because they are at the battlefront. When a married man dies, he likely leaves behind a widow and fatherless children. Some of them become vulnerable to injustice and oppression. According to Christianity, they need to be defended and Christian institutions and leaders need not reach out to them.

Deuteronomy 10:18ff portrays that to do what God does is to do the right thing. God is pleased when individuals reason and act as he would. Just like him, they are to be moved by compassion which is love in action.⁴⁹⁹ Jesus was driven by them compassion to

⁴⁹⁸ Adeyemo Tonkuboh (2009). p.59.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid p.63.

help the oppressed, the hungry, the sick, diseases, and the demon-possessed.⁵⁰⁰ Christians and especially through the clergy are obligated to shepherd the flock by ensuring they remain united as exhibited by Jesus in John 17:12f which can be realized through the provision of adequate and proper pastoral care.⁵⁰¹

The leaders embrace the work of peacebuilding and reconciliation as serving the will of God. A member of the clergy stated that God would prosper them for their commitment here on earth, which included providing interventions to those affected by interethnic conflict and they will be crowned when they get to heaven.⁵⁰² They would be rewarded for the time and materials resources they spent in the cause of reconciling and peacebuilding in Njoro Sub-county (Mat 19:29). It was in their mandate to work with God in having his will done on earth.⁵⁰³

4.4 Conclusion

The role of Christian based interventions to mitigate the effects of interethnic violence in Njoro Sub-county is significant. The interventions include providing relief, engaging in activities that prevent violence, and leading reconciliation efforts to nurture a culture of peace. The interventions are conscious of the tedious task emanating from the community's expectations amidst the intermittent conflict. The reality that those affected comprised Christians who looked up to Christian leadership and Christian based institutions during the conflict for support was a contributing factor to its involvement.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid p.63.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid p.71.

⁵⁰² Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁵⁰³ Esther Ruto, Oral Interview, Neissuit, April 15, 2016.

The leadership in these initiatives intimated the valuable teachings about the ethics of love enshrined in biblical texts as a motivation in their responses. Love was fronted as an ultimate value that contributed to the formation of relationships that endeared peace, co-existence, and tolerance in a multiethnic setting. It was a spiritual value that was needed to guide humankind in making the right decisions. They further articulated the equality of all people that is brought forth by possessing God's image and, therefore, useful in encouraging communities to live together.

Part of the Christian leadership has theological training, and the application of theological reflections is evident in their work within ethnic communities in Njoro Subcounty. They enunciate systematic explanations of God's desire for the communities to live together besides clarifying beliefs that tend to create wedges among them. They are engaged in preaching and prayers in their churches and other public gatherings. They give a message of hope while admonishing the different ethnic communities to live together in peace and unity.

The deeper persuasion is that they served the will of God when they participated in the peace process. They consider it part of their calling and service to the body of Christ. They deem themselves as being the right people to stand up for peaceful coexistence among the communities.

They believe the work they do has a reward that ran to eternity. Deriving from the expectations from their followers and the larger community, the actors of peace and agencies of security, and the conviction from their faith, their role seems well entrenched in the continuing efforts to cultivate peace and unity among communities living in the Sub-county.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN IMPLEMENTING CHRISTIAN BASED INTERVENTIONS IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY

5.0 Background

The chapter presents difficulties experienced when implementing Christian based interventions to prevent or resolve the conflict between ethnic communities in the Njoro Sub-county. Such interventions attract diverse opinions and reactions from members of the communities, government, and non-state actors. The views affect the implementation and effectiveness of the various interventions.

There is a view among sections of the population that Christian institutions and their respective leaders are to stick to spiritual affairs.⁵⁰⁴ The ethic of love calls Christians to take action in situations where the well - being of human beings in any dimension is inhibited. It prompts actions on the part of Christians who in their teachings are to be the salt and the light of the world (Matt 5: 13-14). The call to love and to be the salt and light form a paradigm that anchors an active engagement of Christianity in humanity's affairs in social, political, and economic spheres.

Jesus propounded on love as the greatest of all the commandments. In Luke 6: 27-35 and Matt 5-43-48, he broadened the meaning and practice of love when he indicated that it needed to go beyond friends and include the embracing of the enemies. God demonstrated the depth of love when he sent his only son as atonement to become a sacrifice for the sins (John 4:9-12, John 15:9-10 and 15:12-13). Reciprocity to such a manner of love requires people to love one another.

⁵⁰⁴ Adeyemo Tonkobuh (2009). p.78.

Some Christians consider that Christianity has to actively and positively participate in the affairs of this world (John 15:9) because they are in it and are affected by what happens around them. They consider the mission of Jesus, whose ultimate aim was to make man enjoy the abundance of life (John 10:10), a justification for involvement in matters affecting man. Christians and other religious persons have a portion in the current world and should be active in its affairs the aim being the well-being of man.⁵⁰⁵

Christian interventions are to confront scriptural interpretations that can contribute to passivity. The literal interpretation of Romans 13:1 has caused some people to avoid questioning authorities that are in error rest they are found to be quizzical and disapproving of what God has found useful for his people. Similarly, those perpetuating oppressive tendencies are at peace with the text because it justifies their being in power.

Members of the community affected by interethnic conflict have expectations that Christianity will respond to their suffering. For example, they move into churches for safety during ethnic violence carrying along salvaged household items and their livestock. Amidst such expectations, it calls for Christianity's interventions towards those affected by the interethnic conflict to go beyond spiritual support and provide for material needs such as shelter, food, clothing, and medical aid.

5.1 Difficulties Experienced in Providing Christian Based Interventions

The phenomenon of people expecting Christianity to intervene when interethnic violence occurs is well understood within a historical context. Beyond offering spiritual nurture, Christian based interventions have involved response to national issues howbeit

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. p.78.

on different levels of detail at different times. There is an imprint of Christian leaders and institutions in Njoro Sub –county's and Kenya's development trajectory as a whole. They acquired a reputation in the agitations for the rights of the oppressed and became the voice of the voiceless and conscience that reverberated at the time when alternative views from that of government and the ruling party were resented.⁵⁰⁶ Some of the Christian leaders teamed up with civil societies in the 1990s to pursue the government on constitutional reforms, a remarkable achievement in the history of moral action on civil matters.⁵⁰⁷ The active involvement in the eventual constitutional making would continue until a new constitution was promulgated even though it was an anticlimax, for there was a section of Christian fraternity who held reservations on certain sections.⁵⁰⁸

The history of Kenya is such that there are historical experiences from which people understand the role of Christianity even before the recent interventions on the interethnic conflict. In the pre-independence period, Christian leaders and Christian formations that were considered friendly to the government were commended by the political administrations. The emergency of Christian institutions out of the desire to preserve traditions and customs occasionally meant opposing colonial government which attracted negative reactions.⁵⁰⁹ Such tended to foment a strained relationship with the foreign missionaries and colonial government. Though they were castigated by

⁵⁰⁶ Parsitau Damaris Seleina., "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space." Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1]

 ⁵⁰⁷ Wanyande Peter, "Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," in Wanyande P. and Okobe M.A, *Discourses on Civil Society in Kenya*, Nairobi, African Research and Resource Forum (ARRF), 2009. p.14
 ⁵⁰⁸ Greene Richard Allen,

[[]http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/africa/08/04/kenya.constitution.churches/index.html] accessed on September 4, 2018.

missionaries and colonial administration collaborators, they were convinced their struggle was genuine and in the best interest of Africans.⁵¹⁰ In the post-independence era, churches got divided into two categories. On the one hand, some were in support of the government. On the contrary, some questioned the government in power at the time for excesses and other social ills, and as a result, they were harassed, ridiculed, and abused by some operatives within state agencies and some politicians.⁵¹¹

The situation in contemporary Kenya projects a reality where some Christian leaders and Christian based institutions support the government. They work closely with politicians and governments in power, depending on their inclinations politically, morally, and ethnically. The reality makes Christian based interventions in interethnic conflict situations face myriad difficulties.

The provision of Christian based interventions in Njoro Sub-county is coupled with a range of difficulties. The difficulties emanate from within the Christians themselves, their leaders, and Christian based institutions, and also from external actors. Challenges that face Christian based interventions to mitigate interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county include the following.

5.1.1 Lack of Support from Respective Institutions

It was found out that some of the Christian leaders involved in delivering Christian based interventions do not receive support from their respective Christian institutions. Lack of much-needed support occasionally resulted from fear by the respective Christian based

 ⁵⁰⁹ Nthamburi J.Zablon, "Ecclesiology of African independent churches" in Mugambi J.N.K and Magesa Laurenti (eds), *The church in African Christianity; innovative Essays in Ecclesiology*, Nairobi, Acton publishers,1998. p.43.
 ⁵¹⁰ Ibid. p. 44

⁵¹⁰ Ibid. p. 44.

institutions that they will hurt the relationship with the government. In certain instances, some of the main leaders of Christian based institutions particularly churches had a rapport with those wielding state power and thus did not want to act in ways that exasperated them. Lack of support towards individual leaders' commitment caused some of them to work on their own without their respective institutions' support.

My church does not support the work I do to help communities cultivate harmonious coexistence. To participate in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflict in 2008-2009, I had to push it to act. The apparent reluctance is caused by views held by a section of the stakeholders within the churches that the work of clergy is the bible and the crucifix and not actively participating in helping address the challenges brought about by interethnic conflict.⁵¹²

It was also reported that in some instances the local churches within the region never receive support from their respective national or international offices.⁵¹³ The failure to draw broad-based support denies those providing interventions the backing they need. Some of the clergymen in the Sub-county stated they placed their careers on the line by defying the position held by their respective institutions.⁵¹⁴ It is the lack of support that dissuades some of them from taking part in the initiatives. Privation of internal policies or guidelines on how institutions and leaders should respond and intervene to build a culture of peace, prevent violence, and reconcile communities involved in interethnic violence reduces their effectiveness as well. The inadequacy of policies and guidelines causes some Christian based interventions to be spontaneous.

⁵¹¹ Gitari M. David and Knighton B. "On being a Christian leader: story contesting power in Kenya" p.247-248. Retrieved from [<u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/43053955?seq=1#]</u>

⁵¹² Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁵¹³ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi location, April 15, 2016.

⁵¹⁴ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

The needs for those affected by violence are whelming compared to the resources available. Displaced, traumatized, homeless, and hungry victims of the violence turn up at churches for help during the violence.⁵¹⁵ They become hopeful that churches will relieve them with food, medical, education, shelters, clothes, reconstruction of their destroyed homestead, and livelihood, which outweighs the resources that Christian based interventions have.⁵¹⁶ The resources available for Christian based interventions whenever there is interethnic violence are usually overstretched.

5.1.2 Interference by Some Politicians

A section of politicians was reported to exhibit disdain towards Christian based interventions in some instances.⁵¹⁷ Such denies those providing the interventions the needed corporation despite dedicating themselves to provide relief and participate in peace initiatives. The phenomenon aligns with the experiences in the country's modern history where occasionally, there has been open contempt and sometimes attacks on the clergy and respective institutions.⁵¹⁸ In the 1980s and 1990s, clergymen who were considered critical of the government were treated with suspicion and were considered agents of neo-colonialism supported by foreign powers.⁵¹⁹ Their mission was interpreted by those in power as being that of destabilizing the government and they were referred to as economic saboteurs the idea being reportedly to intimidate and subdue them into

⁵¹⁵ Rev.Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi location, April 15, 2016.

⁵¹⁶, Kipkalenjin, and his family, Oral interview Top Life area, Mauche April 20, 2017.

⁵¹⁷ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

⁵¹⁸ Gitari M. David and Knighton B. "On being a Christian leader: story of contesting power in Kenya" p.254. Retrieved from

[[]https://www.jstor.org/stable/43053955?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents] ⁵¹⁹ Owuoche Solomon (2010). pp.57-58.

silence. ⁵²⁰ The interference by politicians makes the interventions to build peace among communities a challenge. Political competitions and persuasions are occasionally antitheses to the efforts of building peace in Njoro Sub-county.

5.1.3 Lack of Adequate Support from the Government

The government was reported to have inadequately supported Christian based interventions, especially towards relief provision initiatives. A clergy observed;

When we are providing interventions to the victims of interethnic violence, the government watches us from far. Government officials only come to celebrate when significant achievements have been realized. They come when we have relieved the communities of the agonies associated with displacement from their homes and disruptions of their livelihoods.⁵²¹

Some clergymen indicated that they go out of their way including using their resources in providing interventions during interethnic violence. Such resources include vehicles to traverse the conflict-affected region, organizing peace meetings, and providing refreshments to the participants in peace and reconciliation forums, in addition to providing relief to those affected by the violence.⁵²² They referred to the slow relief response by the government to the affected communities. The conspicuous intervention by the government during the interethnic violence in the Sub-county was mainly the deployment of security officers in the affected areas and organizing security meetings. It is slow in responding to the immediate and pressing needs during the violence that includes food, medicine, shelter, and clothes.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Ibid pp.57-58.

