

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.**

**THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACE BUILDING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF  
THE AFTERMATH OF ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KIBERA (KENYA) FROM  
MARCH 2008 TO MARCH 2009 "**

**BY**

**JOHN O. ONDEGO**

**REG. NO.R50/70597/07**

**This research is presented in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master  
of Arts Degree in International Conflict Management of the University of Nairobi.**

**SUPERVISOR**

**DR. ROBERT MUDIDA**

**SEPTEMBER, 2010**

University of NAIROBI Library



0404790 8

Bd 356129

AFR

JZ

5578

• K405

**DECLARATION**

This research is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University or Institution.

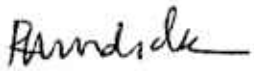


John O. Ondego (Signature):

19/11/2010

Date:

This research has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University supervisor.



Dr. Robert Mudida (Signature):

Date: 19/11/2010

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor **Dr. Robert Mudida** for his relentless efforts and patience towards the working and forming of this project. I am grateful for the insight and guidance you provided in ensuring this work was wholesome.

I would like to sincerely thank the then Permanent Secretary Ministry of Gender Sports Culture and Social Services **Mrs Dzombo** for granting my request for sponsorship

I would like to specially thank my wife **Mrs. Irene Ondego** for encouraging me through the whole project.

I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to my younger children **Joy, JJ and Esther** for being the driving force in my quest to pursue my education further.

Further, I would like to thank my older children **Yang (Ochido), Annebeth and Jojo** for their undying support and for having to sleep late as they helped in typing of this work. They are all gift of God for whom I thank him dearly

In the same breath I would like to thank **Mr& Mrs. Bernard Ondego** for editing this work and ensuring that all the information herein flowed seamlessly.

Most importantly I would like to thank my mother **Mrs. Elizabeth Ondego** for her relentless prayers and also for being patient with me through the hard times.

Special thanks to entire **Roho Group members** for their prayers and ensuring that my spiritual life did not suffer as I studied. Grateful is too small a word to describe the intensity of gratitude I have for you all.

I would also like to thank all the **interviewees** who provided the necessary data to make this project a complete work and not just a creation of the imagination. In this regard I am humbly

indebted to thank my colleague **Mr. Mbeja** the District Commissioner Kibera for arranging my interviews and availing his office for my use during the time.

Last and most important above all, I would like to thank **God Almighty** for providing the necessary resources to bring the good work He started to completion and for giving me the strength to move on even when the pressures seemed unbearable.

## **DEDICATION**

This project is dedicated to my late wife **YUCABET SARAH OTIENO** who inspired me into pursuing further studies.

## **ABSTRACT**

The study was on the role of the church in peace building in Kibera. It was looking at the effectiveness of that role. Further probe was on the programmes initiated by church in peace building process and the challenges encountered in the implementation process.

The methodology used in this study is a case study of Kibera, which used both library and field research, where secondary data and primary data were obtained respectively. This was done through analysis of written documents for secondary data and through interviews scheduled for primary data. The study used purposive sampling in which respondents were selected on the basis of their involvement in peace building.

The theoretical framework used in this study is conflict transformation. This theory was found to be suited to the study because it goes beyond conflict resolution by addressing what we need to stop and also what we hope to build. It presents the problem of conflict resolution by addressing what we need to stop and also what we hope to build. It presents the problem of conflict as an opportunity to transform the relationships and the systems on which the relationships are embedded.

This study has found out that reconciliation is taking root in Kibera as a result of the church's involvement in peace building process.

The joint rallies, inter-community games and cultural events organised by the church have built back the relationships and influenced co-existence of the community.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>IDPs</b>	<b>Internally Displaced Persons</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>united nations</b>
<b>TRC</b>	<b>Truth and Reconciliation Commission</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non Governmental Organization</b>
<b>CBO</b>	<b>Community Based Organization</b>
<b>SPLA</b>	<b>Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army</b>
<b>IGAD</b>	<b>Intergovernmental Authority on Development</b>
<b>AACC</b>	<b>All African Conference of Churches</b>
<b>DFAIT</b>	<b>Department Of Foreign Affairs and International Trade</b>
<b>CPCC</b>	<b>Canadian Peacebuilding and Coordinating Community</b>
<b>ODM</b>	<b>Orange Democratic Movement</b>
<b>OCHR</b>	<b>Office of the Commission of Human Rights</b>
<b>SGBV</b>	<b>Sexual and Gender Based Violence</b>
<b>DRC</b>	<b>Democratic Republic of Congo</b>
<b>SCIO</b>	<b>Sudanese Catholic Information Office</b>
<b>CIPEV</b>	<b>Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence</b>



<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
DECLARATION	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
DEDICATION	4
ABSTRACT	5
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	6

**CHAPTER ONE: THE BACKGROUND TO THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACE BUILDING IN THE AFTERMATH OF POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KIBERA**

1.1 Introduction	10
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	15
1.3 Objectives of the Study	16
1.4 Literature Review	17
1.4.1 Peace Building	19
1.4.2 Role of the Church in Peace Building	22
1.4.3 The Church and Peace Building in Kenya	34
1.4.4 The Church and Peace Building Other Case Studies	36
1.4.4.1 A Case Study of Sudan	36
1.4.4.2 A Case Study of South Africa	41
1.5 Justification of the Study	45
1.5.1 Academic Justification	45
1.5.2 Policy Justification	47
1.6 Research Hypothesis	47
1.7 Theoretical Framework	48
1.8 Research Methodology	51
1.9 Definition of Concepts	54
1.10 Chapter Layout	56

## **CHAPTER TWO: DEBATES IN PEACE BUILDING**

2.0 Introduction	57
2.1 Debates about the Definition and Aims of Peace Building	58
2.2 Debates on Means of Peace Building	66
2.3 Debates on the Temporal Aspects of Peace Building	70
2.4 Debates on the Actors and the Process/Action Dimensions of Peace Building	73
2.5 The Debates on the Role of the Church in Peace Building	75
2.6 Chapter Overview	80

## **CHAPTER THREE: A CASE STUDY OF KIBERA-KENYA**

3.0 Introduction	82
3.1 Summary of Election Violence in Kibera-Nairobi	83
3.2 Conflict Analysis	88
3.3 Peace building initiative in Kibera	98
3.4 Role of the church in peace building in Kibera	99
3.5.1 Capacity Building	100
3.5.2 Advocacy and Youth Training	102
3.5.3 Women Enterprise and Transformative Youth	105
3.5.4 Reconstruction of Toi Market	107
3.6 Relief and Rehabilitation	108
3.7 Youth and Sports	111
3.8 Challenges Encountered	112
3.9 Overview of Chapter	113

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

4.0 Summary	114
4.1 Recommendations	122
Bibliography	123



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE BACKGROUND TO THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACE BUILDING IN THE AFTERMATH OF POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KIBERA

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a paradox that historically religions have often been implicated in violence and conflict, either as a direct cause or as an associated factor,<sup>1</sup> but have also contributed to building peace, although this contribution is not always easy to evaluate or quantify.<sup>2</sup>

The challenge of the African churches is how to appeal to the Christian values to inform and transform social relationships. According to Tarimo, this is a serious challenge because churches are considered to be part of the problem of ethnocentrism, and consequently they have also failed to stand above the situation. An expression that articulates the situation within churches says: the blood of ethnicity is thicker than water of baptism. There are six points which support this assertion: first, for many years Christian churches have been using the structure of ethnicity for evangelization; second, churches have been reluctant to address the problem of ethnocentrism openly; third, bishops' pastoral letters have not yet succeeded to transform public conscience because there is no active participation of Christians from grassroots communities; fourth, an ethnic bias is also held by some ecclesiastical leaders; fifth, with regard to social problems, churches have failed to be self-critical; and sixth, there

---

<sup>1</sup> P. M. Misihe, "Religion and World Order," in Joel Beversluis (ed.), *Sourcebook of the World's Religions* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000), 267; and Michael L. Fitzgerald and John Borelli, *Interfaith Dialogue: A Catholic View* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 149.

<sup>2</sup> M. Braybroke, "The Interfaith Movement in the 20th Century," in Joel Beversluis (ed.), *Sourcebook of the World's Religions* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000), 131; and Peter C. Phan, *Being Religious Inter-religiously: Asian Perspectives on Interfaith Dialogue* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004), p198.

is no serious ecumenical collaboration intended to address socio-political issues because of religious competition.<sup>3</sup>

Reports from the Rift Valley indicate the church leaders used civic education, prayer meetings and other occasions to openly campaign for their preferred parties and candidates. Against this backdrop, it is unsurprising that when the political crisis erupted leading to widespread violence in the wake of the disputed presidential election results, the Church struggled to find its voice. Church leaders could not rise above their partisanship and give the country a clear moral direction and the church was reduced to a helpless spectator to the emerging tragic drama.

In a speech delivered at the conclusion of the Interreligious Assembly hosted by the Vatican in October 1999 to several hundred invited guests from twenty religions, Pope John Paul II stated:

“Any use of religion to support violence is an abuse of religion. Religion and peace go together: to wage war in the name of religion is a blatant contradiction. Religious leaders must show that they are pledged to peace precisely because of their religious belief. The task before us therefore is to promote a culture of dialogue. Individually and together, we must show how religious belief inspires peace, encourages solidarity, promotes justice and upholds liberty”.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Tarimo A, S.J., & Manwelo P, S. J., 2009, '*Ethnicity Conflict and the Future of African States*', Nairobi, pp 40-41.

<sup>4</sup> John Paul II, "*Collaboration among the Diverse Religions*," in Joel Beversluis (ed.), *Sourcebook of the World's Religions* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000) pp.160-161.

In these comments Pope John Paul II shows that religious belief can form an inspirational basis for peace and highlights the need for dialogue to build peace.

The meaning of post-conflict peace building can be viewed as strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur. This definition takes a long-term focus and incorporates the goals; both negative peace (absence of physical violence) and positive peace (absence of structural violence), a distinction first outlined by Galtung.<sup>5</sup>

Appleby<sup>6</sup> asserts that religion's ability to inspire violence is intimately related to its equally impressive power as a force for peace. He identifies what religious terrorists and religious peacemakers share in common, what causes them to take different paths in fighting injustice and the importance of acquiring understanding of religious extremism. Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft<sup>7</sup> opens with a forward by Jimmy Carter asserting that 'we all realize that religious differences have often been a cause or pretext for war. Less known is the fact that the actions of many religious persons and communities point in another direction. They demonstrate that religion can be a potent force in encouraging the peaceful resolution of conflict.'<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, (1969), pp. 167-191. Galtung distinguished between negative peace as the outcome of efforts to stop physical or personal violence (Direct violence), and positive peace as the goal of efforts to end indirect structural and cultural violence (Indirect violence) that threaten the economic, social and cultural well-being and identity of individual human beings and groups.

<sup>6</sup> Appleby, R. Scott, 1999, "The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation". Boston: Rowan and Littlefield. pp 14

<sup>7</sup> Johnston, Douglas and Sampson, Cynthia, eds., 1994, "Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft". New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp32

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, Johnston, Douglas and Sampson, Cynthia, eds., 1994, "Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft". New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp32

Appleby<sup>9</sup> further argues that, a new form of conflict transformation – ‘religious peacebuilding’ – is taking shape on the ground, in and across local communities plagued by violence.’ While it is a promising development, he sees it as still ‘inchoate and fragile, uncoordinated and in need of greater numbers of adequately trained practitioners, more study and testing, and theoretical elaboration. He concludes that a range of peacemaking activities ‘fall within the sphere of religious influence: preventive diplomacy, education and training, election monitoring, conflict mediation, nonviolent protest and advocacy for structural reform, and withdrawing or providing moral legitimacy for a government in times of crisis. It is important to recognize the interrelatedness of religious involvement in peacemaking at every phase of a conflict and at various levels of society.

Kenya electoral process has sadly been marked with physical violence ever since the restoration of multi party politics in 1991. The physical violence involves the deliberate use of physical force to injure or kill another human being. On the other hand structural violence is a type of conflict, which is embedded in the structure of relationships and interactions<sup>10</sup>. For example structural violence can arise from anomalous, legal, social or economic structures in society. Galtung defines structural violence as “existing in those conditions in which human beings are influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realization is below their potential realizations” In a situation of structural violence , overt violence is absent but structural factors have virtually the same compelling control over behaviour as the overt threat or use of force. The previous election violence was marked by incidents of heckling, stone throwing and physical assaults. The post 2007 election violence was however quite different in many ways. It was by far the most destructive and deadly violence ever

---

<sup>9</sup> Appleby, R. Scott, 1999, “*The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*”. Boston: Rowan and Littlefield. pp20-37

<sup>10</sup> Mwangi, *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya*(Centre for Conflict Research and Catholic Peace and Justice Commission), Nairobi,2003,pp55-64

experienced in Kenya's recent history. According to the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence (CIPEV, 2008), this violence was more widespread and more unprecedented and affected six of the eight provinces in Kenya. It also followed rather than preceded the election and in most form took an ethnic dimension.<sup>11</sup> At the end 1,133 people were killed and property worth million of shillings destroyed. Over 350,000 people got displaced. Aside, there were numerous cases of rape and other sexual assault.