⁵²¹ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Ibid.

In some instances, the government is viewed as impeding the Christian based interventions. A case in point is that of the former Catholic Bishop of Nakuru diocese, who, in his active engagement to help resolve the recurrent interethnic conflict in the region, faced hurdles from the government and the ruling party.⁵²⁴ At the height of the violence in 1992, he led a delegation to meet with the President then to implore him to intervene and stop the violence in the Rift Valley.⁵²⁵ The meeting ended without a commitment he would address the problem of the violence.⁵²⁶ It was soon after the meeting, that violence engulfed Njoro on March 18th, 1992, and has continued to recur to date.⁵²⁷ Some of the priests who had dedicated themselves to seek a solution to the ethnic fighting in Rift Valley seemingly became subject of frequent investigation and arrests.⁵²⁸ The government's indifference to the escalation of interethnic violence in the region was deafening which posed difficulties to Christian based interventions.

National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and the Catholic Episcopal Conference have been providing interventions to mitigate the effects of the violence.⁵²⁹ They are part of institutions within mainline churches that provide relief aid and talk on behalf of the victims making significant prophetic voices and conscience, particularly in the 1990s.⁵³⁰ Their involvement has occasionally contributed to strained relationships with the government.

⁵²⁴ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.95.

⁵²⁵ Ibid p.110

⁵²⁶ Ibid. p.110.

⁵²⁷ Ibid. p.111.

⁵²⁸ Ibid. p.109-112.

 ⁵²⁹ Parsitau, Damaris Seleina. "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space." p.3. Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1]
 ⁵³⁰ Ibid. 1

Some of the clergymen reportedly connived with the ruling KANU regime that was loathed by a section of the population. A case in point is where the Evangelical and Pentecostal movements praised former President Moi despite his regime being marked by glaring social, political, and economic ills. In particular, Pentecostals stood indicted for having been used to counter mainstream churches' quest for justice and accountability from the government in Kenya.⁵³¹

Christian leaders' and their institutions' role of keeping the government in check and calling it to be accountable was considered to have taken a different turn in 2002 during the transition from Moi to Kibaki presidency.⁵³² Former President Kibaki and his colleagues in opposition had worked alongside Christian leaders and institutions in pushing for reforms on various social, economic, and religious issues. Kibaki's assumption of power presented a dilemma to them on how to maintain the camaraderie they had formed with opposition leaders now in government and on the other hand, play their role of giving prophetic voices.⁵³³ The opposition sought religious officials' help when they were jailed, cramped down, and suppressed by the KANU regime.⁵³⁴ It would be considered that having had a relationship for almost two decades working for reforms and defeat of the KANU regime, Christian based responses seemed unsure of how to hold NARC government that assumed power in 2002 accountable.

The aforementioned context made Christian based interventions during the postelection violence of 2007/2008 a daunting task. Leadership for Christian institutions would not manage to authoritatively and jointly address the interethnic violence that

⁵³¹ Ibid. p.5

⁵³² Ibid. p.5

⁵³³ Ibid. p.6.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. p.6.

almost brought down the fabric of the nation. While some Christian leaders and institutions were credited for pushing for accountability, others demonstrated indifference while some supported government regimes even when it was obvious such regimes were either in support or apathetic to the interethnic violence.

5.1.4 Lack of Cooperation among Providers of Christian Based Interventions

Christian based interventions to the interethnic conflict have had to grapple with a seeming lack of cooperation amongst leaders and institutions involved leading to fragmented initiatives.⁵³⁵ Such is partly fuelled by denominational difference with a case in point being between Pentecostal churches and the Roman Catholic Church in the area.⁵³⁶ The doctrinal difference affects cooperation in relief and peace work. The Likia and Beyond Peace and Reconciliation, for example, had no representative from the Roman Catholic Church which instead had opted to respond to the conflict through the Catholic Peace and Justice Commission.⁵³⁷

The denominational differences seemed to deny Christian based interventions opportunities of collaboration in relief work and pro-activeness to prevent the occurrence of violence among communities. The strength through synergy among denominations is inhibited as a result. The initiatives are seemingly scattered within the Sub-county and with limited impact. Much more would be achieved if the disjointed efforts were pulled together. Likia and Beyond Peace and Reconciliation seemed to offer a ray of hope for cooperation and collaboration in providing the necessary interventions to those affected,

⁵³⁵ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁵³⁶ Parsitau, Damaris Seleina. "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space." p.3. Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1].

⁵³⁷ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia Location,

resolving the conflict, and preventing future occurrences. It had managed to bring together twenty five members of the clergy drawn from different churches.⁵³⁸

5.1.5 Slow Decision-making Process in Mainstream Churches

Christian based interventions are reported to face problems emanating from the decision-making processes enshrined in the hierarchy of various church institutions. The structure of leadership in different churches determines the time taken to make decisions and act when interethnic violence occurs. In mainstream churches that include the Anglican Church of Kenya, Roman Catholic Church, and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa decisions to respond take a longer time because of the various levels of approval required.⁵³⁹ The mainstream churches were indicated to be majorly affected by what was considered a lengthy decision-making process.⁵⁴⁰ Efforts to work together among churches and even with civil society face difficulties because some among the clergy in Njoro Sub-county cannot abide by decisions made at the local level until they receive approvals.⁵⁴¹ They have to receive approvals from their senior officials, some of whom are based outside the Sub-county and with limited understanding of the intricacies of interethnic conflict in the region. One clergyman observed;

Some mainstream churches will not take action until it is approved within the church hierarchy, and by so doing, they slow corporate response in times of crisis. Relief does not have to wait for approvals by committees from the headquarters, some of which are based outside the region. Interethnic violence comes with emergencies, and action

April 16, 2016

⁵³⁸ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁵³⁹ Rev. Paul Rono Lago, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016.

 ⁵⁴⁰ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.
 ⁵⁴¹ Ibid

must be taken instantaneously. In times of violence, people are hungry, have no shelter, no clothes, no medication, and all that is needed promptly which has not been the case with some of the churches.⁵⁴²

The pentecostal and charismatic churches considered themselves as having swiftness to act during the violence since they aren't subject to lengthy decision-making processes. They argued that, unlike the mainstream churches, they can respond to interethnic conflict expeditiously, thus offering much-needed relief. Occasionally, some do not receive support from the Christian churches they belong to.⁵⁴³ Lack of support leaves some of those providing the interventions on their own exposing them to fatigue, feelings of isolation, demotivation, and at risk of losing their job.⁵⁴⁴

5.1.6 Lack of Adequate Training

Some of the persons providing Christian based interventions lack adequate training on how to respond to interethnic violence. Lack of skills and knowledge underutilized the potential of the Christian leaders and their institutions.⁵⁴⁵ Pentecostal and charismatic churches were pointed out as particularly having challenges from within that related to their governance attributed to lack of skills. ⁵⁴⁶ Such had led to divisions among the followers hence denying them an opportunity to be a reflection of love and peacemakers in the region. The internal wrangles had seen some churches in the region such as Full Gospel Churches of Kenya, a Pentecostal church with a significant following from across ethnic communities in the region split up. An informant observed;

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ a family of Kalenjin ethnicity, Oral interview, Mosop, April 26, 2016

⁵⁴⁴ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

⁵⁴⁵ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

Pentecostal and Charismatic churches have a huge problem. Some of the founders have not been trained. They are *alpha* and *Omega* in terms of making decisions, notwithstanding the lack of clear governance structures in some churches. They force decisions, some of which aren't popular and hence lack support by a section of the followers. ⁵⁴⁷

Lack of skills among those providing interventions makes them inadequate to sustainably nurture a culture of co-existence and tolerance among communities. Insufficient or lack of theological training hinders the immense possibilities of applying Christianity's insights to address the inherent conflict. Such encumbers effective interventions because it deprives individuals and churches of the opportunity to work and learn from each other.

Training is essential in assisting the leaders to address the sensitive issue of interethnic conflict. It is equally necessary to equip them with skills on how to navigate the politics of ethnicity and help them remain neutral without expressing their political preferences.⁵⁴⁸ The group of twenty five clergymen that was actively involved in conflict prevention and reconciliation admittedly had no training on conflict resolution and peacebuilding process by the time of conducting the study.⁵⁴⁹ They only relied on the bible to provide their response. There were ostensible complaints from the community about the leaders' lack of training and skills.⁵⁵⁰ The interethnic conflict has complexities because it is multilayered and without the requisite skills, the Christian based approach would not be sufficiently compelling.

⁵⁴⁷ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

⁵⁵⁰ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

5.1.7 Loss of Hope in Peace Efforts within affected Communities

A section of the community found the reconciliation and conflict resolution intended by Christian leaders untenable. Bringing people together who know their neighbor from the other ethnic community has ever killed or maimed their loved one was pointed out to be a hard task.⁵⁵¹ The fact that violent episodes are marked by maiming, killing, and destruction of property by apparent neighbors makes it difficult to reunite them. Victims mentioned that they knew some of the individuals who burnt their houses or even killed or inflicted injury. The conflicts had occurred in a span spreading over two decades and people were hurting and with no in-depth approach to reconciliation, some were harboring persistent bitterness.⁵⁵² Loss of hope in reconciliation had made wellintended Christian based initiatives a daunting task.

5.1.8 Staff Transfers from their Work Stations

The management of staff offering Christian based interventions was found to have a bearing on efforts to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict in the Sub-county. A concern was raised about routine transfers of leaders, a common phenomenon in mainstream churches, and especially in the Roman Catholic Church, Presbyterian Church of East Africa, Africa Inland Church, and Anglican Church of Kenya⁵⁵³. The transfers affect the continuity of peace work and related conflict mitigation efforts. Usually, staff posted to the region take a while to build rapport and eventual trust with community members before they start to engage in the sensitive matter of interethnic violence.

⁵⁵¹ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

⁵⁵² Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

⁵⁵³ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

When staff are frequently transferred as part of staff management by their employing bodies, there are challenges associated with newly posted personnel continuing with the interventions. Introducing a new staff in the region, especially around violent periods, slows down efficiency in providing interventions because communities take time to trust the newly posted staff, especially where they did not come from their own ethnic community.⁵⁵⁴ Closely associated is the reported lack of proper handover during the transfers that create difficulties for the incoming staff to continue the ongoing initiatives.⁵⁵⁵ Such leads to a loss of valuable time in the peace and reconciliation process. Staff posted do not have equal measure of interest on peace matters which causes some of the initiatives to fizzle out as soon the initiating or implementing staff is transferred.

5.1.9 Ethnic Identities

The ethnicity of a particular official or that of the head of a Christian based institution was found to affect their involvement in providing interventions.⁵⁵⁶ While some were considered to have developed trust across ethnic communities over time, the effectiveness of any intervention was significantly determined by their ethnic identity. In certain instances, some communities complained that there were Christian leaders who perpetuated ethnic biases in their mitigation initiatives.⁵⁵⁷ As it was found out, such mainly was demonstrated through open biases in providing relief services and identifying individuals within the community to participate in the peace process.

⁵⁵⁴ Rev. Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.

⁵⁵⁵ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁵⁵⁶ Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016

⁵⁵⁷ Kipkalenjin, and his family, Oral interview, Top Life area, Mauche April 20, 2017.

Incidences of some of the Christian leaders reportedly participating in the actual violence were raised. An informant reported a case where he identified his pastor armed with a bow and arrows. He called him; "brother" and his pastor replied, *huu sio wakati wa kuitana ndugu* (this is not the time to call each brother).⁵⁵⁸ The pastor meant the faith that identified them as Christians, and hence brothers in the Christian faith did not count during the time of interethnic violence. To the priest and his follower, they were on a battlefield to fight and defend their respective ethnic groups. It was time for war, and hence Christian values of brotherhood were not applicable.

People, at times, retreat to their ethnic cocoons and even become hostile and participate in violence against their fellow church members which discourages the residents. Their hope is dashed when they see their priests coming after them with weapons ready not only to loot and destroy property but also to maim or kill them.⁵⁵⁹

Some of the clergy not only abetted the violence but also sanctioned it through prayers. They were enablers and motivators of the warriors which compromised the credibility of their acclaimed status as arbiters and their prophetic voices.

Ethnic allegiance can, at times, outweigh that of religion. People happen to feel more attached to their ethnic affiliations compared to religious affiliations.

The cultural or ethnic expectations could easily outweigh those of other religions or adherents of the same religion could find that they are different from each other, or there are differences between them because of their cultural background, which can easily be interpreted as ethnocentrism.⁵⁶⁰

The idealism of brotherhood through faith, which would supersede the ethnic allegiances, seemed not to help ethnic communities embrace peaceful co-existence. In

⁵⁵⁸ George Karanja and his family, Oral interview, Likia, April 18, 2016.

⁵⁵⁹ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

certain congregations, the leadership failed to reflect the ethnic diversity of the region. ⁵⁶¹ The fact that in certain churches' leadership was drawn from only one ethnic group was one source of ethnic related resentments. Trust of such institutions to equitably distribute relief and other incentives to caution the victims of interethnic was held in doubt by a section of the community.

Cases of laity having difficulties in trusting a leader from a different ethnicity emerged. While, in some instances, Christian leaders would fully and genuinely commit themselves to provide help to the community, they incidentally found it hard to be embraced by all communities contributing to situations of the leaders not having the support of those they purported to serve⁵⁶². A government administrator noted these occurred because there was suspicion among the communities.⁵⁶³ When Christian leaders were posted in the area, some had difficulties being accepted by the congregants they were sent to serve because of their ethnicity. They grappled with suspicion, particularly if they were from an ethnic community considered antagonistic by the other.⁵⁶⁴

Part of the clergy was indicted for spreading ethnic hatred among communities. A case was referred to of a pastor who, in a public meeting at Roda area, said, "*Nyinyi wa Kikuyu ni wanjinga sana, mukipata pesa hamjali kuhusu wengine*" (you Kikuyu are very foolish because when you make money, you don't mind about others). Though it was a peace meeting, the Kikuyu took offense over the unkind remark and left.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁰ Getui, Mary (2009). p.48.

⁵⁶¹ Rev. Paul Rono, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016

⁵⁶² Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia Location, April 19, 2016.

⁵⁶³ Area Chief, Mauche location, Oral interview, May 1, 2016.

⁵⁶⁴ A family from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral interview, Sululu, July 20, 2017.

⁵⁶⁵ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

The expectation of people for Christian leaders is one of conciliation and unity and utterances that bordered on dividing communities seemed to erode their credibility.

A compounding problem was marked by the existence of churches that were dominated by one ethnic community. Right from the clergy to the laity, such churches had a majority of the members drawn from one community. In such scenarios, integration, even within churches, was inhibited. The language of the dominant ethnic group would be considered the acceptable means of communication, thus excluding the rest. Members of minority ethnic groups in some locations had difficulties finding churches to worship because of apparent exclusion based on the language. The phenomenon has part of its roots in the colonial period. When missionary organizations arrived, there emerged competition among missionaries to evangelize some of the geographical areas.⁵⁶⁶ Missionaries demarcated and allocated themselves various locations to resolve the competition. The church that resulted from the arrangement comprised of members from the dominant ethnic group in a given geographical area.⁵⁶⁷ The subsequent growth and development of missionary work, including leadership development, saw the continuity of ethnic composition. Subsequently, ethnic inclined churches became a common characteristic.⁵⁶⁸ These churches include the Presbyterian Church of East Africa among the Kikuyu ethnic community, the Seventh-day Adventist Church among Kisii ethnic community, Friends Church among Luhya, among others.

 ⁵⁶⁶ Gathogo, Julius. "The early attempts at ecumenical cooperation in East Africa: the case of the Kikuyu conference of 1913". Retrieved from [<u>http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/4636]</u>
 ⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Getui, Mary (2009), p.49.

As missionaries spread their work and got Christianity entrenched in African religious life, Africans expressed concerns over what they felt were misgivings, among them being seemingly cooperation between the missionaries and colonial administration.⁵⁶⁹ Significantly, missionaries were preparing the population for the new era that was marked by exploitation of the resources in Africa by the settlers and traders.⁵⁷⁰ To Africans such cooperation implied connivance between the two. They accused them of failing to condemn the atrocities committed by the colonial administrators. Africans also weren't comfortable with what they felt was an unfair condemnation of their culture and one of their reactions to missionary antics was the initiation of churches by Africans themselves. Such churches advanced not only the Christian faith but integrated the African culture in their practice of Christianity.⁵⁷¹

The cultural orientation within the African initiated churches led to forming of churches with membership from one ethnic group. Such churches would remain mainly confined to specific geographical areas and dominated by ethnic groups dominant in a given region. An example within Njoro Sub-county was the Akorino, which by the time of the study, had predominantly Kikuyu ethnic community followers. There seem to be limitations in such churches of adapting and embracing membership from other ethnic communities. Considering the social dimension of religion, increased interactions between persons within churches portends positive progress towards interethnic relationships. Such can significantly address the challenge of feeling disfranchised along the ethnic prism that hasn't been the case in the Sub-county.

⁵⁶⁹ Adrian Hastings, African Christianity, London, Cassell and Collier Macmillan publishers Ltd, 1976.p.82.

⁵⁷⁰ Mugambi Jessee, African Heritage and contemporary Christianity, Nairobi, Longman Kenya Ltd, Nairobi, 1989. p.17.

In 2008, part of the clergy and Christian based institutions were accused of biases and divisions along the ethnic lines and contributing to the subsequent violence that went down the history of modern Kenya.⁵⁷² Instances of churches fuelling ethnic antagonism were identified in what was termed as ethnicization of the pulpit.⁵⁷³ During national election campaigns, candidates ethnically allied to that of leaders of the respective churches would be welcomed in church gatherings to campaign for various positions, but similar requests by those considered not to belong ethnically were rejected. These actions depreciated Christian leaders' standing, making them almost helpless in the face of the daunting task of reconciling Kenyans when interethnic violence erupted. Churches that previously were places of refuge turned into battlefields and killings of innocent people in the post-election violence of 2008.⁵⁷⁴ Among stakeholders, some are of the view that members of the clergy were to be approached cautiously because they have set a precedence of contributing to ethnic violence in the region.

> Many people felt that the Christian faith had had very little impact on how Kenyans lived with each other, notwithstanding the popular notion that many Christians preached water and drank wine during the clashes. That they were hypocrites and that many did not practice what they preached to the congregations.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷¹ Ibid. p.49

⁵⁷² Parsitau, Damaris Seleina., "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space." p.3_Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1].

⁵⁷³ Mbuthia Moses, *Oral interview*, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

⁵⁷⁴ Parsitau, Damaris Seleina. "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space." Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1]

⁵⁷⁵ Nyukuri, Barasa Kundu (1997), p.21.

Towards the general election in 2007, there were misgivings on the role of religion. Several Christian Churches were seen as being partisan along ethnic lines affecting their role of preaching peace and reconciling warring communities before, during, and immediately after the violence.⁵⁷⁶. The tribal bug had caught the clergy, a situation that later confronted the credibility of Christian based interventions to firmly speak as a united voice when violence erupted in 2008.⁵⁷⁷

Churches were caught in partisan politics by expressing their preferred presidential candidates according to geographical and ethnic boundaries.⁵⁷⁸ In the face of political competition, the clergy was no longer a trustworthy lot occasioning the burning down of over 300 churches, an indictment on the church and other Christian based institutions.⁵⁷⁹

A section of the Christian leaders expressed fear for their lives as they worked with different ethnic communities because they too were victims of ethnic profiling. Their ethnic identities were used as a factor in determining their acceptability by the communities. In such a premise, ethnic identity would, in certain circumstances, aggravate non-cooperation, attacks, and even rejection by congregants. They also expressed backlash from their respective communities who branded them traitors for reaching out to members of other communities who were considered enemies.⁵⁸⁰ It was required of the clergy by the respective communities they pledge allegiance to their ethnic community before committing to serve the rest. A clergyman from the Kalenjin ethnic community reported having been threatened by his tribesmen. He recalled;

⁵⁷⁶ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.102.

⁵⁷⁷ Gifford Paul (1997). p.4.

⁵⁷⁸ Kilonzo, Susan (2009). p.102.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid p.120.

I received a letter to the effect that I was a traitor. Those who brought it said they were going to kill me. But I held firm. I read them a scripture in Rev 21:8ff, and I told them that cowards and idolaters will all be locked together and that I didn't fear death for standing in solidarity with victims of violence irrespective of their ethnic orientation.⁵⁸¹

Church buildings belonging to those aligned with the opposing ethnic group would be burnt down during the violence. Churches are sacred places, and the fact they were burnt down made people feel as though God had forsaken them.⁵⁸² The laity also accused some within the clergy of causing interethnic tensions and mistrust.⁵⁸³ Such made it difficult for some of the clergymen who genuinely offered to support victims of ethnic violence.⁵⁸⁴

5.1.10 Inadequate Financial Resources

Christian based interventions encounter inadequate financial resources to meet the costs incurred in their efforts to address interethnic conflict. Christian leaders whose respective institutions do not support their initiatives decried that they occasionally spent their resources. One of the leaders commented, "When leaders who are responding to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict yet they live in poverty and have no appropriate support, they become ineffective."⁵⁸⁵ Financial inadequacy constrains them from effectively responding to the crisis of conflict.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁰ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

⁵⁸¹ Rev. Paul Rono Lago, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016.

⁵⁸² Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.

⁵⁸³ Waihenya Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia (2009), p.125.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid p.108.

⁵⁸⁵ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview Likia, April 19, 2016.

⁵⁸⁶ A family of Kalenjin ethnicity, Oral interview, Mosop, April 21, 2017.

There exists mistrust among those providing Christian based interventions particularly on the distribution of some resources from the donors or government.⁵⁸⁷ In reality, there appears to be a lack of trust among them. A section of the members of society complained that some of the people providing interventions benefitted themselves at the expense of the communities they purported to represent. A community member commented, "They use the opportunity to enrich themselves just like some NGOs and some untrustworthy government officials. They prey on our predicament."⁵⁸⁸ Some genuinely live in poverty, making them vulnerable to temptations of using the donations meant to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict for personal gain.⁵⁸⁹ There was a view that some do not participate in the relief work genuinely and that others have questionable moral standing with one resident commenting, "Some of these people are crooks who take advantage of the interethnic violence to enrich selves through donations that they are given to help the victims of interethnic conflict."⁵⁹⁰

The way representatives in peace and reconciliation forums are selected is queried by some community members who consider some of the representatives as being of questionable moral standing bringing disaffection among the population they purport to speak and act on behalf. A section of communities considers that the government and other agencies handpick such representatives for relief distribution, reconciliation, and peacebuilding activities without consulting them.⁵⁹¹ The community implied it would be glad to be involved in recommending representatives who they consider to be morally upright and with charisma to participate in the interventions.

⁵⁸⁷ Kipkalenjin, and his family, Oral interview, top life area, Mauche April 20, 2017

⁵⁸⁸ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

⁵⁸⁹ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

5.1.11 "Prophets" and "Prophetesses"

The community took issue with the existence of some individuals who branded themselves as Christian "prophets" and "prophetesses". Such persons occasionally purported to deliver God's message that implied impending interethnic violence creating anxiety among ethnic communities.

Some people purport to be prophets and prophetesses. They come to the weekly market days that take place in various shopping centers in the Sub-county where they pronounce impending violence. They argue that such pronouncements are to warn residents of the associated interruptions and therefore prompt them to seek God's help through praying. Sometimes they announce that inter-ethnic violence is imminent. Their frequent pronouncements contribute to the continuity of interethnic mistrust and fear and such significantly keep interethnic violence in abeyance.⁵⁹²

The above view which was expressed by a section of communities in Njoro Subcounty reflects a phenomenon that is perpetuated by some Christian leaders from some of the denominations in Kenya. Before the infamous 2007-2008 post-election violence, there emerged differing prophecies from a section of Christian leaders that included pronouncement of winners and even anointing them with oil that further aggravated the ethnic tense situation.⁵⁹³ Prophecies on who would be winners raised the hope of the respective supporters, and the converse results against these prophesy caused desperation and which contributed to violence around the electioneering period of 2007.⁵⁹⁴ Such

⁵⁹⁰ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia Location, April 19, 2016.

⁵⁹³ Parsitau, Damaris Seleina., "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space." Retrieved from http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1 p.5

⁵⁹⁴ Kilonzo Susan (2009). p.102.

illustrates the culpability of some of the denominations and their respective leaders in causing mistrust and hatred which contributes to the conflicts among ethnic communities in the Sub-county.

5.1.12 Associating Christian Based Interventions with Non-Governmental

Organizations' Activities.

There is a perspective that there exists no difference between Christian based interventions and those of other non-governmental organizations in the handling of relief and other mitigation measures. The clergy in the area often get involved in assisting NGOs to profile those who need help in the community after interethnic violence. The exercise includes writing down their names and sometimes taking their pictures with a promise the list would be used to allocate donations at a later date, but often, it does not happen. Some of the promises they make are never delivered which reportedly taints the credibility of the involved clergy and their respective institution.⁵⁹⁵ Community members suspect them of diverting relief aid thereby affecting their credibility as leaders.