A number of people suffered terribly during the violence. The orgies of violence left a total of 125 people dead in Nairobi with Kibera alone recording 68 deaths on official documents. Amongst the features of the violence were forced and traumatic circumcision, gang rapes burning of properties, displacement and looting in Kibera areas of Laini Saba, Soweto, Kianda, Gatwikira, Makina and Kisumu Ndogo villages. The Waki Report<sup>12</sup> indicated that Toi Market in Makina area which prior to elections had housed over 3000 traders was burnt down and properties looted causing immense suffering to traders, suppliers and the locals who depended on it for their livelihood

Kenyan Society in general and those of Kibera in particular, face a number of challenges as victims of post election violence. They have lost properties; some have been displaced from their residence and source of income that they were used to before the violence. A larger majority who witnessed the brutal murder of their relatives are undergoing untold psychological trauma. Some of the victims and abusers are still living together heightening tension and the urge for revenge. Many other victims are terrified that violence could return. Since people have abandoned their homes, their education and their livelihoods, there are other real fears of social and cultural distortions, which make reconstruction and

---

<sup>11</sup> GOK, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008) .vii, pp194

<sup>12</sup> Ibid; GOK, *Report on the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence* (Nairobi Government Printers 2008) pp198



reconciliation more complex to be managed by state actors and international organizations alone. Peace building initiatives by the Church is clearly desirous in the context of conflict transformation as argued by Dr Mudida that “church has a unique role to play in conflict transformation because of the healing that it can promote in deeply divided society. The role of the church in promoting truth, justice and reconciliation is emphasized in the context of her role as a track two conflict manager, specifically on how the church can assist in personal, relational structural and cultural transformation, to nurture deep-rooted peace in African societies.”<sup>13</sup> This has been amplified by Ramsbottom and Woodhouse who subscribe to the fact that the role of the church goes beyond mere material assistance but provides the needed humanitarian responses to cover psychotherapy of traumatized victims, reconciliation and overall reconstruction of shattered lives both for victims and the aggressors.<sup>14</sup> The Church is morally suitable as it focuses on aspects such as repairing relationship, rebuilding the economic base of the victims, encouraging forgiveness and restoring the respect of human dignity and right to life<sup>15</sup>.

## 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The church can be used or mobilized to promote either conflict or peace building. History presents cases of mediation and peacemaking by religious leaders and institutions. For example, the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches mediated the short-lived 1972 peace agreement in Sudan. In South Africa, various churches

---

<sup>13</sup> R. Mudida, *Enhancing the role of the church in the conflict transformation in Africa*, *Journal of Hekima College*, Number 41 December 2009, pp120

<sup>14</sup> Ramsbotham O, and Woodhouse ‘*Contemporary Conflict Resolution*’ Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999) pp50-56

<sup>15</sup> Bouleden, J (ed) *Dealing with conflict in Africa (The United Nations Enhancing the role of the church in the conflict transformation in Africa*, *Journal of Hekima College*, Number 41 December 2009, p120, Basingstoke: Dalgrave Macmillan, 2003) pp120

were at the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid and the peaceful transition. Among the most dramatic and most frequently cited cases is the successful mediation that the Rome-based Community of Sant'Egidio achieved to help end the civil war in Mozambique in 1992.<sup>16</sup>

In the run up to the 2007 election, the church were involved in partisan politics and openly campaigned for certain presidential candidates, which included anointing them as their preferred candidates on the basis of political parties and tribal lines.

It is for this reason that the church were seen as promoting conflict leading to the burning of several churches in the country including fire in Kibera, as reported in the Waki commission.

Based on the foregoing, this study has therefore been spurred into whether the church played a different role after the post election violence. This is contrary to the belief that church provides compelling answers in small social groups and communities by furnishing people with a sense of identity and direction in life, as proposed by Tarimo and Manwelo.<sup>17</sup>

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

This study will be guided by the following objectives:

Overall objective:

To establish the role of the church in peace building process in the post election violence in

Kibera- Kenya

---

<sup>16</sup> D.R. Smock, (ed.), 2006 *'Religious Contributions to Peacemaking: When Religion Brings Peace, Not War,'* (United States Institute of Peace, Washington, 2006) pp143

<sup>17</sup> A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo, *African Peacemaking and Governance (Nairobi: Action, 2007)*, pp125.

**Sub- objectives:**

- 1. To establish the various programmes and activities that the church has put in place to facilitate peace building in Kibera.**
- 2. To examine the effectiveness of the various programmes and activities put in place by the church to facilitate peace building process in the aftermath of election Violence in Kibera.**
- 3. To assess the challenges of church's intervention in peace building processes with special reference to Kibera.**

#### **1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW**

**This section reviews relevant literature from scholarly articles on the study area. Essentially it explores the concept of peace building, role of the church in peace building in post conflict situation; looking at the preventive diplomacy, peace making peace keeping and post conflict peace building as a fourth pillar, and the comprehensive approach of the United Nations. It further explores how the role of the church in conflict transformation can be enhanced generally in the African Societies and in particular Kenya. It also interrogates case studies on peace building and the role of the church in Kenya, Sudan and South Africa and identifies subsequent academic gaps.**

**The concept of peace building is a new phenomenon which has been given impetuous and a new dimension by the former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in his report of 1992 on "Agenda for Peace" where peace building was conceptualized as an intergrated approach to human security that would address in the larger sense, the root causes of conflict,**

economic despair, social injustices and political oppression<sup>18</sup>. It is therefore imperative to bring out clearly this concept of peace building in this study.

The Church involvement in peace building has also not been given prominence or widely accepted as an effective peace builder. The contemporary conflict needs peace building approach that responds to the real nature of the conflict in question. The contemporary conflicts are indeed hardcore situations, the real politics of hatred, manipulation and violence as observed by Lederach that characterized the Kenyan situation is to be anchored on substantive interest of the parties involved to achieve real peace and not let conflict occur in future<sup>19</sup>. The church is therefore best suited as a track two player to transform the conflict as observed by Tarimo and Emmanuel who contend that: Religion provides compelling answers in small social groups and communities by furnishing people with a sense of identity and direction in life. These values help people to be generous by overcoming selfishness and pride<sup>20</sup>.

The other case studies are brought in to draw a comparative analysis between South Africa, Sudan and Kenya. Those countries have success stories of the Church involvement in peace building initiatives as will be seen later in the chapter.

---

<sup>18</sup> B.B.Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, UN, Report, A/47/277/S24111, 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1992

<sup>19</sup> J. Lederach, *Building Peace. Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Society*(Uzedaty: US Institute for Peace, 197) (ed)

<sup>20</sup> A. Tarimo , P. Mwanwelo, *African Peacemaking and Governance*(Nairobi :action,2007)p125

### 1.4.1 Peace building

Peace building is difficult to define and even more difficult to achieve in practice.<sup>21</sup> However post-conflict peace building can be viewed as strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur. This definition takes a long-term focus and incorporates the goals: both negative peace (absence of physical violence) and positive peace (absence of structural violence), a distinction first outlined by Galtung.<sup>22</sup> This analysis is also informed by the more comprehensive and normative definition of peace building provided by Spence who defines peace building as those activities and research problem.

Processes that focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effects; support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of the war-torn society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each post conflict situation; encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure after the initial emergency recovery phase has passed.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth M. Cousens, "Introduction" in Elizabeth M. Cousens & Chetan Kumar (eds), *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 1-20.

<sup>22</sup> Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, (1969), pp. 167-191. Galtung distinguished between negative peace as the outcome of efforts to stop physical or personal violence (Direct violence), and positive peace as the goal of efforts to end indirect structural and cultural violence (Indirect violence) that threaten the economic, social and cultural well-being and identity of individual human beings and groups.

<sup>23</sup> Rebecca Spence, "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace?" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent & Roland Bleiker (eds) *Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings, 24-26 September 2001*. (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 2001), pp. 137-8.

The context of post-conflict peace building emerged and appeared to hold great promise. Alongside, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace keeping , post conflict peace building would be the fourth pillar of comprehensive approach by the UN and other multilateral bodies to peace and security not only between states but just as important within them. Post conflict peace building encouraged more deliberate links among the various actors of the UN system, developing an effective division of labour among their respective forms of assistance-humanitarian , social and economic as well as political and military – and attend especially to their interrelationship<sup>24</sup>.

It is generally agreed that the task of peacebuilding is to promote positive peace as envisaged by Galtung<sup>25</sup> . This has become a starting point of the analyses, from which the next step often concerns the addressing of the 'root causes' of a conflict.<sup>26</sup> The root causes of conflicts are frequently complex, and hard to identify and understand for would-be peace builders. In developing countries, they often

include skewed land property structures, environmental degradation, and unequal political representation on state level.<sup>27</sup> The emphasis on resolving the root causes of conflict has been criticized for being an overly negative row of social conflict, as long as it does not take violent forms, may contribute to a dynamic and innovative society. As it is increasingly acknowledged that social conflict is inevitable, some approaches to peacebuilding have

---

<sup>24</sup> Christopher Cooker "How wars End" *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 26, 3 (1997) pp 615-630

<sup>25</sup> Opcit, J.Galtung, *Violence, Peace and Peace Research. Journal of Peace Research*, pp167-1991

<sup>26</sup> UN, op cit, 1995, pp.49: *DAC guidelines on conflict peace and development and cooperation. OECD, 5-6 May 1997. www.oecd.org/sge/council/ministerial/papers/eng\_cmin20.pdf.>. P 11; G Carbonnier. Conflict. Postwar rebuilding and the economy: a critical review of the literature. WSP Occasional Paper. 2 March 1998. <www.unicc.org/unrisd/wsp/pop2/toc.hr.>*

<sup>27</sup> W Zartman (ed.). *Elusive peace: Negotiating an end to civil wars*, The Brookings Institution. New York. 1995 p. 5; J Markakis. *Resource conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Sage. London. 199 pp. 4

turned the focus from the root causes to good governance and peaceful dispute movement mechanisms.

These reasons, it can be argued as the main aim of peacebuilding, would be to remove violence as a tool for conflict resolution. However, it is quite conceivable that democratic environment, judicial reform, and other measures in the good governance tool box will erode and decompose in the strong social tensions. Therefore, some do not rest content with good governance and feel that positive peacebuilding must primarily address the root causes of conflict and to solve them, otherwise there is no lasting peace.

Conflict is taken to be a mere existence of disagreement over identities; and the differences of perspective are currently blurred by the usage of the word 'conflict', use of violence as an attempt to resolve conflicts. Some authors are careful to use qualifying conflict as 'violent' often used in the latter sense.

Formation in leadership, mediation and conflict transformation skills constitute what according to Omondi, may be called integrative peace education, an effective means of initiating process of change in the society. Integrative education here refers to different pedagogical initiatives aimed at positively transforming the society, at personal level through change of attitudes perceptions, and constructed beliefs at the community or national level, through the change of unjust structures from cultural, social, political and economic perspectives<sup>28</sup>.

---

<sup>28</sup> E.Omondi Opongo, *Peace weavers: Methodology of Peace Building in Africa(ed)* (Paulines Publications Africa 2008),pp124

#### 1.4.2 Role of the church in peace building

In order to allow adequate reconciliation, among conflicting communities as Mudida<sup>29</sup> is alive to, it is vital to promote healing at the grassroots. The Serena mediation process led by Kofi Annan in Kenya for example, provided a firm foundation upon which to build a lasting reconciliation processes. Track one conflict management is the type practiced by states and international organizations. It is based on formal rules and operating procedures.<sup>30</sup> An inherent weakness of many track one conflict management initiatives is that they are rational responses to irrational phenomena. Conflict is often not rational. Track one diplomacy is usually oriented to a “carrot and stick” policy and to short-term results often achieved under pressure and the public glare. Such conflict management processes therefore do not adequately attend to the need of healing. They are sometimes settlement rather than resolution-oriented. This does not imply that track one conflict management is not useful but rather that it must be complemented by track two processes which are more effective in reaching the grassroots.

Track two or unofficial processes is carried out most notably under the auspices of religious organizations and civil society organizations are more likely to promote healing which is vital for resolution of deep-rooted conflict. Such unofficial organizations can more effectively reach the grassroots where it is vital to achieve reconciliation. Sustainable peace is only possible through the transformation of people and relationships from below. The transformed people would then be able to change their relationships and build adequate new structures to

---

<sup>29</sup> *Op.Cit.* Robert Mudida, “*Enhancing the Role of the Church in Conflict Transformation in Africa*” (2009) pp 127

<sup>30</sup> M. Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: CCR Publications, 2006), pp 123. \ ◊



support them. For a lasting peace to be achieved there must be input and implementation across all levels of the affected society. As Tarimo and Manwelo contend:

Religion provides compelling answers in small social groups and communities by furnishing people with a sense of identity and direction in life. In religious activities, people rediscover their identities and moral responsibilities. These values help people to be generous by overcoming selfishness and pride. Because of their authentic commitment to promote fundamental values and to shape human conscience, the role of religion must be accepted (...). In promoting a deeper meaning of life, religious practices strengthen personal identity and simultaneously reinforce inter-group solidarity.<sup>31</sup>

Lederach argues that the church can contribute to more effective conflict transformation by focusing on the personal, relational, structural and cultural levels at the grassroots. On the personal aspects of conflict transformation an analysis should be conducted by the church on what attitude in society increase the likelihood of destructive patterns of conflict. In countries with ethnic conflicts, for example, the attitude of stereotyping about various ethnic groups often encourages conflict. The church should then specifically target the most destructive attitude for change through her programs at the grassroots level. She should then be able to monitor whether the attitude has changed in relation to specific program activities she has developed.<sup>32</sup>

On the relational level according to Lederach, the church should look beyond the tension around the visible issue to the underlying changes produced by a conflict in the patterns of

---

<sup>31</sup> A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo, *African Peacemaking and Governance (Nairobi: Action, 2007)*, pp125.

<sup>32</sup> J. P. Lederach, R. Neufeldt and H. Culbertson, *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring and Learning Toolkit* (Notre Dame: John B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2007), pp17 – 23.

how people perceive themselves, one another, and the conflict itself, and in their hopes for their future relationship. She should engage in intentional intervention to minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize mutual understanding, and to bring to the surface the relational fears, hopes, and goals of people involved in interdependence.<sup>33</sup> The church should encourage regular and open contact between conflicting sides, for example, through peace meetings. She should encourage the capacity of the conflicting parties to express themselves accurately in conversation without fear, judgment or restriction. A vital principle the church can encourage further is to develop the capacity of people to listen and hear accurately the concerns of others without judgment is firmly entrenched in the Christian tradition but is not practiced enough.

On the structural level a change in focus is created that moves beyond direct relationships to relational patterns that involve and affect whole groups. The structural dimension highlights the underlying causes of conflict and the patterns and changes it brings about in social structures.<sup>34</sup> The issues are sometimes understood as the “content” or “substance” of a conflict and may include issues such as human basic needs, access to resources and institutional patterns of decision-making. The church should engage in analysis of social conditions that create disparity and inequality among ethnic, religious or racial groups should be identified. Lederach further contends that, the church should encourage discussion about conditions and patterns that have contributed to perceived and actual disparity in access to resources and power in African states. The church should consider whether there are consistent patterns of marginalization and exclusion that have provided a greater privilege for

---

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* J.P Lederach, R.Neufeldt and H Culbertson *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning Monitoring and Learning toolkit*(Notre Dame: John B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies,2007),pp17-23

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* J.P Lederach, R.Neufeldt and H Culbertson *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning Monitoring and Learning toolkit*(Notre Dame: John B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies,2007),pp17-23

some disadvantage of others. Identifying historical patterns of ethnic marginalization is particularly vital for positive social transformation.

Conflict transformation in a structural context would represent deliberate intervention to provide insight into the underlying causes and social conditions that create and foster violent expressions of conflict and to openly promote non-violent mechanisms that maximize participation of people in decisions that affect them.

The church can also have an important impact on the cultural aspects of conflict transformation in Africa. The cultural dimension refers to the changes produced by conflict in the cultural patterns of a group, and to the ways that culture affects development and handling a conflict. Culture is fundamentally about how people make sense of things. The church should build an inventory with people in a given group about what aspects of their culture contribute positively to the expression and handling conflict, and which patterns appear to make it worse. In addition, cultural patterns that have been affected by factors such as displacement or migration, population growth, conflict dynamics and modernization should be identified.<sup>35</sup>

The church's role in conflict transformation can also be reinforced as envisaged by Montville, by drawing on existing tools of conflict analysis and management. A vital practical tool for track two conflict management is problem solving workshops. These have been used in protracted conflicts around the world with some success. These workshops are carried out over a period of four to five days with the aim of facilitating a process of undermining negative stereotypes held by participants and re-humanizing their relationships.<sup>36</sup> The ideal

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid ,J.P Lederach, R. Neufeldt and H Culbertson *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning Monitoring and Learning toolkit*(Notre Dame: John B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies,2007),pp17-23

<sup>36</sup> J. V. Montville, "*The Healing Function in Political Conflict Resolution*, Op.cit. pp112-127

delegation of representatives of the groups in conflict will range from three to seven, while a third party team or panel facilitators can range from two to five. In the process of dealing with each other at close quarters over a period of days, representatives of the groups in conflict learn that they can act openly and honestly with each other. The workshops, however, pre-suppose that the individuals selected pass the minimum standards of character and emotional maturity for such a process. The church can facilitate problem solving workshops in different conflict contexts. Leaders of the church should receive training and facilitate training in problem solving workshops.

The church's message can also draw upon the principle of non-violent means of social transformation which are more effective and less costly in the long term. Non-violence as a strategy for change was fully developed by Mahatma Gandhi in his campaign to secure independence for India from Britain between 1920s and 1940s. Gandhi's non-violent principle was known as *Satyagraha* and entailed converting the power of non-violence into political action.<sup>37</sup>The aim of non-violent struggle is not victory over the other side but mutual gain through realizing an intrinsically good end. The non-violent resister does not seek to defeat the opponent but rather to win friendship and understanding. Non-violent resisters seek to attack the evil system rather than individuals who happen to be caught up in the system.<sup>38</sup>Developing a culture of non-violence is vital in addressing ethnic conflicts in Kenya because it would encourage preservation of human life. It would urge resistant from taking up arms or killing or wounding people even where serious disagreements exists between different ethnic communities. Track two conflict managers at the grassroots such as religious

---

<sup>37</sup> M. King, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr.: *The Power of Non-Violent Action* (Paris: UNESCO, 1999), pp240 – 280.

<sup>38</sup> M. Luther King Jr., "The Power of Non-violence" in J. M Washington (ed.) *The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: Harper Collins, 1986), pp12-15.

organizations should focus considerable time on fostering a culture of non-violent resolution of conflicts. Such a culture would engrain the idea that the organization of violence is itself undemocratic and inegalitarian.

The church has been involved in peace building in various countries. When the uprising broke out at Mizoram, the Church issued pamphlets stating clearly the Church's condemnation of violence as contrary not only to the Gospel but also to human rights. They stated that the church can never approve of violent movements as a means to bring about the Kingdom of God. Later the Christian peace Committee added to that by appealing to the people, that as Christians they should not just withdraw from politics; rather they should participate in politics creatively for peace and harmony; and that as life is given by God, it must be respected, valued, and protected. Those pamphlets became useful means of raising the conscience of the people and educating them about the responsibilities of good citizens, especially during general elections.<sup>39</sup>

In times of problems religious leaders as political leaders take refuge in their ethnic groups. A good example here is the genocide that occurred in Rwanda. In this event, Christians could not appeal to the Christian conscience to address the situation. Even those in positions of authority could not raise their conscience above the criterion of ethnicity. Christianity, for some, is like a coat that can only be put on when it is needed; when it is not, it is forgotten in the wardrobe. This is the sign that Christianity is still on the periphery of the African way of life. When Augustine Karekezi, a Rwanda Jesuit, was asked in an interview to link the role of churches in Rwanda with what happened there in 1994 he said:

---

<sup>39</sup>/[www.recweb.organization/files/resourcesmodule](http://www.recweb.organization/files/resourcesmodule). Accessed on 20/02/10

“My faith as a Christian has been affected seriously, in the sense that I cannot realize that such evil could happen in a country where so many people are Christians and where there are so many Catholics, over sixty five percent, with such influence in education. What have we been doing as Christians and as Priests? How can we preach love of God, the compassion of God, in this situation? All these questions derive from an experience of the deep mystery of evil, evil is so consistent and so strong that its power is prevailing”.

One may deceive oneself by saying that the conflict of Rwanda was a unique case, and that such experience does not exist elsewhere in the continent. The questions of Karekezi cannot be limited to the Christians of Rwanda. The experience of Rwanda should be taken as a typical example for many Christians of Africa. The experience of Rwanda reminds us that all Christians from Africa are called to ask themselves serious questions especially the relevance of Christian faith in the public life.<sup>40</sup>

According to Hoyweghen some churches in Rwanda are presented as actors in the violence while others played a critical role in maintaining peace during the genocide. Not only were members of the Christian community responsible for the majority of the killings, but the Church leadership was deeply implicated in the perpetration of the genocide, both explicitly and due to inaction. By refusing to speak out against genocide, the Church implicitly condoned the violence. Church property as a site of sanctuary was also violated. More Rwandans died in churches and parishes than anywhere else in the country.<sup>41</sup> The Catholic Church was particularly implicated in the genocide thus making her effort in the post conflict

---

<sup>40</sup> Tarimo A., S.J., & Manwelo P, S. J., 2009, '*Ethnicity Conflict and the Future of African States*', Nairobi, p40.

<sup>41</sup> Van Hoyweghen, Saskia. (1996). "*The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: A Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority.*" *African Affairs*. Vol 95. No 380. (July). Pp. 379-401.

peace building and reconciliation very difficult. The Rwandan Catholic Church was in crisis; she had lost her credibility and had failed in her mission.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the failure of the Catholic Church in Rwanda according to Tiemessen, the role of religion, particularly Islam, in post-genocide in Rwanda should not be underestimated for the contributions that it could make to healing efforts. The mosques were one of the few places where genuine reconciliation was occurring. Rwandan Muslims are embracing reconciliation as their own mission: "our jihad is to start respecting each other and living as Rwandans and as Muslims".<sup>43</sup> In Liberia, charismatic churches often provide a forum where former child soldiers can confess their crimes.<sup>44</sup>

A rather different example of the use of religion in resolving conflict concerns South Africa, where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was led by an Anglican archbishop and was closely associated with the country's faith communities. The work of the TRC was based on the idea that long-term reconciliation depends crucially on religious notions of reconciliation and healing, even in the absence of formal justice. Although the TRC has been criticized in South Africa itself, its ultimate success or failure will only become apparent with the passage of time. In the meantime, however, the TRC model has been widely imitated

History presents cases of mediation and peacemaking by religious leaders and institutions. For example, the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches mediated the short-lived 1972 peace agreement in Sudan. In South Africa, various churches

---

<sup>42</sup> Ndahiro, Tom. (2004). "The Church's Blind Eye to Genocide in Rwanda." In *Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches?* Eds. Carol Rittner, John K. Roth and Wendy Whitworth. St. Paul, Minnesota: Paragon House. Pp 102-110

<sup>43</sup> Tiemessen, Alana. (2005). "From Genocide to Jihad: Islam and Ethnicity in Post Genocide Rwanda." Paper for presentation at Annual Meeting of CPSA in London, Ontario, 2-5 June 2005.p.77 23

<sup>44</sup> Osagie-Usman, Charles, 1994, 'Mission of Revenge', West Africa, 3984 pp.205.

were at the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid and the peaceful transition. Among the most dramatic and most frequently cited cases is the successful mediation that the Rome-based Community of Sant'Egidio achieved to help end the civil war in Mozambique in 1992.<sup>45</sup>

According to Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, peace building initiatives by the Church is clearly desirous in confronting the suffering normally faced by victims. This is because it goes beyond mere material assistance but provides the needed humanitarian responses to cover psychotherapy of traumatized victims, reconciliation and overall reconstruction of shattered lives both for victims and the aggressors.<sup>46</sup> According to Boulden, the Church is morally suitable as it focuses on aspects such as repairing relationship, rebuilding the economic base of the victims, encouraging forgiveness and restoring the respect of human dignity and rights in life<sup>47</sup>. The role of the church according to Boulden is therefore to 'mobilize resources, build trust and consensus, facilitates victims to seek redress in court of justices and supports economic reconstruction'.

Other works provoking thoughts of how religion can be used as a peace tool include Sampson<sup>48</sup> who informs us of the institutional moves within some religious communities toward developing 'an increasingly intentional and systematic approach to peacebuilding.' Reyhler<sup>49</sup> asks for a serious study of the impact of religious organizations on conflict

---

<sup>45</sup> Osagie-Usman, Charles, 1994, 'Mission of Revenge', West Africa, 3984 p.205.

<sup>46</sup> Ramsbotham O, and Woodhouse 'Contemporary Conflict Resolution' Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999) pp50-56

<sup>47</sup> Boulden, J (ed) *Dealing with conflict in Africa* (The United Nations, Basingstoke: Dalgrare Macmillan, 2003) pp120

<sup>48</sup> Sampson, Cynthia, 1997, 'Religion and Peacebuilding', in Zartman and Rasmussen, eds., 1997, *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 273-318.