5.2 Conclusion

Christian-based interventions face the need to respond to interethnic violence, a recurrent phenomenon in Njoro Sub-county and its effects on communities. Their interventions encounter various difficulties that include lack of moral and material support, insensitive transfers of personnel sometimes without proper handover, and interethnic mistrust. Lack of unity resulting from doctrinal differences and, at times, over dominating leaders in the intervention initiatives causes tension, suspicion, and

⁵⁹⁵ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

mistrust.⁵⁹⁶ Some Christian leaders occasionally struggle to earn trust from some community members who consider their involvement as being motivated by self-aggrandizement. The view occurs against a backdrop of some of the leaders' tendency to benefit themselves from the donations given out for communities affected by violence. Such attracts resentments that make their work be treated cautiously by the members of ethnic communities.

The training of the leaders providing Christian-based interventions on conflict resolution and peacebuilding is not adequate. Lack of appropriate and in some instances adequate training and skills affects their capacity to serve the community in the context of interethnic conflict effectively. While the government acknowledges Christian based interventions have a role in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts, it is, on some occasions, considered an impediment when it sidelines or perpetrates harassment. A similar challenge also applies to politicians who are indicted for instigating communities against Christian based interventions they consider opposed to them and a hindrance to their political pursuits.

The issue of earning trust in a divided society is a challenge to Christian leaders and their respective institutions. They occasionally align themselves with their ethnic community when the situation demands they be neutral in the interest of their congregations in the multiethnic region. Incidentally, some denominations are dominated by one ethnic group, including the leadership creating a sense of exclusion of certain ethnic communities within the sub-county.

⁵⁹⁶ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

A section of the population within the communities in this region observes that those picked from Christian based institutions do not represent them and are not necessarily their choice.

Such implies the communities occasionally are denied an opportunity to select Christian leaders they desire to represent them in various forums organized by state and non-state actors. Based on the foregoing, Christian-based interventions face myriad difficulties that require consideration in the ongoing commitment to creating a culture of peace among the communities.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The main objective of the research was to investigate and document Christian based interventions in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts on communities in Njoro Sub-county. The Sub-county is one of the regions in Kenya that frequently experience interethnic violence. The chapter presents a summary of the findings on the causes of the conflict and the effects on communities. It further synopsizes the role of Christian based interventions to mitigate the effects of the conflict on the population.

6.1 The Effect of Interethnic Conflicts on Communities

Despite the multifaceted causes of the interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county, ethnicity plays a compounding role. Among the causes of the conflict are the differing claims on land ownership. The Kalenjin ethnic community considered the land in the region to have been historically theirs during the pre-colonial period. Colonial administration dispossessed them and after Kenya gained independence their ownership was never reinstated. The Kikuyu instead settled on the land giving rise to what some members of Kalenjin ethnic community, interpret to be a historical injustice. On contrary, the Kikuyu and other ethnic communities who are settled in the Sub-county assert that they bought the land and therefore they are entitled to the ownership as guaranteed by the Kenyan Constitution. The issue of the Mauche Settlement Scheme, which was distributed to Kipsigis, a sub-tribe of Kalenjin ethnic community after it was hived from Mau Forest, is contested and was identified as one of the causes of the conflict. Members of the Kikuyu ethnic community insist it was a forest reserve and that it needs to be repossessed to preserve the environment. The Ogiek community expressed discontent over the settlement of Kipsigis on East Mau, a land they consider to be historically theirs. They explain that it is a result of the apparent forest occupation that the area had witnessed increased periods of drought, increased livestock theft in the area, and increasant interethnic conflict. The view by some members of Kikuyu and Ogiek communities has continued to irk members of the Kalenjin ethnic community. The positions held by ethnic communities concerning land ownership are part of the factors that sustain the interethnic conflict. Politicians use the disputed landownership statuses during election campaigns, further aggravating ethnic tensions which occasionally degenerate into violence.

Politics and politicians are a part of the causes of conflict. The ethnicity of the political office holder is viewed by a section of the population to have benefits and being a source of pride for the respective ethnic community. Resources from the government to the constituents are deemed to benefit more those of the community to which the political leader belongs. Such leads to the use of ethnicity as a factor in mobilizing votes also polarize the communities along ethnic lines.

There is pronounced ethnocentrism in which case individuals primarily identify themselves with their communities to the extent that supersedes other forms of associations. Ethnocentrism affects harmonious interethnic coexistence within the region. Social and cultural tensions are rife, promoting a situation of interethnic tensions that occasionally degenerates into open violence.

The population density in the area is remarkably high, stretching the available resources. One of the resultants is ethnic strife driven by the competition to access meager resources such as land and water. With dwindling resources and subsequent adverse effects on livelihoods, a section of the population struggles to access basic needs and education. Criminal activities associated with increasing poverty and shrinking sources of livelihoods, such as stealing farm produce and livestock theft, occasionally assume an ethnic dimension and spiral into interethnic violence.

Cases of maiming and killings, burning down homesteads, and increased poverty levels for individuals and families affected occurred during the violence. Displacement of the population that happens when interethnic violence occurs interrupts people's livelihood. It does as well strain families and marriages, especially when individuals are separated from each other during the crisis. Children suffer too when occasionally their education is disrupted by interethnic violence. Population health is compromised when health facilities are looted during the violence. Those seeking medical services encounter difficulties seeking medical because transport is interrupted during the violence. Exposure to harsh weather, especially when people sleep in the cold after displacement from their homes increases illnesses. Displacement of a section of the population before or during national and local elections denies people the opportunity to vote. A section of the population resents the government that it deems indifferent to the violence, and some of the residents consider that different regimes have aided the recurrent interethnic violence. Though the conflict has bogged the area, there is notable resilience among the communities. The continued interethnic conflict has not succeeded in completely forcing out entirely any of the communities from the Sub-county. Each community has stayed put with the claimant of being rightfully and legally in the region. It is noting that individuals and families in the region claim to have no alternative location to relocate to. Their attempts to trace their kin in their native land reportedly attract resistance from relatives, thus creating intra-ethnic conflict.

6.2 Christian Based Interventions to Mitigate the Effects of Interethnic Conflict

Christian based interventions have involved providing relief services to the victims that include clothing, food, and medicine. Facilities such as church structures serve as safe places when people get displaced from their homes by violence. The interventions occasionally help families whose homesteads are gutted down to reconstruct. The interventions also include engaging the government to address the conflict. Further, some of the Christian leaders provide information that is useful in resolving interethnic violence.

Biblical and theological teachings are utilized in peace and reconciliation initiatives. Christian based initiatives organize peace and reconciliation meetings independently or in conjunction with the government and other non-state actors. Preaching love, peace, and unity in interethnic interactions through their respective churches or social gatherings, including worship services, weddings, and burial ceremonies, are included in their roles. Pastoral counseling and praying for the affected are part of Christian based response.

6.3 Factors influencing Christian Based Interventions

Various factors influence Christian-based responses to the effects of interethnic conflict. Among them are the Christian beliefs and teachings that provide a spectrum from which those involved draw their motivation.

One factor is the ethics of love through which they contemplate that it is God's will for people to live in a situation of loving others including enemies and being loved as well (Luke 6:27-36). There is a Christian perspective that considers all human beings as bearers of the image of God, the sacredness of life, and shared origin because they all have their source in Adam and Eve (Gen 2:4ff). They share a lineage irrespective of their ethnic identities.

According to Christian teachings, followers are to be the salt and the light of the world which implies being good examples (Matt 5:13-16). In the context of interethnic conflict, they are to be active in seeking truth and reconciliation and help communities live together. God has charged the clergy to be stewards of what belongs to Him. They are to take care of them even during difficult circumstances such as those brought about by ethnic conflict (John 21:17). Among the victims of the interethnic conflict are members of Christian denominations in the region, and therefore some clergymen assume the obligation of supporting them.

6.4 Challenges that affect Christian based interventions

In Njoro Sub-county, communities have some misgivings about Christian based interventions. A section of the community observed that there existed biases based on ethnic identities when distributing relief aid and also when supporting politicians and political aspirants who frequent church gatherings to seek votes. Church leadership that is not representative of ethnic diversities of the respective congregations also presents difficulties for Christian leaders. Such ethnic biases create difficulties in trust-building with some members of the communities concluding that the interventions are discriminatory.

There are also perceptions that the clergy had failed in several critical moments to confront some government officials and politicians contribute to the profiling of communities along ethnic lines. Providers of interventions who questions the government's and the politicians' indifference to the conflict are at times subjected to physical and verbal threats. Wrangles among churches in the region negatively affect Christian based interventions and deny them the opportunity to work together and have a joint representation to demand action by duty bearers against the recurrent interethnic violence. In some instances, a clergy who is easily accepted by members of his or her ethnic community faces difficulties in building trust across communities.

Ethnic communities censured the existence of individuals who referred to themselves as the "prophets" and "prophetesses". Such individuals pronounce that there is impending interethnic violence. They are viewed as an impediment to peace and harmony in the region because when their messages escalate, fear and tension between ethnic communities heighten. The messages curtail interactions and activities across communities when people live in anticipation of violence, which has been foretold by these individuals. The persons providing interventions have inadequate training on conflict prevention and resolution in an interethnic context, a limitation that affects their interventions.

6.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

The interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county is sustained by underlying factors that include contested land ownership, political context, and perceived skewed allocation of national resources. It is further sustained by social-cultural tensions, population increase, poverty, and livestock theft. The factors largely remain unresolved, presenting a chance for interethnic conflict to thrive and continued interruptions of people's lives in the Sub-county.

The government has had various interventions to address the interethnic conflict which include the deployment of extra security officers during the violent period and the building of more police posts and stations. Through government security committees at various levels, recommendations and actions have been taken to resolve the conflict. High-ranking government officials including former President Moi and ministers of security in successive governments have visited the area to seek reconciliation among warring communities. A commission to carry out a judicial inquiry into the conflict was appointed by the president in 1998. The government through legislation has institutions among them National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) mandated to reconcile and prevent conflict occurrences besides working with various like-minded stakeholders. The communities considered that the government interventions were concentrated more on stopping violence and less on resolving the causes of conflict and building sustainable peace in the region.

There is a lack of vibrancy in seeking sustainable peace during the non-violent period. Efforts by various stakeholders to support ethnic communities build sustainable coexistence fizzle out when violent moments recede. Failure to address causes of interethnic conflict vanquishes the prospect of settling the recurrent conflict.⁵⁹⁷ Peace initiatives need to be continuous with dialogue for peace among communities residing in the Sub-county taking place in a structured way as part of enhancing proactivity in interethnic conflict prevention and peacebuilding.⁵⁹⁸

Christian based interventions are valuable in seeking a solution to the constant interethnic conflicts. It behooves various actors in peacebuilding and security to appreciate that Christian beliefs and practices influence society. The influence has the potential to impact social, economic, political, and religious action while seeking to resolve the recurrent interethnic conflict. The entire Kenyan population has 85% professing Christian faith, 11% Muslims, while Hindus, traditionalists, and other religions constitute 0.017%.⁵⁹⁹ From the statistics, religion has a significant influence on over 97% of the population. Such offers a valuable platform from which the actions to resolve interethnic conflict and foster peaceful coexistence can be articulated.

Situational ethics, as elucidated through Christian faith, form a significant base for action towards interethnic conflict. It envisions a state where decisions are influenced by love.⁶⁰⁰ Showing love amid ethnic tensions and mistrust means embracing others of different ethnicities and bearing forbearance and hence respecting diversity. Christianity implores its followers to practice biblical teachings about the love and brotherhood of all people.⁶⁰¹ Such would help adherents of different ethnicities accommodate each other.

⁵⁹⁷ An elder from Kalenjin community, Oral interview, Mauche, April 27, 2016.⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

 ⁵⁹⁹ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, "2019 Kenya Population, and Housing Census November 2019 Volume I: Population by County and Sub-County." p.402
 ⁶⁰⁰ Fletcher, Joseph.

⁶⁰¹A family from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral interview, Mauche, April 20, 2016.

Christian based interventions have an opportunity through their leaders to stand against ethnic divisiveness. As spiritual leaders, their followers are drawn from various ethnicities and are expected to show impartiality. The fact that some leaders stand accused of biases based on ethnicity is sacrilege to Christian leadership's teachings. They are workers for God who are serving men, and as such, they are mandated to demonstrate stewardship. All people belong to God, irrespective of their ethnicity, and bear the image of God. They resemble him, and they are to be served and respected equally.

The suffering occasioned by interethnic conflict on individuals and communities is a deviation from abundant life as envisioned by Christian teachings (John 10:10). It is an affront to the sanctity of human life, the economy, social relations, and political affiliations. The Christian based interventions have the responsibility of actively participating in the efforts towards resolving the conflict in Njoro Sub-county while ensuring inclusivity in the process.⁶⁰²

Anchoring interventions in the bible and Christian theology is valuable because peacemaking has biblical founding.⁶⁰³ Based on authority ascribed to Christian text by the followers, it can likely propel people to become more proactive and make it gain wider acceptance and support. Christian leaders and in particular clergy wield influence and infrastructure valuable in mitigating the interethnic conflict. Training them to address the intricacies of interethnic conflict is necessary for improving their effectiveness. Equipping the personnel providing interventions with the necessary skills is paramount

 ⁶⁰² Bishop Abraham Gitu, interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.
 ⁶⁰³Ibid.

because it will accord them the requisite competencies to respond to the interethnic conflict and the related violence within the region.

The conflict requires the pro-activeness of the government as well. It is mandated with the task of safeguarding the future from endemic ethnic hatred and therefore saving future generations from falling into the same quandary. The focus would therefore include re-evaluating policies, which at times are perceived to contribute to the conflict. It is recommended that the government works toward winning the people's confidence in its actions of resolving the conflict. Distribution of resources such as NCDF and jobs require fair distribution to reach even the marginalized groups and enhance inclusivity.⁶⁰⁴ Sections of the youth population who are mainly used to carrying out violence in the region require empowerment to help them make the right choices and be active participants toward peace.⁶⁰⁵ The youth further need to be dissocialized from land ownership narratives that contribute to the recurrent interethnic conflicts. Such will contribute towards mitigating the conflict occurrences in the Njoro Sub-county.

Communities require to be supported through initiatives that will assist them to jettison the apparent mistrust and tensions and cultivate mutual relationships across ethnicities. Such would include possibilities of increased intermarriages, which were viewed as one of the suitable means of supporting interethnic relations. An informant observed that the church needed to build on biblical teachings to help create and nurture intermarriages between ethnic groups.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁴ Muritu Waiguru, headteacher and a community leader, Oral interview, Likia, April 16, 2016.

⁶⁰⁵ Bishop Abraham Gitu, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.

⁶⁰⁶ Mbuthia Moses, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.

The future has prospects of full integration as children get born and brought up in interethnic marriages. They are likely to have a more positive perspective for persons of different ethnicities and gradually cultivate integrative relationships that would reduce the existing interethnic suspicion and mistrust. Investing in education is critical in overcoming ethnocentrism. The community commended schools for opening doors to different integration.⁶⁰⁷ students of ethnicities hence contributing towards Education offers valuable opportunities for young people to embrace each other for the sake of future relations. Children are cautious of their peers from different ethnic communities and they too would benefit from interventions that would cultivate interethnic integration. Setting up conventional social institutions like schools where children from all ethnic communities significantly interact will help improve relations.⁶⁰⁸

The future of the relations between ethnic communities in the Njoro sub-county is hopeful but within an uncertain terrain of ethnic mistrust and tensions. The possibilities of the recurrence of cycles of ethnic violence are palpable based on the opinions and attitudes harbored by communities against each other. The prevalent causes of the conflict largely remain unresolved. Activities towards resolving the conflicts and preventing interethnic conflicts appear to happen during and immediately after the violence. The effort to provide relief to the victims is short-term because it tends to fizzle out after the violence has stopped. Christian based interventions happen to be prompted by the occurrence of violence with a lull in between the interethnic violence cycles.

Christian based interventions remain fundamentally crucial in the ongoing and future efforts toward peace for they hold in their beliefs and teachings a promise of stable

⁶⁰⁷ Karanu Kaminja, Oral interview, Likia, April 19, 2016.

communities. Their interventions in the past are noticed and well-remembered by the community and other actors. The future still calls for them to proactively participate in efforts to resolve the enduring culture of interethnic violence which is indeed within the parlance of their religious duties.

During the study, specific areas that required further research emerged. In particular, the researcher recommends a study to investigate the effects of interethnic tension and mistrust on the growth and spread of Christianity within the area. Besides, interethnic conflict on the spiritual and psychosocial well-being of the affected individuals and communities would require further research. Considering the concerns about some Christians who referred to themselves as "prophets" and "prophetesses" foretelling the coming of ethnic violence and the subsequent ethnic tensions, it will be necessary to study the contributions of religion to the continuity of interethnic violence in the region. Research on the ethnic demographic of various denominations in the Subcounty and the effects on interethnic integration is important in understanding the interethnic dynamics in the region.

⁶⁰⁸ Elder Siele, Oral Interview, Mauche, April 20, 2016.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adeyemo, Tonkuboh. Is Africa Cursed? A vision for the radical transformation of an ailing continent. Nairobi: World publishers limited, 2009.
- Adrian, Hastings. *African Christianity*. London: Cassell and Collier Macmillan publishers Ltd, 1976.
- Agostoni, Tarcisio. *Every Citizens Handbook; Building a Peaceful Society*. Nairobi: Paulines Publication Africa, 1997.
- Akiwumi, Augustus Molade. Report of the judicial commission appointed to inquire into tribal clashes in Kenya. Nairobi: Government of Kenya Printer, 1999.
- Amuka, Peter S.O. "The Romance of Nationhood: Kenya as Word and Desire" in King'eiK. and Indangasi H. (eds), Writers Speak: essays on literature and democracy.Writers association of Kenya, 1997.
- Atieno, Odhiambo Elisha Stephen. "Ethnicity and the Politics of Democratization" in *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Oxford: James currey, 2000.
- Baum, Gregory. *Nationalism, religion, and ethics*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Best, Nicholas. *Happy Valley; the Story of English in Kenya*. Berkshire: Marlborough editions, 1979.
- The Bible. New King James Version. Nashvile: Holman Bible Publishers, 1982.
- Chepkwony Adams K. "Political Pluralism in Africa" in M. N. Getui and Emmanuel A. Obeng (eds), *Theology of Reconstruction; Exploratory Essays*. Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1999.

- Colton, David and Robert W. Covert. *Designing and constructing instruments for social research and evaluation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2007.
- Fletcher, Joseph. Situation ethics: The new morality. Westminster: John Knox Press, 1997.
- Elkins, Caroline. Britain Gulag: End of brutal empire in Kenya: London, Jonathan Cape, 2005.

Furedi, Frank. The Mau Mau War In Perspective. Nairobi: Heinmann Kenya, 1990.

Galtung, Johan. "Theories of peace: A synthetic approach to peace thinking." Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1967.

Gatu, G. John. Fan into Flame. Nairobi: Moran Publishers, 2016.

- Getui, Mary and Wasye Musyoni (eds). *Overcoming Violence; a Faith-Based Response*. Nairobi: NCCK and Comprehensive Publications, 2003.
- Getui, Mary. "The persistence of ethnicity in Kenya's Public Life" in Tarimo A. and P. Manwelo, *ethnicity conflict, and the future of African states*. Nairobi: Paulines publication, 2009.
- Ghislaine, Lydon. Johann Ludwig Krapf; A pre-colonial European missionary in Islamic Mombasa. Benjamin Blom: University of Utrecht, 2006.

Gifford, Paul. African Christianity; Its public role. London: Hurst and Company, 2001.

- Hildebrandt, Jonathan. *History of the church in Africa*. Achimota: African Christian Press, 1996.
- Kanogo, Tabitha. Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau 1905 63. Oxford: Oxford publishing Services, 1987.

- Kanyandago, Peter. "Violence in Africa: Pastoral response from a historical perspective" in Douglas Waruta and Hannah W. Kinoti, *Pastoral Care in African Christianity; challenging essays in pastoral theology*. Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2000.
- Karimi, Joseph and Ochieng Phillip. *The Kenyatta succession*. Nairobi: Transafrica Book Distributors, 1980.
- Karuti, Kanyinga. "Political change in Kenya" in P. Wanyande, M. Omosa and C. Ludeki, *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2007.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census November 2019 Volume I: Population by County and Sub-County. Nairobi: KNBS, 2019.
- Kibicho, G. Samuel. *God and Revelation in an African Context*. Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2006.
- Kinoti, George. *Hope for Africa and what Christians can do*. Nairobi: African Institute for Scientific Research and Development, 1994.
- Kinoti, H. Wangechi. African Ethics; Gikuyu Traditional Morality. Nairobi: CUEA Press, 2013.
- Koffi, Annan. Voices from Africa 8: Conflict, Peace and Reconstruction UN NON-Governmental Liaison Service. New York: United Nations non-governmental liaison service (NGLS), 1998
- Koki, Muli. Defining Moments: Reflections on Citizenship, Violence and the 2007 General Elections in Kenya. Nairobi: Twaweza communication, 2011.

- Lederach, P. John. *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Peace of Peace Building. Oxford*: Oxford university press, 2005.
- Lederach, P. John. *Preparing for Peace; Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.
- Lonsdale, John. "Moral and Political Argument in Kenya" in Berman B., Eyoh D. and Kymlicka W. (eds), *Ethnicity And Democracy In Africa*. Woodbridge: James Currey, 2004.
- Maina, Paul. Six Mau Mau Generals. Lancaster: Gazelle Books Co. Ltd, 1977.
- Manwelo, Pauline. "Root causes of the December 2007 Post-election Crisis in Kenya" inA. Tarimo and P. Manwelo (eds), *ethnicity conflict and future of African states*,Paulines Publications. Nairobi: 2009.
- Mbiti, S. John. African Religions and Philosophy. Heinemann: Nairobi, 1969.
- Michel, Graca. The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children; A Critical Review of Progress and Obstacles encountered in Increasing Protection for War-affected Children. Canada: International conference on war-affected children, 2000.
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. *Pandemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Mudida, Robert. "Structural causes of Ethnic Conflict" in Tarimo A. and Manwelo P., Ethnicity *Conflict and the future of African states*. Nairobi: Paulines Publishers Africa, 2009.
- Mugambi, Jesse N.K. From Liberation to reconstruction: African Christian Theology after the cold war, East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi, 1995.

- Mugambi, Jesse N.K. African Heritage and contemporary Christianity. Nairobi: Longman Kenya Ltd, Nairobi, 1989.
- Muigai, Githu. "Jomo Kenyatta and the Rise of Ethno-Nationalistic State in Kenya" *in*Berman B., Eyoh D. and Kymlicka W., *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*.
 Oxford: James Currey, 2004.
- Musambayi, K. and Mary Omosa. "Leadership and governance in Kenya" in P.
 Wanyande, M. Omosa and C. Ludeki, *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2007.
- Njeru, Geofrey R. and Njoka John M. "Political ideology in Kenya" in P. Wanyande, M.
 Omosa and C. Ludeki, *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*. Nairobi:
 University of Nairobi Press, 2007.
- Njogu, Kimani, ed. *Defining moments: reflections on citizenship, violence, and the 2007* general elections in Kenya. Oxford: African Books Collective, 2011.
- Noko, Ishmael. Mission and development in Lutheran World Federation, Stewardshipour accountability to God, LWF Documentation. Switzerland: 1994.
- Nthamburi , Zablon J. "Ecclesiology of African independent churches" in Mugambi,
 J.N.K and Magesa. Laurenti (eds). *The church in African Christianity; innovative Essays in Ecclesiology*. Nairobi: Acton publishers, 1998.
- Nyamiti, Charles. *Studies in Africa Christian Theology*. Nairobi: Catholic University of East Africa, 2005.
- Nyasani, Joseph. "The meaning and implication of ethnicity" in Tarimo A. and P. Manwelo, *ethnicity conflict and the future of African states*. Nairobi: Paulines publication, 2009.

- Ochieng, William Robert. An Outline History of the Rift Valley of Kenya Up to AD 1900: Up to AD 1900. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975.
- Okoth, Godfrey, and Bethwell Ogot, eds. *Conflict in contemporary Africa*. Nairobi, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000.
- Opie, Clive. *Research Approaches* in *Doing Educational Research*, New Delhi: Teyeshwar Singh, 2004.
- Owuoche, Solomon. *The church in the struggle for Democracy in Kenya*. Nairobi: Mvule Publishers, 2010.

Panneerselvam, R. Research Methodology. New Delhi: Ashoke K. Ghosh, 2004.

- Pierli, Francesco MCCJ. *Ethnicity and Human Development*, in *Ethnicity: Blessing or curse*. Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa, 1999.
- Robert, M. Peaceful Resistance: Advancing Human Rights and Civil Liberties, Aldershot, 2006.
- Samita Zachariah Wanakacha, in M. Getui and Wasye Musyoni (eds), "Overcoming Violence; A Faith Based Response" Nairobi. NCCK and Comprehensive publications, 2003, p.243

Sapsford, Rodger. Survey Research. London: Sage Publication, 1999.

Secam–Celam. *Peace Fruit of Reconciliation*. Nairobi: Pauline's Publication Africa, 2001.

Simon Julian. Research Methods in Social Sciences. New York, Random House, 1969.

Smith, Lucie A. *Foundations of Moral Theology*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2006.

Shorter, Alyward. African culture, an overview. Nairobi: Paulines publications, 2001.