<sup>49</sup> Reyhler, Luc, 1997, 'Religion and Conflict', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp 19-38



behaviour, a comparative study of the peace building efforts of different religious organizations. He asserts that the world cannot survive without a new global ethic and that the religious ties of parties, passive bystanders, peacemakers and peace builders will play a major role.

Reychler usefully sets the stage by asserting that in an effort to understand what religions or religious organizations could do 'to promote a constructive conflict dynamic one could start by investigating systematically which positive or negative roles they play now'.<sup>50</sup> He discerns four roles: conflicting parties, bystanders, peace-builders and peacemakers. The four roles for conflicting parties are religious wars, low-intensity violence, structural violence and cultural violence.

Sampson<sup>51</sup> further presents a typology of roles played by religious actors in conflicts. These roles include: advocates from within the region of conflict and those abroad, intermediaries including fact finding, good offices, peace-process advocacy, facilitation, conciliation and mediation, observers providing a watchful physical presence that discourages violence, corruption, human rights violation or other threatening behaviour, educators, building sensitivity to inequities, developing skills for advocacy, conflict resolution, democracy building, and promoting healing and reconciliation, Institutional actors, the work of religious communities and other institutional actors, such as the Roman Catholic Church. Society of

---

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Reychler, Luc, 1997, 'Religion and Conflict', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp19-38

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Reychler, Luc, 1997, 'Religion and Conflict', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp19-38

Friends, Mennonites, Moral Re-Armament, 'Engaged Buddhism', and the Nairobi Peace Initiative<sup>52</sup>

Reychler<sup>53</sup> sees Peace-making as an activity of both religious and non-religious NGOs, and refers to both Quakers and Catholics when offering religious examples. He concludes his discussion by noting that both religious and non-religious NGOs can be involved in activities such as these four: establishing channels of communication between the main protagonists to facilitate private exploratory discussions 'without commitment in all matters that have or could cause tensions.' setting up an organization that can offer services for parties engaged in conflicts within and between nations establishing a centre to educate people undertaking such work and creating a research centre or network in which know-how and techniques are developed to support the tasks listed above.

Reychler concludes that 'Religions and religious institutions have an untapped and under-used integrative power potential. To assess this potential and to understand which factors enhance or inhibit joint peace ventures between the Christian religions, but also between the prophetic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam), the Indian religions (Hinduism and Buddhism) and the Chinese wisdom religions, is an urgent research challenge'.

Religious actors and faith-based organizations are now present at every stage of the conflict transformation cycle. They work in peace education and conflict prevention, in mediation and conflict resolution, in interreligious dialogue, in building networks of local leaders for peace, in post-settlement social reconstruction and trauma work, and in the academies and courts where human rights, including religious freedom, are given theoretical depth and cross-

---

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, Reychler, Luc, 1997, 'Religion and Conflict', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp19-38

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, Reychler, Luc, 1997, 'Religion and Conflict', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp19-38

cultural grounding.<sup>54</sup> Their agendas are therefore diverse and range from high-level mediation to grassroots level projects. Peacebuilding projects of faith-based organizations may very closely resemble peacebuilding by secular NGOs. However, in most instances, the various religious orientations of these faith-based organizations shape the activities they undertake, including when they introduce peacebuilding components into more traditional relief and development activities.

Whereas the previous dominant international view did not recognize the role of the Church or other non state actors in reconciliation and reconstruction and today, these actors contribute significantly in post conflict reconstructions.<sup>55</sup> Non official agents and particularly the Church, with their moral standing, can effectively channel communication and humanitarian assistance to victims and adversaries in a post conflict environment. This argument is however refuted by those who advocate for total state involvement in the management of post violence situation. Scholars such as Necla Tschirgi, in his study on peace building maintains that post violence situation is at best managed by government as modelled along the Marshall plan of 1948 for the reconstruction of post World War II in Europe and Japan.<sup>56</sup> This paradigm of Top Bottom Approach has been given credence by realist such as Mwagiru M, who argues that the concept of peace building or post violence management is not to end conflict but to prevent its resumption. It is purely, according to them, a political undertaking and not a development nor a humanitarian one. For positive outcome to be realized the state

---

<sup>54</sup> K. Scott Appleby, "Disciples of the Prince of Peace? Christian Resources for Nonviolent Peacebuilding," in *Beyond Violence: Religious Sources of Social Transformation in Judaism*, James L. Heft (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004), p137.

<sup>55</sup> Bercovitch, J. and Rubin, J.Z. *Mediation in International Relations; Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management*. (London: St Martisa Press, 2004)p6

<sup>56</sup> Necla Tschirgi. "Post Conflict Peace keeping Revisited Achievement, Limitations and Challenges (Networks: WSP, 2000)pp82-90

actors must bring in strong democracy, judicial reforms and economic growth which should persist for a reasonable period of time<sup>57</sup> and this does not include the church.

This argument assumes that the government has the monopoly of directing fundamental issues of peace and security within a country and also has a way of overlooking non state actors in the reconciliation and peace building process in a post conflict society. Their position of sole official involvement in the institutional and political reforms smacks an oversight into the structural diversity of modern politics and peace dispensation. Even economic growth cannot take place without grass root support from the citizen, besides all other reforms, apart from needing the participation of non official players, can only take place in a peaceful atmosphere. The Church is closer to the citizenry than the state. Bottom up approach therefore defines the central role the Church should play in peace building effort.<sup>58</sup>

### **1.4.3 The Church and Peace Building in Kenya**

According to Elias Omondi the formation of leadership, mediation, and conflict transformation skills constitute what we may call integrative peace education, an effective means of initiating processes of change in the society. Integrative peace education refers here to different pedagogical initiatives aimed at positively transforming the society, at personal level, through change of attitudes, perceptions and constructed beliefs, and at the community or national level, through the change of unjust structures from cultural, social, political and

---

<sup>57</sup> Mwagiru, M Conflict: *Theory Processes and Institutions Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000) pp18-24

<sup>58</sup> Lederach J and Reynolds L. *Building Peace, Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. (Uzalata. US Institute of Peace 1997) p39

economical perspectives. The approach is integrative because it is multidimensional. In most cases this process is carried out through workshops, formal and informal education.<sup>59</sup>

Spiritually, like psychosocial support, is perhaps one of the most important components in field diplomacy that has not been fully explored. Spiritually in this case is not limited to something religious, but rather the interior movements and reflections that help an aid worker give meaning to what he or she is doing. Developing a spirituality of peace building is a difficult task that depends so much on one's spiritual convictions. The challenge of realizing the Kingdom of God in limited human situations is not an easy one.<sup>60</sup>

In Kenya, the church action in past situation of violence has mainly been in mobilizing resources to help victims of violence. After the 1992 tribal clashes in the Rift Valley the Catholic Church helped by buying material such as blankets, payment for rebuilding of burnt houses and catering for the school fees of the victims children.<sup>61</sup> In the North Eastern parts of Kenya, where violent conflicts especially over resources such as pasture, watering points and livestock theft, have been witnessed, the church, especially the Catholic Church, has been very active in the provision of relief food, sinking of boreholes and disarmament programmes.

The literature gap in this study is therefore identified in close examination of substantial literature and academic master piece are available, particularly, on peace building. These include M. Mwangi, *Peacemaking, Truth and Reconciliation, Boraine, Conflict*

---

<sup>59</sup> Elias, Omondi, Opongo, S., J. (ED.), 2008, "*Peace Weavers: Methodologies Of Peace Building In Africa*," Nairobi, pp124.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, Elias, Omondi, Opongo, S., J. (ED.), 2008, "*Peace Weavers: Methodologies Of Peace Building In Africa*," Nairobi, pp124.

<sup>61</sup> Republic of Kenya, *Report Parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate the Causes of Tribal Clashes in the Rift Valley and Western Provinces (Kiliku Report)* – June, 1992p.98

Management, Zartman, Justice and Reconciliation, Bercoritch J. *et.al*, ad Boulden J., the Role of State in Peace Building. In all these, the role of civil society is looked at in general without individual attention to the Church.

The gap in this study is therefore the lack of focus on the in-depth understanding and exploration of the role of the Church in broader process of peace building. Other studies have concentrated on the role of NGOs, CBOs and Civil Societies<sup>62</sup>, generally but have never isolated the church as one unique player in peace building process. In Kenya little attempts have been made to analyze what role the church played in the post election violence in 2008 and put it into perspective and understanding its outcome in the lives of victims.

The bridging of this gap will therefore provide impetence and forum for the church to play its effective role in peace building process.

#### **1.4.4 THE CHURCH AND PEACE BUILDING OTHER CASE STUDIES**

##### **1.4.4.1 A Case Study of Sudan**

Sudan borders Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, DRC, Central African Republic and Libya. Its size, along with its strategic location straddling the Nile River and abutting the Red Sea, made it a prominent target of revolving door superpower. Intervention and massive arms transfers through cold war as unstable civilian governments alternated with governments installed by military coups after independence in 1956, the country slid deeper into an economic malaise and social crisis, which has been accented by lengthy outbreak of civil war.<sup>63</sup> According to

---

<sup>62</sup> Chigan, D. *The Role of Civil Societies in Conflict Resolution*. (London: Macmilan, 2005) pp.11-36

<sup>63</sup> Monique Makenkamp, Paul van Tongerene and Hans Van de Veen. *Searching for Peace in Africa*. (Publication of European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation 1999) pp 164 – 168.

Makenkamp Sudan has known peace over a short period since achieving independence on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1956. A mutiny in the army in the south led to the outbreak of the first civil war, which held the country in its grip from 1955 to 1972. In 1969 a military coup brought to power General Numeiry, who promised to grant limited autonomy to the south and signed a peace accord in Addis Ababa in 1972. The accord granted regional autonomy to three southern states.

In 1983 new tension between north and south emerged after Numeiry announced the introduction of Islamic legislation (the Sharia law). Shortly after that the transfer of Southern Garrison to the north resulted into setting up of the Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) and second civil war began. In 1985 Numeiry was ousted in a military coup brought about by peaceful popular uprising. A coalition government was formed following elections in 1986 and SPLA agreed to have ceasefire and Sharia was to be suspended but which was rejected by the National Islamic Front a member of the coalition. Just when the coalition government had started discussion into the implementation of the agreements the government was over thrown by Lieutenant General Omar Hassan al Bashir on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1989 and from then on the struggle by the SPLA has continued to fight for the liberation of the south.<sup>64</sup>

In Sudan crisis deliberate attempts have been made by different players both local and international as expressed by Pugh, in a bid to restore peace by employing strategies of peace building. During the 1<sup>st</sup> civil war there was a peace accord signed in Addis Ababa in 1972 granting autonomy to the three southern states, but which never lasted. In 1991 the SPLA split into two factions: the SPLA-mainstream led by John Garang de Mahior and SPI.A-United led by Riek Machar. The SPLA-United has since undergone further rifts (partly as

---

<sup>64</sup> Assefa H. and Wachira (eds) *Peace Making and democratization in Africa, theoretical perspective and church initiative*, Nairobi – Kampala (East Africa Educational Publishers Limited 1996).p56

result of Dinka-Nuer clashes). As a result of the southern rebel inter-factional fighting, government forces managed to recapture a number of garrison towns and to regain the use of some roads and communication infrastructure I 1992. A series of cease-fires brought some respite in 1995, but negotiations to end the fighting failed to get off the ground. In April 1996, the government of Sudan entered into a political charter with six southern rebel groups. Under the terms of the accord the north and the south would remain together in a unitary state and the Sharia and local customs would become the main sources of law.

Several leaders of the rebel groups were rewarded with top government posts. However in January 1998, one of them, Kerubino Bol, with his Dinka-based militia, defected from the government side, realigned with SPLA forces, and launched a number of surprise attacks on government forces in Bahr al Ghazel province. In 1999 Kerubino rejoined the Sudanese government.<sup>65</sup>In the meantime, the humanitarian situation in several parts of the country further deteriorated. The 1998 famine in the western province of Bahr al Ghazal instigated by the government but made worse by the indifference and incompetence of factions of the rebel movement affected an estimated 2.6 million people, prompting the greatest UN relief operating in human history. On July 15, the SPLA announced a three month cease fire in the province, and opened three corridors leading to the area. The government then implemented a one-month truce, which was later extended to April 1999. However, hundreds of thousands failed to survive the catastrophe, adding to the misery of a people who have known little if any peace in their lives.

In May 1998 the Sudanese government agreed with SPLA on a referendum that could, in theory, lead to independence. However, no attempt has been made to allow the electorate to

---

<sup>65</sup> Monica Kathina Juma, *Conflict Prevention, Management and Conflict Resolution in Africa: A reader* (Pretoria University Law Press Pulp 2007) pp 126 - 135



vote on the issue. In February 1999, president Bashir once again offered independence to the south but most of those closest to the situation remain sceptical. This scepticism is fed by the continuing delays in setting dates for a fresh round of peace negotiations in Nairobi under the auspice of the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).<sup>66</sup> Most African diplomats emphasize the importance of African solutions for the problems in Sudan. From non-African countries they expect pressure on Sudanese government to return to the negotiating table and keep its promises. The IGAD mediation efforts, involving neighbouring countries Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, as well as the support from the (western) IGAD partners Forum, are in line with this.

In a study for the Swedish Life and Peace Institute, Dr Raphael K. Bdal found that the institutions of elders and chiefs managed to retain their status as important socio-political factors, influencing and guiding everyday social and economic interactions within and between groups at grass root levels. They appear to be principle instruments for reconciling ethnic groups who contest such issues as grazing land, water boreholes and instance of livestock raiding. This suggests that these structures constitute a basis upon which a new civil society can be built. These structures might be strengthened or empowered to be more effective both in local context with possible effect upon the nation as a whole. Besides these traditional structures, churches, women groups and local NGOs have a special role to play in situations where government and the international NGOs either cannot or prefer not to act. Several peace conferences and agreements have been organized in recent years by churches, women groups and community leaders, mostly to address serious intra-tribal fighting or to promote reconciliation.

---

<sup>66</sup> M. Mwangiri, B. A. Kiplagat and J. Odera, *Security Protocols in the Horn of Africa* (Research document prepared for the African leadership forum on security in Africa) 1997 pp 9 – 10.

According to Mwangiri it is important that those seeking peace in Sudan take note of this<sup>67</sup> conclusion for it is obvious that the large-scale conflict cannot be resolved without a significance broadening of the peace process to include all segments of society. The fact that it has not been possible to stop this war, which has been going on for so long, is a very strong indication of the weaknesses of conventional diplomatic approaches that were tried to address peace issues exclusively through military and political leaders. It is in this context that the peace endeavours of the churches in both the north and the south, New Sudan Council of Churches as well as NGOs are important. In March 1999 the Sudan Council of Churches facilitated a successful Dinka-Nuer west bank peace and reconciliation conference, held in Bahr al Ghazal. The Wunlit Dinka-Nuer Covenant was signed by more than 300 Dinka and Nuer chiefs, community and church leaders, women and youth. It boldly promised an end to seven and a half years of conflict between the two groups and declared a permanent cease fire with immediate effect.

Mwangiri further clarifies that the Sudan Working Group under the All African Conference of Churches (AACC) based in Nairobi monitored all peace efforts in Sudan and fulfils a special co-coordinating role in the peace efforts of the churches. The Ecumenical Forum on Sudan under the World Council of Churches (Geneva) monitors and co-ordinates all efforts by the Sudanese churches and church based development agencies concerning peace in Sudan. Already in 1972, the Addis Ababa agreement was achieved through the mediation of the AACC and the World Council of Churches. Both organizations signed the agreement as guarantors of peace, but failed to follow through this commitment. The Sudanese Catholic Information Office (SCIO) is the press office of Sudanese Catholic bishops, working in the non government controlled areas in Sudan. It started in April 1995 and is located in Nairobi.

---

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, M. Mwangiri, *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa*(1985)pp23-25

SCIO disseminates information on Sudan through the publication of documents, articles, videos and radio programmes. The Sudan monthly report is distributed by email.

#### **1.4.4.2 A Case Study of South Africa**

Africa as a continent has experienced a number of conflicts in diverse forms and nature. Just as elsewhere, these conflicts often degenerate into physical violence with serious consequences on human development. Globally, the sources of conflicts normally include contestation of ideals, weapon proliferations, North- South economic divide and geo political transition. At regional level, conflicts may include spill over, cross border social demography, state aggression and destabilization through externally sponsored revolt.<sup>68</sup>

According to other scholars such as Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A conflict may also develop from a mere difference between ethnic groups or races. Such conflict would evolve into a contradiction, then polarization, violence and eventual war.<sup>69</sup> This view is supported by Ramsbotham, who concluded that countries trace their conflict from factors such as weak social structures, ethnic imbalances, weak economy, poor resource allocation, relative deprivation, poor political system weak legal framework, partisan government, illegitimate regime, exclusionist policies, factional interest, rapacious leadership and authoritarian tendencies of the government.<sup>70</sup> This claim basically matches the situation that existed in South Africa.

---

<sup>68</sup> Ramsbotham O. et al "*Contemporary Conflict Resolution*" (Cambridge : Polity Press, 2006) pp10- 11

<sup>69</sup> Collier, P and Hoeffler, A. "*Conflict.*" in Bjorn Lomborg (Ed), *Global Crises, Global solution*, (Cambridge: University Press: 2004) pp129

<sup>70</sup> Op.cit, Ramsbotham O. et al (2006) pp97-106

The extent of conflicts and subsequent instability that existed in Africa generally and within South Africa in particular could be blamed on violence that claimed a number of human lives and destruction of properties.<sup>71</sup> Most of the black Africans become impoverished economically, while tribal homelands remained without essential services for their basic survival.

Whereas there were a number of factors responsible for the conflicts and subsequent violence realized in South Africa, the most obvious ones according to Barcovitch are political deprivation, cultural prejudice, ethnicity, and exclusionist tendencies.<sup>72</sup> The black homeland lagged behind in all forms of development. This became a source of serious resentment against the white racist rule.

The white regime in South Africa pushed the idea of strengthening separate tribal identity to the extreme through its apartheid policy which in essence was a carry-over colonial tradition of classifying Africa into tribes<sup>73</sup>. This brought a lot of resentment and hatred which consequently formed the basis of violence in South Africa. The outcome of all these circumstances that started in early 1960 and reached a devastating level in 1980/1990s were deaths, loss of human integrity, destruction of properties and untold human suffering. The violence became expansive and extended to neighbouring countries such as Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania

---

<sup>71</sup> Irobi, G.E. "*Ethnic Conflict Management in Africa.*" *A comparative Case Study of Nigeria and South Africa. Annotated Conflict Cases* ([www.beyondintrability.org/casestudies/nigeria-southafrica.](http://www.beyondintrability.org/casestudies/nigeria-southafrica)) Accessed 26/2/2009

<sup>72</sup> Barcovitch, J. et al, "*International Mediation*", *A Multi-level Approach to Conflict Management* (London; Macmillan, 1992) pp99-112

<sup>73</sup> Republic of South Africa; *Report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Pretoria; Government Press, 1998) pp 30

The impact of conflicts in South Africa imperatively brought the need for lasting solution. For the country to stand together in the face of all these ills and abuses, the need for reconciliation became overwhelmingly important especially after the destruction of apartheid and subsequent black majority rule in 1994. Through an Act of Parliament, the national Reconciliation and Unity Act, the Republic of South Africa formed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate victims of human rights abuses and people requesting amnesty for acts they committed, authorized or failed to prevent<sup>74</sup>.

Envisaged in the objects of the commission, was an impelling need to allow people to confess their acts and seek forgiveness from their victims. The Act also sought to give victims a chance to meet their abusers and seek justice and retribution whenever they felt necessary. This process of peace building involved sensual players including the church, local and international NGOs, the public and private sectors and a host of other international players. According to Boulden, the roles these groups include but not limited to mobilization of resources, building of trust and consensus, facilitation, instituting legal redress where necessary and supporting economic reconstruction<sup>75</sup>. Boulden further demonstrated that peace building through truth and reconciliation is largely but not exclusively restricted to the government and the United Nations only extends to the church and the NGOs which are the grass root actors with even more significant roles.

A number of scholars and structuralist support this debate particularly Zartman, who argue and added that in a traumatic experiences, the church acts as a counsellor, facilitator,

---

<sup>74</sup> Republic of South Africa; *Report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Pretoria; Government Press, 1998)p10

<sup>75</sup> Boulden,J.(ed). *Dealing with Conflicts in Africa: (The United Nations Organizations, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003)p.211*

mediator and ideological shapers to bring together the disputant to solve their problems peacefully.

The church for one will allow for increased local actors participation and boasts of local knowledge and wisdom. It is one being focal point through which human relationship and subsequent participation in truth and reconciliation can be mobilized.<sup>76</sup>

In the implementation of the tenets of truth and reconciliation, the Church acts more often as an effective channel for communication (dialogue) given their moral authority with which both the victims and abusers of human rights hold them. The role of the church in South Africa was more effective in changing the mode of interaction between adversaries with the suggested steps towards reconciliation. Additionally, the church is perceived to be widely acceptable and therefore non partisan, resources such as material handouts were channelled through it to help victims of extreme deprivation by the white racist in South Africa. Their acceptability also brought in their status, resources, ideas and knowledge for the benefit of truth and reconciliation.<sup>77</sup>

Other than mere ideological influence and their position as conduits through which resources are channelled, the Church in South Africa also played a role in bringing adversaries together. Scholars such as Frei and Banks found out that in truth and reconciliation, the victims and perpetrators of crimes who shared religious ideological values are more likely to succeed in hammering peace between them than others. In South Africa the church used this philosophy to implore their flock to yield to the truth and reconcile in the spirit of forgiveness and

---

<sup>76</sup> Zartman, I.W. *"Ripe for Resolution": Conflict and Intervention in Africa.*(New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)pp1-5

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, Zartman, I. W. *"Ripe for Resolution": Conflict and Intervention in Africa.*(New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)pp1-5

posterity of the country in their shared future. The church therefore appeared to have narrowed the differences between the parties in dispute and intense suspicion especially the racist white and blacks and the Khosa and Twana. The Anglican Church in particular used referent power to facilitate the formation of truth and reconciliation in the country. Its Head, the right reverent Bishop Desmond Tutu even chaired the Commission.<sup>78</sup>

### **1.5 Justification of the study**

The study is significant for a number of reasons particularly in academics, conflict resolution and peace building.

#### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

The study undertakes to fill in the gap of knowledge that arises with limited literature on peace building by the church in the aftermath of election violence in Kenya. This is because of the fact that it is the first time ever that the election violence erupted in that magnitude in Kenya which had previously been considered to be an island of peace within the region. The substantial literature which is available on peace building includes Mwangi, Peacemaking, Truth and Reconciliation, Boraine, Conflict Management, Zartman, Justice and Reconciliation, Bercovitch, and Boulden, the role of state in peace building. In all these, the role of civil society is looked at in general without individual attention to the church. What is lacking, therefore, is an in-depth understanding and exploration of the role of the Church in broader process of peace building. In this regard, track two conflict management which

---

<sup>78</sup> *ibid*, Zartman, I.W. "Ripe for Resolution": *Conflict and Intervention in Africa*.(New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)pp1-5

usually involve the civil society, NGOs, relief agency individuals and the There are diverse un-official conflict managers in Africa. These include churches especially catholic, Anglican and Quaker, relief agencies, NGOs and individuals who have a vocation for peace and calling for conflict management. However these organizations have not been involved directly in conflict management activities. They have been largely involved more in supportive rather than directive roles in conflict management<sup>79</sup>.

Churches have been silent operator, and this accounts for its lack of visibility on the conflict management scene. This research will therefore attempt to analyze and document the role of the church in peace building especially in post election conflict in Kenya. Academically the study will help in contributing to dual diplomacy debate (track one and track two) recognizing the fact that in every conflict there are both negotiable and non-negotiable aspects. According to Mwangi, the negotiable aspects are more formalized elements like the post conflict structures, such as constitution and composition of armies and cabinet<sup>80</sup>. These issues are bargain-able and in deed must be bargained and therefore best suited to be addressed by track one diplomacy given its structures and approaches.

On the other hand there are those non-negotiable aspects of conflict which are about values, which are clearly not susceptible to bargaining process and should therefore be managed through track two diplomacy approaches such as problem solving workshops. Just as track two diplomacy ought to defer to track one diplomacy in areas of strength and competence, so too track one diplomacy should defer to track two in those areas it is stronger and better prepared. The study will also add to a wealth of information to the already existing literature

---

<sup>79</sup> Yasmin, S "Ethnic Pluribus Unum, 'Race and Reconciliation" in Adekeye' A. A and Landsberg C. (eds). *South Africa in Africa; The Post Apartheid Decade* (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press,2007) pp132-133.

<sup>80</sup> *Op.Cit.* Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*(2006) p38



in overall conflict management in Africa but more particularly in Kenya. It will also elicit renewed interest on the importance of the Church in reconciliation efforts and reconstruction of those societies ravaged by atrocities, hatred and violence.<sup>81</sup>

### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

At policy front the study will help to place the concept of mobilization in perspective in line with organs such as the Church and other non official actors. This could inform and influence policy making process given the fact that it is the first time it has happened in Kenya in such magnitude and appeal to policy makers to give due attention to the church, NGOs and community based organizations (CBOs) involved in peace building process in Kenya. It will also encourage Church to play an active role in peace building and reconstruction in Kenya.

### **1.6 Research Hypotheses**

The peace building initiatives by the Church has brought reconciliation among the communities in Kibera.

The strategies of peace building by the church have lead to reconstruction of shattered lives of communities in Kibera.

The effective role of the church in peace building has promoted co-existence of communities in Kibera.