- Tarimo, Aquiline and Pauline Manwelo. African Peacemaking and Governance. Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2007-2008.
- Wachira, George, Prisca Kamungi, and Kalie Sillah. Stretching the truth: the uncertain promise of TRCs in Africa's transitional justice. Nairobi: Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa), KE, 2014.
- Waihenya, Waithaka and Ndikaru Wa Teresia. A voice Unstilled; Archbishop Ndingi Mwana – a-Nzeki. Nairobi: Longhorn Publishers, 2009.
- Weirich, Heinze and Koontz Harold. *Management; A Global Perspective 11th Edition*. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Limited, 2005.
- Wanyande, Peter. "Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya: Historical and Contemporary Perspective" in Wanyande P. and Okobe M.A, *Discourses on Civil Society in Kenya*. Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum (ARRF), 2009

Articles

- Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. "Conflict resolution, culture, and religion: Toward a training model of interreligious peacebuilding." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 6 (2001): p.685.
- Akaranga, Stephen Ifedha, and Bretta Kavutha Makau. "Ethical Considerations and their Applications to Research: a Case of the University of Nairobi." *Journal of educational policy and entrepreneurial research* 3, no. 12 (2016): 1-9.
- Ake, Claude. "What is the Problem of Ethnicity in Africa?." *Transformation* no. 22 (1993). p.1.

Atieno-Odhiambo, Elisha Stephen. "Hegemonic enterprises and instrumentalities of survival: Ethnicity and democracy in Kenya." African Studies 61,

no. 2 (2002): 223-249

Besley, Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol. "The legacy of historical conflict: Evidence from Africa." *American Political Science Review* (2014): 319-336

Guide to the TJRC and Transitional Justice in Kenya, NPI-Africa, and WANEP, 2010.

- Kilonzo, Susan. Silent religiosity in a Sniveling Nation: The Role of Religious Institutions in Promoting Post-conflict Reconciliation in Kenya." Council for the development of social science research in Africa, 2009, p.99.
- Maupeu Hervé. "Violence in the Post-Election Period: The Role of Religious Institutions." *OpenEdition Journals, 2007 no. 38.*
- Muluka, Barack and Gona George. "Cultural Methods of Peace Making and Reconciliation in Selected Communities in Kenya." UNDP Survey Report, 2009.
- Mwaura, Philomena Njeri. "Alternative vision for transforming development: perspectives from Christianity with particular reference to new Christian expressions in Africa." Paper presented in Soesterberg, Netherlands on October 15-17, 2007.
- Osamba, Joshia. "Violence and dynamic of transition: state, ethnicity, and governance in Kenya." African Development Vol XXVI, Nos 1&2: 2001
- Warrenne Waller H.de. "Office of the District Commissioner, Population pressure and Unemployment." Letter to all District Commissioner Rift valley Province, 16th September 1958

Walubengo Dominic, "Community-led action to use forestry in building resilience to climate change: A Kenyan case study of Njoro Division," Nakuru District, Kenya.

Websites

"A Multi-Religious Vision of Peace"

[http://religionsforpeace.org/sites/default/files/pubications/9th%20WA%20Theme %20Paper]. Accessed on Sept 13, 2017.

Amina, Rasul, "The Role of Religion in Peace Making, Presented at the CSID 10th Annual Conference." Retrevied from

[www.csidonline.org/documents/pdf/Amina_Rasul_Role_Religion_CSID_Paper]

- Christopher, A. J. "Divide and rule': the impress of British separation policies." Retrieved from [https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20002624.pdf]
- "Compelling Truth." [<u>http://www.compellingtruth.org/agape-love.html</u>] Accessed on March 5, 2018.
- Cranaplus, [https://crana.org.au/uploads/pdfs/Other_45.pdf]. Accessed on August 18, 2017.
- Rhoads, David. "Stewardship of Creation." Retrieved from

[http://www.webofcreation.org/archive-of-resources/505-stewardship-ofcreation].

Galia, Sabar-Friedman. "Church and State in Kenya, 1986-1992: The Churches' Involvement in the 'Game of Change." Retrieved from

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/723749?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents].

Gathogo, Julius. "The early attempts at ecumenical cooperation in East Africa: the case of the Kikuyu conference of 1913." Retrieved from [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/4636]

Gitari, M. David and Knighton B. "On being a Christian leader: Story of contesting power in Kenya." 2001. Retrieved from

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/43053955?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents]

Greene, Richard Allen. "Kenya's churches unite against draft constitution." Retrieved from

[http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/africa/08/04/kenya.constitution.churches/in dex.html.

Hughes, L. "Land Alienation, and Contestation in Kenyan Maasai land, Conference paper, 2013". Retrieved from

[https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/8915/HUGHES_0880.pdf ?sequence=1]

Ikenga, Oraegbunam, "The Principles and Practice of Justice in Traditional Igbo Jurisprudence." Retreived from

[https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ce17/1cd3aaef87f4587a32f18046222e12f10f85]

- Kasomo Daniel. "The position of African traditional religion in conflict prevention", *International Journal of sociology and anthropology*. Retrieved from [http://www.academicjournals.org/article/article1379416346_Kasomo.pdf]-.
- Mbiti, Johm. "Peace and Reconciliation in African Religion 2010." Retrieved [http://www.upf.org/resources/speeches-and-articles/3226-js-mbiti-peace-andreconciliation-in-african-religion].

Kanu, Macaulay. "The Indispensability of the Basic Social Values in African Tradition:

A Philosophical Appraisal." Pp. 157 -158 Retrieved from,

[www.ajol.info/index.php/og/article/download/57930/46296]

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. [http://www.knbs.or.ke/censuspopulation.php]

Accessed on March 20, 2015.

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. "2009 National Census." [www.knbs.or.ke]

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. "Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2014."

Retrieved from [https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/fr308/fr308.pdf]

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. "Violence Against Children Survey Report 2019." <u>https://www.knbs.or.ke/?wpdmpro=kenya-violence-against-children-survey-2019</u>. Accessed on October 25,2022.

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.

- [http://www.knbs.or.ke/Population%20by%20Religious%20Affiliation%20and%20Province.php]. Accessed on March 20, 2015.
- Maupeu, Hervé. "Violence in the Post-Election Period: The Role of Religious Institutions." [Retrieved from https://journals.openedition.org/eastafrica/736].

Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs. "Conflict mapping: an

insider's perspective (action research) report on national conflict mapping for the

active citizen's program." Retrieved from

[https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/9916B6A8B2BA70558525 784E00744C6C-Full_Report.pdf].

Mue, Njonjo, "Regaining Our Saltiness: The Role of the Church in Post-Election Kenya."

2012. Retrieved from

[https://kenyananalyst.wordpress.com/2008/06/05/regaining-our-saltiness-therole-of-the-church-in-post-election-kenya/].

Muiru, Paul Njoroge and Martha Wanjiru Muraya. "Lost Opportunity: Peacebuilding in Molo Division, Nakuru County, Kenya." 2017. Retrieved from [http://ijah.cgrd.org/images/vol2no3/2.pdf].

Ndzovu, Hassan. "Religion in the Political Culture of Kenya," 2005. Retrieved from [https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789047407492/BP000012.xml]

Parsitau, Damaris Seleina. "From prophetic voices to lack of voice: Christian Churches in Kenya and the dynamics of voice and voicelessness in a multi-religious space."

2012. Retrieved from

[http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/6620/Parsitau.pdf?sequence=1]

"Political Violence Spirals."

[https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/148000/afr320191998en.pdf].

Accessed on September 5, 2017.

Regehr, Ernie. "Review of Disarming Conflict, between the lines." Retrieved from [www.federalistscanada.org/documents/april2016RegehrReview.odf].

"Role of Missionaries in Colonization of Africans."

[http://www.globalblackhistory.com/2012/10/role-of-missionaries-in-

colonization-of-africans.html]. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

"Seven Ways Jesus Taught us How to Love humanity."

[http://www.beliefnet.com/inspiration/galleries/7-ways-jesus-taught-us-how-to-lovehumanity.aspx#rsZefvYHttfYeYgG.99.] Accessed on March 13, 2018. Smock David, "Religion in World Affairs: It's Role in Conflict and Peace." [Retrieved from <u>https://www.usip.org/publications/2008/02/religion-world-affairs-its-role-</u> conflict-and-peace].

"The Constitution of Kenya, 2010." [Retrieved from http://kenyalaw.org/kl/.]

Oral Sources

Anonymous informant (clergy), Questionnaire, Nessuit April 15, 2016.

A Government administration officer, Oral interview, April 15, 2016.

A pastor from Kalenjin ethnic community, Questionnaire, Mauche FGCK Church, April 16, 2017.

A family from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral interview, Mauche, April 20, 2016.

A family from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral interview, Mosop, April 21, 2017.

A Sub-chief from Kalenjin community Ngongogeri area, Questionnaire, April 22, 2016

A family from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral interview, Mosop, April 26, 2016

A family from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral interview, Sululu, July 20, 2017.

An Elder from Kalenjin community, Oral interview, Mauche, April 27, 2016.

HAnnh Mbugua, involved in peace and reconciliation, Oral interview, Naishi, June 23,

2018

Area Chief (a government officer), Oral interview, Mauche, May 1, 2016.

Area Chief (a government officer), Oral interview, Mau-Narok, July 15, 2016.

Area chief, (a government officer), Questionnaire, Nessuit, April 26, 2016

Area Sub-chief, (a government officer), Oral interview, Likia, April 25, 2018.

A Government administration officer (Njoro Sub-county), Oral interview, Njoro,

July 10, 2016.

- Bishop Abraham Gitu, a Christian leader and the founder and Patron of Likia and Beyond Peace and Conflict Resolution Council- peace initiative that is active in Njoro Sub-county, Oral interview, Njoro Bible College-Egerton, April 15, 2016.
- Catherine Kamau, affected by the interethnic conflict, Oral interview, Likia location, July 15, 2016
- Elder Chirchir, an elder from Kalenjin ethnic community Questionnaire, Nessuit Location, April 17, 2016.
- Elder Kiptur, and his family, an elder from Kalenjin ethnic community, Oral Interview, Mauche Location, April 17, 2016.
- Elder Paul Ruto, Oral interview, Mosop, April 17, 2016.
- Elder Siele, Oral Interview, Mauche, April 20, 2016.
- Elijah Mungai and his family, Oral interview, Naishi location, July 25, 2016.
- Esther Ruto (clergy), Oral Interview, Neissuit I, April 15, 2016.
- Gachiengo (Agricultural officer), Oral interview, Mau-Narok, Apr 19, 2016.
- George Karanja and his family, affected by the interethnic conflict, Oral interview, Likia Location April 18, 2016.
- Karanu Kaminja, affected by the interethnic conflict, Oral interview Likia,

April 19, 2016.

- Kimani Kamenja and his family, affected by the interethnic conflict, Oral interview, Mathangauta, April 16, 2016.
- Kipkalenjin, and his family, affected by the interethnic conflict, Oral interview Top life area, Mauche April 20, 2017.

Kones, and his family, affected by the interethnic conflict, Questionnaire, Teret,

April 18, 2017

- Mary Wangui, affected by the interethnic conflict, Oral interview, Mau-Narok, July 15, 2016.
- Mbuthia Moses, involved in reconciling communities through a non-governmental organization, Oral interview, Nakuru town, April 22, 2016.
- Muritu Waiguru, a headteacher and a community involved in Peace and reconciliation, Oral intervieLikia, April 16, 2016.
- Muthua Ndungu, an elder from Kikuyu ethnic community, Oral interview, Kianugu, May 21, 2016.
- Njuguna Moses, an elder from Kikuyu ethnic community, Oral interview, Mathangauta village, Likia, May 19, 2016
- Pastor Kones, Oral interview, Mauche, April 26, 2016.
- Rev. Pastor Mande, Oral interview, Ndeffo, April 24, 2016.
- Rev. Paul Rono Lago, Oral interview, Mauche, April 15, 2016.
- Rev.Ananias, Oral interview, Naishi, April 15, 2016.
- Solomon Maina, (Peace and environmental activist), Oral interview, Ndeffo,

May 3, 2017.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: MAP OF NJORO SUB-COUNTY

ILLUSTRATED THROUGH COUNTY WARDS

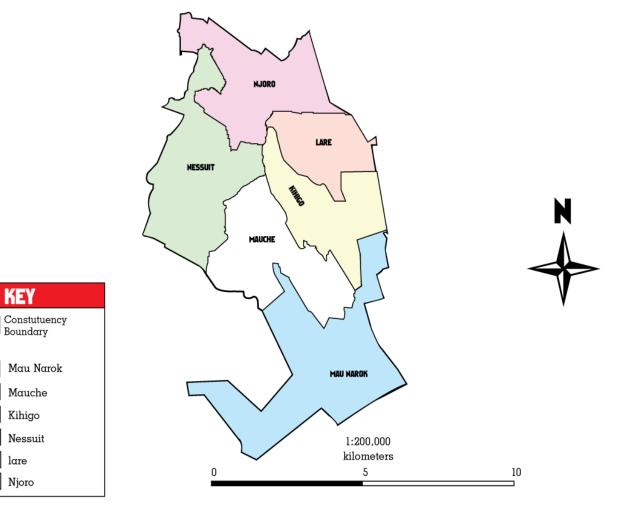
NJORO CONSTITUENCY COUNTY ASSEMBLY WARD

KEY

lare

Njoro

WARD





APPENDIX II: INFORMANTS' CONSENT FORM

CHRISTIAN-BASED INTERVENTIONS TO MITIGATE THE EFFECTS OF INTERETHNIC CONFLICT IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY, 1992-2012.