---

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*(2006) p40

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical Framework to be used in this study is Conflict Transformation. According to Miller conflict transformation refers to changes in one or more of the following matters relating to a conflict: the general context or framing of the situation, the contending parties, the issues at stake, the processes or procedures governing the predicament, or the structure affecting the aforementioned. Conflict transformation may occur through unintended consequences or deliberate actions of the parties internal or external to the conflict.<sup>82</sup> In any conflict situation, the actors, issues and interests are being constantly transformed.<sup>83</sup> As Vayrynen notes:

A dynamic analysis of conflicts is indispensable; the study of their resolution in a static framework belies social reality....the issues, actors and interests change over time as a consequence of the social, economic and political dynamics of societies....New situational factors, learning experiences, interaction with the adversary and other influences caution against taking actor preferences as given....conflicts are continuously transformed even if efforts to resolve them explicitly have not made any visible progress. As a matter of fact, many intractable

---

<sup>82</sup> C. E. Miller, *A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies, Second Edition* (Addis Ababa: UPEACE Africa, 2005), pp26 – 27.

<sup>83</sup> R. Vayrynen, "To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts" in R. Vayrynen (ed.) *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation* (London: Sage, 1991), pp1 - 25

conflicts of interests and values may find their solution only through the process of transformation.<sup>84</sup>

Conflict is an intrinsic aspect of social change.<sup>85</sup> Conflict is expression heterogeneity of interests and values that arise as new constructs generated by social change come up against previous constraints. Social change is structural and may introduce incompatibilities of goals.<sup>86</sup> It is therefore vital to take social context into consideration in any analysis of conflict situation.

Conflict resolution aims to stop violence but its framework does not always lead to clarity about what should be built in its place. Conflict transformation, however, goes deeper by addressing what we need to stop and also what we hope to build. It presents the problem of conflict as an opportunity to transform the relationships and systems in which the relationships are embedded. According to Lederach, there are four fundamental dimensions of conflict transformation: personal, relational, structural and cultural.<sup>87</sup> The personal dimension refers to change effected in, and desired for the individual which involve emotional, perceptual and spiritual aspect of a conflict. The personal dimension relates to people who have direct face to face contact. It entails changes in communication patterns, stereotypes, polarization, and trust. Structural aspects underscore that conflicts impact system and structures how relationships are organized and who has the power from the family and

---

<sup>84</sup> R. Vayrynen, "To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts" in R. Vayrynen (ed.) *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation* (London: Sage, 1991), pp59

<sup>85</sup> Ramsbotham, T. Woodhouse and H. Miall, *Resolution, Second Edition (C Conflict ambridge: Polity, 2005)*, pp 13

<sup>86</sup> J. Galiung, "A Structural Theory of Aggression" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 1, No.2 (1964), pp95 - 119

<sup>87</sup> J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1997), pp81 - 84

organization to communities and whole societies. Conflict transformation entails vital positive change in social structures. Cultural aspects imply that violent causes deep seated cultural changes, for example, the norms of behaviour that guide the patterns of behaviour between elders and youth or women and men. According to Lederach, "Conflict transformation represents a comprehensive set of lenses of describing how conflict emerges from, emerges within, and brings about changes in personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions through non-violent mechanisms."<sup>88</sup> In a conflict transformation context, roles and relationships have to be redesigned in the process of restructuring the patterns of interaction.<sup>89</sup> The church can revitalize and enhance its role in each of the aspects.

info  
KC

In order to provide a resolution to conflicts in society a transformation of the relationships among different conflicting groups is needed.<sup>90</sup> What is required is not a minimally acceptable political agreement but a basis for a stable, long term peace and cooperative, mutually enhancing relationships that contribute to the welfare and development of all groups in the country. This is a gradual process within which it is vital to establish a crosscutting ties in and common interests. The needs of different conflicting groups should come to be viewed as interdependent. It is vital for different groups to practice reciprocity of respect and come to regard the interests of other groups as also legitimate.

This theoretical framework is relevant to the study in the sense that conflict transformation will facilitate reconciliation building personal relationships and promoting the peaceful

---

<sup>88</sup> J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1997), pp81 - 84

<sup>89</sup> H. W. Jeong, *Peace Conflict Studies: An Introduction* (Aldershot: Ashgat, 2000), pp37 - 38

<sup>90</sup> H. C. Kelman, "Transforming the Relationship between Former Enemies: A Socio-psychological Analysis in R. Rothstein (ed.) *After the Peace: Resistance and Reconciliation* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp193-205.

coexistence of different communities in Kibera. According to Lederach, conflict transformation is a comprehensive lens of describing how conflict emerges from within, and brings about change in personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions and developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions through non-violence mechanisms<sup>91</sup>.

## **1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section outlines the framework under which a comprehensive study will be based. The areas covered here include research design, target population, sample size and sample techniques, source of data, (data collection instruments), and methods of data collection, analysis and processing.<sup>92</sup>

### **Research Design**

The study will be analytical in nature as spelt out by Yin. This kind of design will make use of updated data collected during the process of peace building in Kibera.

The design is chosen because the data expected is both quantitative and qualitative in nature and data will be presented as basic facts hence being suited for the social, economic and political issues. Most of the information required is however non-numerical and hence the design will enable the presentation of data in the way they exist.

### **Target Population**

---

<sup>91</sup> *Opcit*, J. Lederach, *Building Peace : Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*,pp81-84

<sup>92</sup> Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G., "*Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.*" (Nairobi: Act Press, 1999) p.41.

The target respondents for the study include the church leaders drawn from both the mainstream and the peripheral (small) churches. The total number of churches in the study area (Kibera) is estimated to be three hundred according to the report by Care Kenya<sup>93</sup>; a hundred churches were targeted for study. Thirty five churches were sampled based on their involvement in peace building initiatives.

### **Sample Size and Sampling Techniques**

The study used purposive sampling technique based on knowledge experience and judgement to select the most desirable elements for a given study. The study sampled out thirty five churches for in-depth interview in which one leader from each church was interviewed using semi structured interview schedule to act as a guide to the interviewer. This approach was chosen to make the interview more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting the issues to be taken up in the interview as envisaged by Rukwaru<sup>94</sup>. This also corresponds to the thirty percent of the population under study as a representative sample. The selection of the respondents was based on factors such as their strategic role in peace building process in the aftermath of electoral violence in Kibera.

### **Data and Data Sources**

Information was drawn from both primary and secondary sources through purposive interview and selection of strategic secondary sources respectively. Library research and primary data sources constituted the source of investigation. Consequently, the library research was essentially documentary, hinging majorly on secondary sources of information. The secondary sources of information include journal, articles, magazines newspapers,

---

<sup>93</sup> Care International, Report on Building Peace: Bridging Peace Message(B-NEP,Kibera May2009)p2

<sup>94</sup> M. Rukwaru, *Fundamentals of Social Research* (Eureka Publishers,2007) pp52

books, statistical abstract public documents, periodical and any other such literature that are deemed adequate in giving appropriate information, Primary data source collected from church leaders through interview schedules was semi structured to enlist the same question to different respondents.

Purposive sampling was used to identify key informants who mainly comprised of church leaders who have undertaken the peace building programmes to participate in the study.

### **Data Processing and Analysis**

All the relevant findings and data were collected, recorded and analyzed. Particular emphasis was laid on the role of the church in peace building process in Kibera slums; with the aim of illuminating on the effectiveness of the role of Church in Kenya after the post Election violence.

### **Limitations and Presumptive Solutions to the Study**

The study encountered a number of limitations especially on the following areas:

#### **Lack of Funds**

A study of this type required a huge financial outlay. The study nonetheless, stuck to the budgetary estimate which was already in place as much as possible, and relied upon data which could easily be drawn from secondary sources.

#### **Non Response and Inaccurate Data**

It was difficult to extract information from some of the respondents for fear of the sensitivity of the matter. This limitation was alleviated by the researcher making prior appointment to the respondent and explaining the purpose of the research which is purely academic.

On the same strength the respondents may have given information which is inaccurate for fear of victimization. This limitation was however overcome by the researcher's assurance to the respondents that the information given would be used only for academic purpose and by validating the information by asking the same question to all the respondents.

## **1.9 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

### **Peace Building**

An action undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of fighting

### **Negotiation**

Negotiation can be considered the fundamental form of dispute resolution. Essentially it involves two or more parties working together to examine their interest and needs and working out a solution that will give the best possible outcome to both sides. This can be done cooperatively, as it is in principled negotiation, or it can be done in a competitive way as in typical in distributive bargaining.

### **Mediation**

Mediation is a form of third party intervention in which the mediator helps the parties negotiate an agreement which they have the option of accepting or rejecting. In some cases, mediators play a problem solving role focused upon negotiating an agreement to the immediate dispute. In other cases mediation focuses more upon improving relationships with the assumption that improved relationship will lead to conflict resolution or constructive confrontation.



## **Dialogue**

Dialogue is a process in which parties engage in deep and meaningful conversations with their opponents, not for the purposes of resolving a dispute (as is usually true with negotiation or mediation), but rather for the purpose of developing a better understanding of the people “on the other side”. Through dialogue, disputants break down negative stereotypes, focus on deep-rooted feelings, values, and needs and come to understand the complexity of the conflict and the issues on all sides.

## **Trust Building**

In prolonged and exalted conflicts, distrust is inevitable and it significantly hampers the ability of the parties to negotiate even a partial solution to their problems. A variety of trust-building measures are available to slowly build up trust so that more co-operative problem solving approaches can take place. In addition, implementation plans can be developed that largely eliminate the need for trust by being self-enforcing.

## **Reconciliation**

Reconciliation strategies are designed to resolve the underlying conflict, rather than settle the immediate dispute episode. They require the parties to reconcile their underlying differences and transform their relationship to that of “normalcy”. This is a long, slow process involving trust-building, apology, forgiveness and variety of other peace-building measures.

## **1.10 CHAPTER LAYOUT**

### **Chapter One: Introduction To The Role of the Church in peace Building in the aftermath of Post Election Violence in Kibera.**

This chapter constitutes the research proposal. It comprises the skeleton of the entire study. It points out the study objectives, justification, through to the hypotheses and methodology adopted.

### **Chapter Two: Different Debates on Peace Building and the Role of the Church in Kenya**

Different debates on Peace Building are analyzed in this chapter. It gives an overview on various theories of peace building and appreciates that one of the best ways through which conflicts can be prevented is through peace building and involvement of the church in the Peace Process.

### **Chapter Three: Role of the Church in Peace Building a Case Study of Kibera**

This chapter critically analyzes the Church's involvement in the aftermath of post election violence in Kibera mediation.

### **Chapter four: Conclusions and Recommendations.**

Eventually the chapter draws conclusions arising from the analysis made in the foregoing chapters. The chapter also offers general recommendations, policy recommendations, besides raising issues for further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### DEBATES IN PEACE BUILDING

#### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will interrogate debates about the definition and aims of peace building, debates on means of peace. It will also look at the debates on temporal aspects and on actors of peace building. Lastly the focus will be on the debate on the role of the church in peace building as advanced by scholars on peace building in the international arena which has been characterized by inter and intra-state conflicts.

International relations have undergone changes in recent decades. After the Cold War, world politics is characterized by two major factors: liberal democracy, rooted in the ideology of peace against the philosophy of “arm race<sup>1</sup>” and market economy. Africa is no exception to this global change. The substantial implications of this global change have been, in the main, a deliberate transition from authoritarianism toward democratic governance<sup>2</sup>, and considerable shift from the trend of inner-state conflicts towards an increasing number of protracted and horrendously brutal intra-state conflicts most often characterized by ethnic clashes and armed violence<sup>3</sup>, and carried out in such a way as to seriously violate international humanitarian law, human rights conventions and statutes, and inflict large-scale

---

<sup>1</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *an Agenda for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peace Making and Peace Keeping, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of The Secretary Council on 31 January 1992* (New York: United Nations, 1992), p5.

<sup>2</sup> K. Matlosa, “Elections and Conflicts in Southern Africa,” in Alfred Nhema, and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, eds., *the Resolution of African Conflicts. The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Resolution* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), p118.

<sup>3</sup> The “Heidelberg Conflict Barometer 2008” accounted for 345 contemporary conflicts in 2008. 134 of these conflicts involve armed violence and most of them are intra-state conflicts. Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, *Conflict Barometer 2008* (Heidelberg: Department of Political Science, Hllk),p17

suffering on civilian populations. Another significant implication is the rise of new approaches to conflict transformation and peace building in the post-cold war era.

## **2.1 Debates about the Definition and Aims of Peace Building**

The term peace building is generally considered to have had its origin from the former Secretary General of United Nations Boutros Ghali in his report of 1992 on “An Agenda for Peace” and even then some confusion was already evident about the term. The Secretary General considered that Peace Building consisted of sustained cooperative work, to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. Yet the measures listed included disarming, restoring order, destroying weapons, repatriating refugees, training security forces, monitoring elections, advancing human rights, reforming institutions and promoting political participation<sup>4</sup>.

Many of these measures are short term to medium term interventions and not carrying the notion of sustained efforts that address underlying causes that can put the achieved peace in a durable condition. From the onset peace building emerged as unclear concept and to some extent remained so ever since. More recent notions of peace building have tended to broaden the concept even more encompassing in democratic development, gender, human rights and justice as Lederach put it that “you cannot have true reconciliation without justice<sup>5</sup>”

There are many possible definitions of peace building. Following the UN emphasis on ‘post-conflict peace building’, Roland Paris in his seminal study *At War's End* narrows his definition to

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, B. Ghali, *An agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking ,Peacekeeping, Report of Secretary General*(New York, United Nations, 1992),p5

<sup>5</sup> J. Lederach, *Building Reconciliation in Divided Society* (Washington United States Institute of Peace, 1997)pp24-26

*“...action undertaken at the end of a civil conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of fighting. A peace building mission involves the deployment of military and civilian personnel from several international agencies, with a mandate to conduct peace building in a country that is just emerging from a civil war”<sup>6</sup>.*

However, the increasing popular term ‘peace building’ is also used in a much broader sense as a generic term or ‘brand’ for peace oriented efforts. A definition that represents this general meaning in policy and applied research as follows,

*“Peace building attempts to encourage the development of the structural conditions, attitudes and modes of political behaviour that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately prosperous social and economic development. Peace building activities are designed to contribute to ending or avoiding armed conflict and may be carried out during armed conflict, in its wake, or as an attempt to prevent an anticipated armed conflict from starting. Peace building activities fall under four main headings: to provide security, to establish the socio-economic foundations of long-term peace, likewise to establish the political framework of long-term peace and to generate reconciliation, a healing of the wounds of war, and justice”<sup>7</sup>*

The concept and theories of peace building spring from a need for a common discourse such as trans-national policy initiatives that do not fall neatly within the traditional categories of domestic and international affairs. The concept of peace building intersects with the concepts of state building, nation building, reconstruction, regime change, conflict transformation, non-coercive humanitarian intervention among others. However, it is important for our project that we keep a focus on the notion and aim of peace building, as this bears with it a

---

<sup>6</sup> P. Roland, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. (Cambridge University Press, 2004) p27.

<sup>7</sup> D. Smith, 2004. *Towards a Strategic Framework for Peace building: Getting Their Act Together*. Overview Report of the Joint Ustein Study of Peace building.’ The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pp9-11

certain ethical and political meaning that we do not find, for instance, in the notion of state building.

The definition of peace building also puts to considerations the universe of cases involved. This poses the question, which are these cases of peace building? Peace building missions can be categorized in different manners. Simon Chesterman<sup>8</sup> contends that “in *You the People* distinguish between the *administrative functions* of UN and operations”. From this scheme, we can see a gradual scale from the relatively limited functions in DR Congo and Sierra Leone, through the responsibility for police, elections and limited executive power in Cambodia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the transitional administrations in East-Timor and Kosovo with full executive, legislative and judicial powers. Another useful categorization is made by Oliver Richmond<sup>9</sup> in *The Transformation of Peace* between the liberal *political nature* of missions – from hyper-conservative, conservative and orthodox to emancipator. Paris, in his assessment of the fourteen major international peace building operations that were deployed between 1989 and 1999, groups these with regard to the *impact* of their liberalization-for-peace efforts. For example, Angola and Rwanda, the Perils of Political Liberalization; Cambodia and Liberia, Democracy Diverted; Bosnia and Croatia: Reinforcing Ethnic Divisions; Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala: Reproducing the Sources of Conflict; Namibia and Mozambique: Relative Success Stories.

The aim of peace building is to create positive peace, in accordance with Galtung concepts of peace, (negative peace and positive peace). He called the mere absence<sup>10</sup> of war negative

---

<sup>8</sup> Chesterman, Simon, 2004. *You, the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building*. Oxford: Oxford University Press p32

<sup>9</sup> Richmond, P. Oliver, 2005. *The Transformation of Peace*. Hound mills: Palgrave Macmillan, p23

<sup>10</sup> J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: peace and conflict, development and civilization*(sage.London, 1996)pp1-3

peace. On the other hand he called positive peace as the social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new dispute does not escalate into war.

It is generally agreed that the task of peacebuilding is to promote positive peace. This has become a starting point of the analyses, from which the next step often concerns the addressing of the 'root causes' of a conflict.<sup>11</sup> The root causes of conflicts are frequently complex, and hard to identify and understand for would-be peace builders. In developing countries, they often include skewed land distribution, environmental degradation, and unequal political representation on state level.<sup>12</sup> The emphasis on resolving the root causes of conflict has been criticized for being an overly negative row of social conflict, as long as it does not take violent forms, may contribute to a dynamic and innovative society. As it is increasingly acknowledged that social conflict is inevitable, some approaches to peacebuilding have turned the focus from the root causes to good governance and peaceful dispute movement mechanisms.

These reasons, it can be argued as the main aim of peacebuilding would be to remove violence as a tool for conflict resolution. However, it is quiet conceivable that democratic environment, judicial reform, and other measures in the good governance tool box will erode and decompose in the strong social tensions. Therefore, some do not rest content with good governance and feel that positive peacebuilding must primarily address the root causes of conflict and to solve them, otherwise there is no lasting peace.

---

<sup>11</sup>UN, op cit, 1995, p.49: *DAC Guidelines on conflict peace and development and cooperation*. OECD, 5-6 May 1997. [www.oecd.org/sge/council/ministerial/papers/eng\\_cmin20.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/sge/council/ministerial/papers/eng_cmin20.pdf).> P 11; G Carbonnier. *Conflict. Postwar Rebuilding and the Economy: a critical review of the literature*. WSP Occasional Paper. 2 March 1998. <[www.unicc.org/unrisd/wsp/pop2/toc.htm](http://www.unicc.org/unrisd/wsp/pop2/toc.htm)>

<sup>12</sup> W Zartman (ed.). *Elusive peace: Negotiating an end to civil wars*. The Brookings Institution. New York. 1995 p. 5; J Markakis. *Resource conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Sage. London. 199 p.4

According to Galtung there are two types of conflict, physical violence and non-violence.

Physical violence is familiar because many of the images people confront everyday are about violent conflict. Violent conflict is the most manifest form of conflict. It inflicts physical harm on those affected by it. This kind of conflict is manifested in different levels of conflicts from wife battering in family conflicts to the use of missiles in international conflict.<sup>13</sup>

Galtung further notes that a non-violent conflict on the other hand is more difficult to deal with because in many instances, it cannot be seen or imagined. The best characterization of non-violent conflict is structured conflict. Structured conflict gives rise to structural violence and is no less harmful than violent conflict. Structural conflict as its depiction suggests is conflict which is embedded in the structure of the relationships and interactions where the underlying structure of relationship is unjust and inequitable, it breeds conditions of structural violence, where the weaker party suffers even though not always visibly.<sup>14</sup>

The existence of structural conflict means that it is necessary to look beyond the immediate physical violence and take into account the structure that underlines social relationships, since it might itself be a source of conflict. In many ways, the idea of conflict marks an etymological divide in which one camp embraces the primary of structural conflict and the other looks elsewhere for explanation of conflict.<sup>15</sup>

Galtung is acknowledged as the father of structural violence. He defines structural violence as existing in those conditions in which human beings are unable to realize their full potential, where their semantic and mental realisation is below their potential realization.

---

<sup>13</sup> J. Galtung, Violence Peace and Peace Research, *Journal of Peace Research*(Vol.3 1969) pp167-191

<sup>14</sup> J. Galtung, Cultural Violence, *Journal of Peace Research* (Vol. 27, 1991) pp291-305

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid* J. Galtung, *Violence, Peace and Peace Research*. p186



The differences of perspective are currently blurred by the usage of the word 'conflict'. Conflict is taken to mean both the mere existence of disputes and disagreement over identities; and the use of violence as an attempt to settle these disputes. Some authors are careful to use qualifying conflict as 'violent' often used in the latter sense

Furthermore, distinguishing between the *pretexts* of peace building operations is crucial. Missions following humanitarian interventions operate in a very different climate than missions to assist the implementation of negotiated peace agreements without prior military intervention. Not to speak of the extraordinary challenges of multilateral peace building after unilateral interventions. Peace support operations combining military and civilian elements in a concerted effort of peacemaking.

This list of 'differences' shows how weak universal theories of peace building are deemed to be. Still, the notion of peace building draws attention to particular similarities across cases, as well as to a surprisingly unified 'peace building consensus in international politics according to Richmond.<sup>16</sup> The lacking empirical foundations of this consensus, necessarily involving the experimenting with general recipes on very diverse societies, could provoke an ethical appeal to the replacement of this generic term with more context-sensitive and specific conceptual approaches. Another alternative is to engage with the general strategic discourses on peace building on their own conceptual premises in an attempt at increasing their context sensitivity from the inside. Rejuvenating the notion of peace that unites this consensus would be a major achievement in this respect for two such efforts as discussed by Ginty,<sup>17</sup> and Richmond.

---

<sup>16</sup> *Op.cit*, Richmond, 2005, *The Transformation of Peace*, p23

<sup>17</sup> Ginty, Roger Mac, 2006. *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords* Hound mills: Palgrave Macmillan p21

In today's research and policy environment, there is a peculiar mix of optimism and critique. The optimism is based on a widespread recognition of the vital need for peace building. The critique, on the other hand, inevitably springs from the distance between the high expectations of Idealist rhetoric and the pragmatic reality of peace building in practice. Part of this critique, which has already been firmly discussed in the research literature, is that operations are not *efficient* enough. For instance, the timing of elections or the constitutional models are discussed with regard to what works best. Cases are compared, and conclusions drawn on the basis of where peace was successfully sustained. Other critiques, however, focus on the *legitimacy* of peace building operations<sup>18</sup>. Among other things, they criticize missions for being imperialist, insensitive to differences in culture and gender, or for not including 'the locals' properly in the process.

Until now, policy oriented research has integrated the legitimacy critique in its efficiency calculations. The legitimacy critique is very relevant from an efficiency perspective as it is obvious that peace building operations require a certain extent of local consent and international support for succeeding. However, such efficiency oriented responses are insensitive to the ethical essence of the legitimacy critique, which calls upon a different kind of response. Without grasping this vein of the critique, peace building research will not be able to transcend its current impasse. It is this need for clearing a path for the first step beyond criticism that makes this project so important. When the ethics of peace building has been firmly established, the interface with instrumental concerns of efficiency can be revisited in a more balanced manner.

The issue of how conflict can be prevented and the causes of conflict and war have informed thinking in international relations for a long time. All the theoretical frameworks of

---

<sup>18</sup> Richmond, Oliver P., 2004. 'UN Peace building Operations and the Dilemma of the Peace building Consensus', *International Peacekeeping* 11(1):pp83-102.

international relations<sup>19</sup> for example contain important elements of conflict management.

According to Mwagiru, realist theory postulates a world in constant conflict, in which power and its manipulation serves to maintain order internationally. Pluralists on the other hand see a world characterized by complex interactions at all levels, and posit non-power and cooperative means of maintaining order in the system. The functionalist approaches that took root early in the twentieth century were animated by a vision that a world held together by common institutions and enterprises would experience less conflict; and one in which the functional linkages between states would predispose them more to cooperation than to conflict.<sup>20</sup>

But despite these preoccupations with peace and how it can be achieved and sustained, the international system has continued to experience severe conflicts, so much so that the conflict is now seen as permanent feature of the international system. In Africa, internal conflicts have come to characterize the political map of the continent. Quite clearly, the grand frameworks of international relations theorizing, and the solemn declarations of international law have been unable to create a world without conflict. The international, regional, and sub-regional systems are therefore marked by recurring and festering conflicts of all types.

The problem lies in the dominant visions about what conflict management approaches should achieve. The issue is whether the final aim and end of conflict management should be to resolve conflict, or merely to settle it. It is evident from the record to date, that many of the conflict management enterprises regionally and internationally aim not at resolution but at settlement. These two approaches to conflict management have contended for mastery, and

---

<sup>19</sup> M. Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa; Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, 2006 (Nairobi: Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi),p.36

<sup>20</sup> D. Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1996),pp3-5

provided the location of one of the greatest debates in the field of conflict analysis and management.<sup>21</sup>

As Mwangi observes, in practice, there has always been a clash of visions about what the eventual aim of conflict management should be. This is evident for example, in the mechanisms developed for the East African Community. On the one hand, the community is founded on a belief in the conflict obviating benefits of functionalism. It therefore enshrines cooperative and integrative structures which, if properly functional, will make conflict less likely, or at least less severe. On the other hand, settlement mechanisms have been given prominent through the provision for an East African Community Court. The functional and legalistic approaches currently co-exist quite uneasily. It will not be surprising if the whole community idea collapses under the strains of this clash of perspectives.<sup>22</sup>

## **2.2 Debates on Means of Peace Building**

To the debate on the means of peace building, is the debate on what measures are the most important in this undertaking. As long as funding for peacebuilding ventures remain scarce, programme planners will need to consider carefully which measures to undertake. Since the chosen policies tend to feed back to analytical concepts, policy-makers effectively promote one particular notion of peacebuilding. However, different actors pursue different practices, as is reflected in the literature. They do not agree on the course to follow, causing further confusion about the concept.