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am researching the effect of interethnic conflicts on families and the subsequent response by Christian leaders and their respective institutions. I am requesting your participation in the study by providing responses related to the research topic.

The purpose of the study is to enhance understanding of the interethnic conflict and to enrich the efforts of the state and other actors in designing and implementing interventions. The study will additionally contribute to the understanding of various Christian based interventions implemented to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict in the Sub-county. Factors that influence the interventions and related difficulties will also be investigated. The research population is drawn from affected families, elders, leaders of Christian-based institutions, national government representatives at sublocation and location levels, and agencies providing peace and reconciliation interventions. The researcher will collect the data using a research questionnaire or an interview guide. The resultant data will be analyzed and presented in a Ph.D. thesis.

As an informant;

- You are free to choose either to respond to a questionnaire or to be interviewed by the researcher or his assistant.
- You may decline to answer any or all questions.
- Your participation will contribute immensely to knowledge that is needed for understanding Christian –based interventions to mitigate the effects of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub-county.
- You are free to be anonymous. In that case, do not write any identifying information on your questionnaire, when being tape recommended or to person conducting interview guide.
- Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve confidentiality.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary.

Consent

I ______have read and understood the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Informant's signature _	Date
6 -	

Researcher's signature	Date

APPENDIX III: GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF

AFFECTED FAMILIES

Religious intervention in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Subcounty

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the effect of interethnic conflicts on communities and subsequent interventions by religious officials. I will appreciate your response to the below questions meant to gather information for a doctoral thesis. Thank you.

Guiding interview for members of the family affected

No	Objectives and questions	Probe areas	
	Warm up questions		
	 Objective: exploring the causes of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Sub- 		
	County.		
1	What are the causes of	Political factors	
	conflicts in Njoro Sub-	Social	
	County?	Economic	
2.	Describe the pattern of	• Probe on the cycle of the violence.	
	conflicts?	• The ethnic nature of the conflict.	
	Core questions		
	 Objective: To investigate the effect of ethnic conflict on the 		
	communities.		
1.	How has the conflict affected	The social effect of ethnic conflict	
	you and your family?	(Probe on social relationships e.g	
		marriages)	
		• Effects on personal identities of the	
		members of the affected families	
		• The economic effect of ethnic conflict.	

		• The political effect of ethnic conflict.
		• Effects of interethnic conflicts on
		religious life.
	Objective: To investiga	te challenges posed by the effect of interethnic
	conflicts on the stability	y and sustainability of communities.
1.	How long have you stayed in this place?	•
2.	Why have you stayed in this place?	• Reasons for continued stay despite the violence.
3.	What are challenges posed by interethnic conflicts on your family?	• Views of the children.
		• Views of the parents.
		• Views of the youth.
	Objective: To find out ways th	rough which religious officials have responded
	to the effect of conflict on com	munities.
1.	Has any organization or	• Find out whether they mention religious
	individuals supported your	officials and religious organizations.
	family during and after interethnic conflicts?	
2.	What help have you received from religious officials and	• To identify the interventions of religious officials if any
	institutions?	• Identify strategies applied by religious officials.
3.	What do you recommend	Recommendations on how religious
	religious officials should do to	officials can be successful in supporting
	help you, your family and	families faced challenges of interethnic
	community?	conflict.
	Objective: To interrogate fact	ors that influence the interventions of religious
	officials and institutions	

1	What factors do you consider	•	Probe on ethnic identity, the governance
	as having an effect on your		structure of the respective religious
	response to the conflict?		institution, resources provided, training
	Objective : to find out community	ities opin	nion on interventions by Religions
1	Is religious intervention	•	Probe their value of religious
	necessary for mitigating the		interventions
	effects of ethnic conflict?		
2	What should religious	•	Pick recommendations on how best
	officials and institutions do to		religious intervention can be deployed in
	mitigate the effects of		the conflict situation.
	interethnic conflict		

APPENDIX IV: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Religious intervention in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Subcounty

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the effect of interethnic conflicts on families and subsequent interventions by religious officials. I will appreciate your response to the below questions meant to gather information for a doctoral thesis. Thank you.

Guiding interview for Religious officials

No	Objectives and questions	Probe areas
	Warm up questions	
	Objective: exploring the causes o	f interethnic conflicts in Njoro Sub-County.
1	What are the causes of conflicts	Political factors
	in Njoro Sub-County?	• Social
		Economic
2.	Describe the pattern of conflicts?	• Probe on the cycle of the violence and nature.
		• The ethnic nature of the conflicts.
	Core questions	
	 Objective: To investigate 	e the effect of interethnic on communities.
1.	How has the conflict affected	Social effects of interethnic conflicts
	families?	• Economic effects of interethnic conflicts
		• the effects of conflicts on victims personal
		identities
		• Political effects of interethnic conflicts.

		• Effects of ethnic conflict on religious life.
	Objective: To find out ways through	ugh which religious officials have responded to the
	effect of conflicts on the commun	ities.
1.	How as a religious official have you responded to the needs of families faced by ethnic conflict?	 Various interventions on the needs of the families. Probe to find out how functions of religion as illustrated by
2	What motivates you as an individual to do the work	 Prompt to find out the personal experiences in life, personal conviction, influenced by the theology or obligations assigned by the church Investigate the application of love in their response
3.	What challenges do you face while providing interventions?	• Challenges posed by the dynamics of interethnic conflicts to offering credible interventions.
4	What are recommendations on how to address the challenge of interethnic conflicts in families?	Recommendations
	Objective: To investigate the reso support religious officials in their	ources provided by religious denominations to • interventions.
1	What are the resources provided by your church/denomination to enable you to address the sporadic conflict	 Probe to find out if religious officials' respective churches are in support of their interventions.
	Objective: To find out whether re	eligious officials acquire the mandate to intervene
		211

	from their respective denominati	ons.
1	Where do you derive your	• Probe on church policy, doctrines that are in
	mandate to provide	support of officials work
	interventions?	• Feedback of officials to their
		churches/denominations.
	Objective: To interrogate factor	s that influence the response of religious officials to
	the conflict in Njoro Sub-cou	inty
1	What factors do you consider as	• Probe on ethnic identity, the governance structure
	having an effect on religious	of the respective religious institution, resources
	officials response to the conflict?	provided, training

APPENDIX V: GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, EXPERTS, PERSONS DRAWN FROM CIVIL SOCIETY AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

Religious intervention in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Subcounty

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the effect of interethnic conflicts on families and subsequent interventions by religious officials. I will appreciate your response to the below questions meant to gather information for a doctoral thesis. Thank you.

No	Objectives and questions	Probe areas	
	Warm up questions		
	Objective: exploring the causes	of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Sub-County.	
1	What are the causes of conflicts	Political factors	
	in Kenya?	• Social	
		Economic	
2	What are the causes of conflicts	Political factors	
	in Njoro Sub-County?	• Social	
		Economic	
3	Describe the pattern of	• Probe on the cycle of the violence and nature.	
	conflicts?	• The ethnic nature of the conflicts.	
	Core questions		
	• Objective: To investiga	te the effects of interethnic conflicts on the communities.	
1.	How has the conflict affected	• Social effects of interethnic conflicts	
	families?	• Effect of conflict on victims personal identities	

		• Economic effects of interethnic conflicts
		• Political effects of interethnic conflicts
		• Effects of interethnic conflicts on religious life.
	Objective: To investigat	e challenges posed by the effect of the interethnic conflicts on
	the survival of the comm	nunities.
1.	What are challenges posed by	• Views of Government of officials, experts, persons
	interethnic to the families?	drawn from civil society and community leaders
2.	What do interethnic conflicts	• Impact of interethnic conflicts on the future of families
	imply for the future of the	in Kenya.
	families?	
	Objective: To find out ways thr	ough which religious officials have intervened to mitigate the
	effects of conflict on the commu	nities.
1.	How do religious officials	• Interventions for the communities needs in the face of
	respond to the challenge of	ethnic conflicts.
	interethnic conflicts in families	
2.	What is your opinion has been	• Challenges posed by the dynamic of interethnic conflicts
	the achievements of the	to offering credible interventions.
	religious officials	
3.	What are your	• Recommendations on sustainable ways enhance
	recommendations to religious	reconciliation.
	officials on how to address the	
	challenge of ethnic conflict on	
	families?	
	Objective: To interrogate fact	ors that influence the interventions of religious officials to the
	conflict in Njoro Sub-count	у
		214

1	What factors do you consider as	• Probe on ethnic identity, the governance structure of the
	having an effect on religious	respective religious institution, resources provided,
	officials response to the	training
	conflict?	
	Objective : To find out communit	ies opinion on interventions by Religions
1	Is religious intervention	Probe their value of religious interventions
	necessary for mitigating the	
	effects of ethnic conflict?	
2	What should religious officials	Pick recommendations on how best religious intervention can
	and institutions do to mitigate	be deployed in the conflict situation.
	the effects of interethnic	
	conflict	
L	1	

APPENDIX VI: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AFFECTED FAMILIES

Religious intervention in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Subcounty

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the effect of interethnic conflicts on families and subsequent interventions by religious officials. I will appreciate your response to the below questions meant to gather information for a doctoral thesis. Thank you.

SECTION 1: Background information

- a) Name (Optional)
 b)Age.....
- 2. Marital status
 - a) Married []
 - b) Single []
 - c) Widowed []
- 3. Size of the family
 - a) The number of children (if applicable).....
 - b) Number of grandchildren (if applicable).....

SECTION 2: Causes of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub- County

1. Have you witnessed any form of conflict in Njoro County?

Yes [] No []

If YES to the above, which ethnic groups are main protagonists?

2. How does the conflict manifest itself?

3.	How often does open conflict occur?
4.	Explain what you consider to be the cause of interment conflict n Njoro Sub-
	county
5.	Do you consider land allocation and availability to be a factor in the conflict?
	Yes [] No [] No opinion []
Please	explain
SECT	ION 3: Effects of conflict
1.	What are the effects of conflict to the population in Njoro?
2.	Explain how conflict has affected your family
3.	Explain how interethnic conflict has affected communities
SECT	ION 4: Interventions by religious officials
1.	Do religious officials provide any support during the conflict?
	Yes [] No []
If YES	, explain?
2.	Has religious officials provided any specific responses to your family?
	Yes [] No []
	Please explain
3. Doe	s religious demonstrate love in their response Yes [] No []
Please	explain

SECTION 5: Factors affecting religious officials

1. Are there factors that affect religious officials to respond to the intermittent
interethnic conflicts? Yes [] No []
If yes, please explain
2. Are there religious teachings that are useful in fostering peace among conflicting
ethnic groups
Yes [] No []
If YES, please explain
3. Does the ethnic identity of religious officials have effect on their response?
Yes [] No []
Please explain
SECTION 5: Recommendations
1. What are your recommendations towards addressing the problem of interethnic
conflict to
a) Government
b) Churches
c) Civil society

d) Communities residing in Njoro_____

KIAMBATANSHO CHA VII: DODOSO ZA FAMILIA ZILIZOATHIRIKA

Hatua za Kidini katika kupunguza athari za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro

Jina langu ni Pharis Murang'ai kutoka kwa chuo kikuu cha Nairobi. Ninafanya utafiti wa athari za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika jamii na hatua za viongozi wa makanisa. Nitashukuru kwa majibu yako kutokana na maswali yafuatayo yatakayotusaidia kukusanya ujumbe wa shahada ya udaktari. Asante.

Seehemu 1: ujumbe wa mandharinyuma

- a) Jina (hiari)
 b) Umri....
- 2. hali ya ndoa
 - a) kuoa/kuolewa []b) kutooa/olewa []
 - c) Mjane []
- 3. Ukubwa wa famila
- a. Idadi ya watoto (kama inatumika).....
- b. Idadi ya wajukuu (kama inatumika).....

SEHEMU YA 2: sababu za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika kaunti ndogo ya njoro

1. Umeshuhudia aina yoyote ya ugomvi katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro? Ndio [] La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio, eleza ni makundi yapi ya kikabila ndio wahusika wakuu?

2. Ugomvi huo unajidhihirisha kivipi?

- 3. Ni mara ngapi ambapo ugomvi wa wazi umetokea?
- 4. Eleza kile ambacho unazingatia kuwa sababu ya vipindi vya ugomvi katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro.
- Je? Unazingatia ugawaji na kuwepo kwa mashamba kuwa mojawapo ya jambo katika ugomvi? Ndio [] Sina maoni []
 Tafadhali eleza______

SEHEMU YA 3: Athari za Ugomvi

- 1. Ni nini athari za ugomvi katika idadi ya watu wa Njoro?
- 2. Eleza jinsi ugomvi umeathiri familia yako
- 3. Eleza jinsi ugomvi baina ya makabila umeathiri jamii

SEHEMU YA 4: Hatua za Kidini

1. Je? Viongozi wa dini wanapeana usaidizi wowote wakati wa ugomvi?

Ndio____ [] La___ []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio, eleza tafadhali

2. Je? Viongozi wa dini wamepeana majibu yoyote husika katika familia yako?

Ndio [] La []
Tafadhali eleza
3. Je? Madhehebu/Dina wanaonyesha upendo katika majibu yao?
Ndio [] La []
Tafadhali eleza
SEHEMU YA 5: Mambo yanayoathiri viongozi wa dini
1. Je? Kuna mambo yanayoathiri viongozi wa dini kujibu katika vipindi vya ugomvi
baina ya makabila
Ndio [] La []
Kama jibu lako ni ndio tafadhali eleza
2. Je? Kuna mafunzo yoyote ya kidini yanayosaidia kukuza amani miongoni mwa
Makabila yanayotatizana
Ndio [] La []
Kama jibu lako ni ndio, tafadhali eleza
3. Je? kuna athari zozote kwa majibu ya viongozi wa dini kutokana na utambulisho
wa dini zaouta?
Ndio [] La []
Tafadhali eleza

SEHEMU YA 5: Mapendekezo

- Mapendekezo yako ni yapi katika kushugulikia matatizo ya ugomvi baina ya makabila kwa:
 - a) Serikali_____
 - b) Makanisa_____
 - c) Asasi za kiraia_____

Jamii inayoishi Njoro_____

APPENDIX VIII: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Religious intervention in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Subcounty

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the effect of interethnic conflicts on families and the subsequent response by religious officials. I will appreciate your response to the below questions meant to gather information for a doctoral thesis. Thank you.

SECTION 1: Background Information

- 1. a) Name (Optional)
- b) Position in the institution.....

SECTION 2: Causes of interethnic conflict in Njoro sub- County

1. Have you witnessed any form of conflict in Njoro County? Yes [] No []

If YES to the above, which ethnic groups are main protagonists?

- 2. How does the conflict manifest itself?_____
- 3. How often does open conflict occur?_____
- 4. Explain what you consider to be the cause of interment conflict n Njoro Subcounty.
- 5. Do you consider land allocation and availability to be a factor in the conflict?

Yes [] No []

If YES, please explain_____

SECTION 3: Effects of Conflict

- 1. What are the effects of conflict to the population in Njoro?
- 2. Explain how conflict affects families in Njoro.

SECTION 4: Interventions by religious officials

1. Do you respond to the interethnic conflict Yes [] No []

If YES, explain? _____

- 2. Describe what motivates you to intervene in response to conflict
- 3. Do you provide any specific responses to families? Yes [] No []

4. Explain if Love as illustrated in Christian life has contributing to your reaching out of families

SECTION 5: factors affecting religious officials

1. Are there factors that affect your response to the intermittent interethnic conflicts?

Yes [] No []

If yes, please explain _____

2. Does your church provide you with support to respond to the conflict?

If yes, please explain _____

- 3. How does your faith affect the work you do?
- 4. Where do you derive your mandate to respond?

5. Are there religious teachings that are useful in fostering peace among conflicting ethnic groups

Yes []	No []
-------	---	------	---

If YES, please explain _____

6. Do you have training on the area of conflict resolution and peacebuilding

Yes [] No []

If yes explain the type of training ______

7. Does your ethnic identity have effect on your response? Yes [] No []

Please explain _____

SECTION 5: Recommendations

- What are your recommendations towards addressing the problem of interethnic conflict to
 - d) Government_____
 - e) Churches_____
 - f) Civil society_____
 - g) Communities residing in Njoro_____

KIAMBATANISHO CHA IX: DODOSO YA VIONGOZI WA DINI

Hatua za Kidini katika kupunguza athari za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro

Jina langu ni Pharis Murang'ai kutoka kwa chuo kikuu cha Nairobi. Ninafanya utafiti wa athari za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika jamii na hatua za viongozi wa makanisa. Nitashukuru kwa majibu yako kutokana na maswali yafuatayo yatakayotusaidia kukusanya ujumbe wa shahada ya udaktari. Asante.

Sehemu ya 1: Ujumbe wa mandharinyuma

1. a) Jina (kwa hiari)

b) Nafasi katika taasisi.....

Sehemu ya 2: Sababu za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro

1. Umeshuhudia aina yoyote ya ugomvi katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro? Ndio [] La []

kama jibu lako ni ndio, eleza ni makundi yapi ya kikabila ndio wahusika wakuu?

- 2. Ugomvi huo unajidhihirisha kivipi?
- 3. Ni mara ngapi ambapo ugomvi wa wazi umetokea?_____
- 4. Eleza kile ambacho unazingatia kuwa sababu ya ugomvi wa kimtandao katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro.
- Je? Unazingatia ugawaji na kuwepo kwa mashamba kuwa mojawapo ya jambo katika ugomvi? Ndio [] Sina maoni []

Tafadhali eleza

Sehemu ya 3: athari za ugomvi
1. Athari za ugomvi ni zipi katika idadi ya watu wa Njoro?
2. Eleza jinsi ugomvi umeathiri familia kwa kaunti ndigo ya Njoro

Sehemu ya 4: Hatua za viongozi wa dini

1. Je? Unashiriki katika kujibu maswala ya ugomvi

Ndio [1 La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio, tafadhali eleza?

- 2. Jadili kile ambacho kinakupa motisha ya kuchukua hatua kujibu maswala ya ugomvi
- 3. Je? Unatoa majibu yoyote maalum kwa familia?

Eleza tafadhali

4. Eleza iwapo Upendo kama mfano katika maisha ya kikristo imechangia

kufikia kwako kwa familia

Sehemu ya 5: Mambo yanayoathiri viongozi wa dini

1. Je? Kuna mambo yoyote ambayo yanaathiri majibu yako katika vipindi vya ugomvi baina ya makabila?

Ndio [] La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio, tafadhali eleza

2. Je? Kanisa lako linakupa usaidizi wowote katika kujibu maswala ya ugomvi?

Kama jibu lako ni ndio tafadhali eleza

- 3. Imani yako inaathiri kivipi kazi unayofanya?
- 4. Unatoa wapi mamlaka yako ya kujibu?_____
- 5. Je? Kuna mafunzo yoyote ya kidini yanayotumika kukuza Amani miongoni mwa makundi ya kikabila yanayozozana?

Ndio [] La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio tafadgali eleza

6. Je? Una mafunzo yoyote katika sehemu ya kutatua ugomvi na kukuza Amani?

1

La [

Ndio []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio tfadhali eleza aina ya mafunzo

7. Je? Utambulisho wa kabila lako una athari zozote katika majibu yako

	Ndio	[']	La []
--	------	-----	---	------	---

Tafadhali eleza_____

Sehemu ya 5: Mapendekezo

- Mapendekezo yako ni yapi katika kushugulikia matatizo ya ugomvi baina ya makabila kwa:
 - h) Serikali_____
 - i) Makanisa_____
 - j) Asasi za jamii_____

Jamii inayoishi Njoro_____

APPENDIX X: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EXPERTS AND GOVERNMENT

OFFICIALS

Religious intervention in mitigating the effects of interethnic conflicts in Njoro Subcounty

My name is Pharis Murang'ai from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on the effect of interethnic conflicts on families and subsequent interventions by religious officials. I will appreciate your response to the below questions meant to gather information for a doctoral thesis. Thank you.

SECTION 1: Background information

- 1. a) Name (Optional)
- b) Position in the institution.....

SECTION 2: Causes of interethnic conflict in Njoro Sub- County

- 2. Which ethnic groups are involved in the interethnic conflict in Njoro County?
- 3. How does the conflict manifest itself?_____
- 4. How often does open conflict occur?_____
- 5. Explain what you consider to be the cause of conflict n Njoro Sub-county.
- 6. Do you consider land allocation and availability to be a factor in the conflict?

	Yes	[]	No []
--	-----	---	---	------	---

If YES, please explain_____

SECTION 3: Effects of conflict

- 1. What are the effects of conflict to the population in Njoro?
- 2. Explain how conflict affects families in Njoro.

SECTION 4: Interventions by religious officials and institutions

1. Do religious officials respond to inter-conflict in Njoro Yes [] No []

If YES, explain?

- 2. What do you consider to be their motivation?
- 3. Do they provide any specific responses to families?

SECTION 5: Factors affecting religious officials

1. Are there factors that affect their response to the intermittent interethnic conflicts?

Yes [] No []

If yes, please explain _____

2. Do they have training on the area of conflict resolution and peacebuilding

Yes [] No []

If yes explain the type of training _____

3. Does their ethnic identity have any effect on their response? Yes [] No []

Please explain _____

 Do you consider role of religious officials as important to building a culture of peace among ethnic groups in Njoro? Yes [] No []

SECTION 5: Recommendations

1. What are your recommendations on religious leaders and their involvement in addressing the problem of interethnic conflict? ______

KIAMBATANISHO CHA XI: DODOSO KWA WATAALAM NA VIONGOZI WA SERIKALI HATUA ZA KIDINI KATIKA KUPUNGUZA ATHARI ZA UGOMVI BAINA YA MAKABILA KATIKA KAUNTI NDOGO YA NJORO

Jina langu ni Pharis Murang'ai kutoka kwa chuo kikuu cha Nairobi. Ninafanya utafiti wa athari za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika jamii na hatua za viongozi wa makanisa. Nitashukuru kwa majibu yako kutokana na maswali yafuatayo yatakayotusaidia kukusanya ujumbe wa shahada ya udaktari. Asante.

Sehemu ya 1: ujumbe wa mandharinyuma

- 1. a) Jina (kwa hiari)
 - b) Nafasi ya kazi katika taasisi.....

Sehemu ya 2: sababu za ugomvi baina ya makabila katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro

- 2. Ni makabila yapi yanayojihusisha katika ugomvi katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro?
- 3. Ugomvi huo unajidhihirisha kivipi?
- 4. Ni mara ngapi ambapo ugomvi wa wazi huonekana?_____
- Elezea kila ambacho unadhani kuwa sababu ya ugomvi katika kaunti ndogo ya Njoro.
- 6. Je? Unadhani kuwepo pamoja na ugawaji wa mashamba kuwa sababu ya ugomvi

Ndio [] La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio, tafadhali eleza sababu

SEHEMU YA 3: ATHARI ZA UGOMVI

1. Athari za ugomvi ni zipi katika idadi ya watu wa Njoro?

2. Eleza jinsi ugomvi umeathiri familia katika kaunti ya Njoro?

SEHEMU YA 4: HATUA YA VIONGOZI WA DINI NA TAASISI

 Je? viongozi wa dini wanapehana majibu yoyote kutokana na ugomvi baina ya makabila katika kaunti ya Njoro?

Ndio [] La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio tafadhali eleza?

- 2. Ni nini unazingatia kuwa motisha kwa viongozi wa dini?
- 3. Je? Hua wanapatiana majibu yoyote kwa familia husika?

SEHEMU YA 5: MAMBO YANAYOWAATHIRI VIONGOZI WA DINI

1. Je? Kuna mambo yoyote yanayoathiri majibu yao katika vipindi vya ugomvi baina ya makabila

Ndio [] La []

Kama jibu lako ni ndio tafadhali eleza

 Je? Wana mafunzo yoyote katika sehemu ya kusuluhisha ugomvi na kukuza amani? Ndio [] La [] Kama jibu lako ni ndio, eleza aina ya mafunzo hayo

3.	Je? Utambulisho w	a kabila lao un	aathari zozote	katika majibu yaoʻ	?
	Ndio	[]	La []	
Tafadl	hali eleza				
4.	Je? Unazingatia j	ukumu la vio	ngozi wa dini	i kuwa la muhim	u kwa kukuza
	utamaduni wa am	ani miongoni	mwa makuno	li ya makabila ka	atika kaunti ya
	Njoro?				
	Ndio [l	La []		
Kama	jibu lako ni ndio taf	adhali eleza			

SEHEMU YA 5: MAPENDEKEZO

1. Mapendekezo yako ni yapi kwa viongozi wa dini na kujihusisha kwao katika

kuwasilisha matatizo ya ugomvi baina ya makabila?