---

<sup>21</sup> *Op cit* M. Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa Theory, Process and Institution Management*, 2006. p36

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid* M.Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa Theory, Process and Institution Management*. p37

Regehr for example has stated that “peace is built on social, political, economic and ecological foundations that serve the welfare of the people.”<sup>23</sup> The Canadian Peacebuilding Co-coordinating Committee has published a list which includes a wide variety of economic, political and security issues that they felt must be addressed in peacebuilding.<sup>24</sup> In a paper dealing with UN involvement in Haiti, Kumar and Cousens<sup>25</sup> argue that Haiti is as much a “candidate for nation building, more accurately called peacebuilding” as for conflict resolution, and presents a wide array of challenges and possible responses.

The encompassing perspective in these contributions contrasts to the more limited one evident in the final report from a Berlin conference on peacebuilding: “Firstly, peacebuilding is in the first place a political undertaking, and not a development or humanitarian one; secondly, its priority is not the ending of conflict as such, but to prevent the resumption of violence; thirdly, the time dimension of post conflict peacebuilding is short and medium term, whereas development and nation building is long-term.”<sup>26</sup> In comparing these two perspectives with original statements by Boutros-Ghali, it becomes apparent that the former conforms closely to what he calls “sustained, co-operative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems”, whereas the latter is more omniscient of the shorter term measures.

---

<sup>23</sup> DFAIT. *DFAIT/NGO Peacebuilding Consultation*. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. December 1996 <[www.dfait.macci.gc.ca/peacebuilding/gngoe.report.asp](http://www.dfait.macci.gc.ca/peacebuilding/gngoe.report.asp)>

<sup>24</sup> CPCC. *What activities constitute peacebuilding Canadian Peacebuilding Co-coordinating Committee*, no date. <[www.cpcc.ottawa.on.ca/chart.htm](http://www.cpcc.ottawa.on.ca/chart.htm)>

<sup>25</sup> C Kumar & E Cousens. *Policy briefing: Peacebuilding in Haiti*, International Peace Academy, no date, <[www.ipacademy.org/haiti.htm](http://www.ipacademy.org/haiti.htm)>

<sup>26</sup> W Kuhne (ed.) *Winning the Peace: concept and lessons learned of the post conflict peacebuilding*. Report from International workshop. Berlin, Stiftung Wissenschaft and Politik, Ebenhausen, (Germany, 4th – 6th July 1996) p5

One should note that both excessively wide and excessively narrow definitions of the concept of peacebuilding pose problems of their own. A narrow definition in terms of, for example, time, measures, or actors – may exclude a number of aspects relevant to the achievement of lasting peace. The timeframe available for the International community is limited. This is because of limited resources and also because peace efforts should not be perceived by the host nation as the responsibility of others situation is not likely to emerge in the case long-term external involvement.<sup>27</sup> Akis further contends that national ownership of the peace building process is vital for its eventual success. Moreover it is doubtful in many cases whether external short-term involvement can be anything but to provide an enabling environment or an initial impetus towards finding solutions for the root causes of conflict. This is one of the reasons for the focus on good governance and non-violent conflict resolution, especially where civil war has been the consequence of resource scarcity like in the Horn of Africa or skewed land property structure in Central America what can be accomplished by good governance is limited. In this case the nations must engage in long term activities in a number of sectors.<sup>28</sup> A number of indigenous agents must undertake their own tasks in a long term process of which the result will amount to peace.

From this arises the second concept of peace building. Each concept has its own implications or effective action, for instance dealing with cases like Mozambique in future peace building would be useful perceived of as short-term international involvement. On the other hand future cases would be more effectively addressed through peace building efforts along the lines of second dominated concept, which are long-term efforts by mainly indigenous actors who promote political and economic development and a sustainable solution to the root causes of conflict. This entails action in both political, economic humanitarian and social

---

<sup>27</sup> M. Akis, *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. (Sage, London 1998) p4

<sup>28</sup> M. Akis, *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. (Sage, London 1998) p4

sphere in a broad comprehensive effort that can only be carried through by relying on a multitude of diverse actors. Inherent in this concept's idea is the emphasis on the emergence of local Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society<sup>29</sup> for example, for the concept of peacebuilding to have a distinct analytical meaning and to inspire new things. It needs to be separated from other concepts such as development and nation-building. These latter concepts already have a long history and have proven quite elusive. Therefore, the term 'peacebuilding' should not become infected with the same problems. Care must be taken not to let the meaning of the concept 'slide' towards these older terms.

Nation Building on the other hand includes reintegration of the armed forces both social and economic reintegration. Financing recovery and reconstruction, which is a key challenge to most post-conflict societies. Most post-conflict societies rely considerably on foreign donors since their economies tend to be weak after it has been ravaged by war. Domestic sources however include saved expenditure (peace dividends) private savings, taxations and borrowing from the public. The International assistance also comes in handy and takes the shape of relief assistance which includes food, clothing and logistics. Rehabilitation which includes rebuilding physical infrastructure<sup>30</sup> as noted by Lederach such as schools, health centres, water and sanitation and roads.

---

<sup>29</sup> *Op cit* W. Zartman (ed), *Elusive Peace Negotiation and End to Civil War* ( The Brookings Institute, New York 1995) pp5-6

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, J. Lederach, *Building Reconciliation in Divided Society*,p25

### **2.3 Debates on the Temporal Aspects of Peace Building**

A major point of confusion in the literature is when activities referred to as peacebuilding commence and when they end. Some of the discrepancy may be related to different perceptions of what peacebuilding is and who undertakes it, as described by other dimensions.

The European Union refers to a list a phases through which a particular conflict may pass: a situation without obvious tension, a situation of tension open conflict and post count situation.<sup>31</sup> To this list should be added a distinct phase, the so-called 'twilight zone', that occurs after open conflict has ended. There is some disagreement on the exact meaning of this term, but it is useful, since it draws attention to difficult transition phase. As De Soto<sup>32</sup> explains, "During this period there are many aspects to a conflict, even if they appear to be peaceful, which needs to be addressed." The phases of a conflict are thus situation without obvious tension; situation of tension; open conflict; twilight zone; and post-conflict situation.

It is generally agreed that peacebuilding can take place during all these phases. One notable exception is mentioned in *An Agenda for Peace*, which states that preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve conflicts before physical violence breaks out, peacemaking and peacekeeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for post-conflict peacebuilding which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and people."<sup>33</sup> Thus according to this document, peacebuilding sequentially follows peacekeeping.

---

<sup>31</sup> European Commission. *Conflicts in Africa: Communication from the Commission to the Council: The European Union and the issue of conflicts in Africa: Peacebuilding, conflict prevention and beyond*. Collection 2 June 1995 November 1997 <europa.eu.int/comm./dg08/recueil/en/en17/en171.htm>

<sup>32</sup> *Op.Cit*, A De Soto. In Kuhne

<sup>33</sup> *Op cit* , UN



The Secretary-General modified his position in the 1995 *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace*,<sup>34</sup> and suggested that peacebuilding can also be preventive. It is thus not necessarily related to peacekeeping operations. Hence, peace building as a concept, from being at first a strictly post-conflict undertaking, has evolved to acquire a broader meaning. The general consensus is that peacebuilding should already be attempted during situation of tension phase.

There is also disagreement over the duration of peacebuilding activities. The approach until now has been to schedule the end of peacebuilding efforts at the time of general, national elections, as was the case in Mozambique. This adds up to a time span of 2 to 3 years for the operation. Paris feels that this much is too short and recommends a time span of 7 to 10 years, until the time of the second election.<sup>35</sup> This is in keeping with the concept that the purpose of peace building is to avoid a return of conflict and that in some cases this may require ambitious Nation Building efforts. For example in the case of Ahiti and Rwanda, because of massive conflict and severe destruction of the country's socio-political, environmental, cultural and economic system and massive loss of lives, they need to go for more years to heal.

Purpose of peacebuilding is to avoid a return to conflict and that "in some cases this requires ambitious 'nation building' efforts."<sup>36</sup> It has already been shown above that the National

---

<sup>34</sup> UN *Supplement to an agenda for peace: Position paper of the Secretary-General on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations*. 3 January 1995 <[www.un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html](http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html)>

<sup>35</sup> Paris *op. cit*

<sup>36</sup> SIPRI *Peace, security and conflict prevention* SIPRI UNESCO Handbook, Oxford University Press. Mew York. 1998

Peace Academy contends that Haiti is a candidate for “nation building, more accurately called peacebuilding”, thus stressing its midterm character.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps not surprisingly, those who are financially able to fund building support operations are likely to recommend long-term international involvement in peacebuilding. They do not equate peacebuilding with nation-building. In a statement by the OECD Development Assistance Committee, it emphasized that “developing ones are ultimately responsible to their own development even in their crisis.”<sup>38</sup> International involvement is envisaged as a relatively short-term process. In the same vein, from a workshop organized in the Stiftung Wissenschaft und politik distinguishes between short-term and long-term peacebuilding.

Other aspect of the starting point of peacebuilding operation is the fear possessed by some of the developing countries that premature peacebuilding could interfere with their sovereignty. They do not subscribe to a long-term peacebuilding that precedes peace agreement to end the violent conflict. These concerns are acknowledged by, among others, the Canadian Foreign Minister, Lloyd “How do we empower collateral institutions to prevent interstate conflict, while respecting the sovereignty of the member state”<sup>39</sup>

The work that is undertaken to promote peace could differ between the various phases of conflict. This could colour the meaning of the word peacebuilding. It is likely that the contents assigned to the term by a particular researcher or politician depends on the conflict phase that is referred to, for example, post-conflict or situation of tension.

---

<sup>37</sup> Kumar & Cousens *op cit.*

<sup>38</sup> DAC *op.cit* p2

<sup>39</sup> W Kuhne (ed.) *The transition from peace-keeping to peacebuilding: Planning, co-ordination and funding in the twilight zone.* International (workshop) Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Ebenhausen., New York 10 March 1997 p.41.

## **2.4 Debates on the Actors and the Process/Action Dimensions of Peace Building**

The two dimensions of peacebuilding discussed here, revolve around the issues of which actors are the main peace builders, and whether peacebuilding constitutes a set of concrete actions or is more usefully conceived of as an aggregate process. It is helpful to present these two dimensions together, as term usage in both differs significantly.

Firstly, some texts dealing with peacebuilding tend to promote a concept that is heavily dominated by external actors.<sup>40</sup> In so far as peacebuilding conceived of in this way ignores the actions of locally based citizens and organizations, it can be characterized as donor-biased. Donor-bias can be manifested in visions of a grand strategy for external intervention, or in more humble but self-confident schemes for going into communities to teach them non-violent, conflict resolution. Donor-biased perceptions pay less attention to action taken by groups of (former) adversaries themselves is self-initiated or self-sustained interaction.

Secondly, peacebuilding can be conceptualized in two different ways: either as the concrete actions taken to support and promote peace and not just peace but positive peace as envisaged by Galtung, or as an aggregate process. Galtung described the mere absence of physical violence as negative peace, whereas positive peace is a stable social equilibrium aimed at overcoming social anomalies. This process involves a modification of social structures (political, economic, social, cultural, and psychological) through a number of broad developments, notably democratization. The adjective 'aggregate' is used to highlight the fact that peacebuilding in this sense is an outcome that depends on combined effect of a number of actions occurring at different levels.

---

<sup>40</sup> L. Axworthy *Address by the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs*. 18 February 1998 <[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/english/news/statements/98\\_state/98\\_010e.htm](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/english/news/statements/98_state/98_010e.htm)

Democratic system of government has a degree of legitimacy, inclusiveness, flexibility and capacity for constant adaptation that enables deep-rooted conflicts to be managed peacefully. Building on the constructs of Waltzian “democratic peace theory” the assumption is made that by building norms of behaviour or negotiations, compromise and cooperation amongst the political actors, democracy itself has a pacifying effects on the nature of political relations between people and between governments<sup>41</sup>.

However this over optimistic view on the healing and participatory potential of democracy in post conflict peace building efforts is tempered by Horowitz assessment of dilemmas of majority inclusion and minority exclusion resulting from democratic process and the potential for these dynamics to create enduring rivalries between groups in divided societies. Many of the conflicts which exploded onto the African scene post Cold War initially were driven by forces which claimed to be working to replace the monolithic old guard with new and more accountable, representative and legitimate systems. What started in most places as revolutionary transformations responsive to the developmental, security and access needs of the majority quickly faltered as belligerent parties differed on objectives, tactics and end goal, as was evident with the fractioning of Taylor’s National Patriotic Forces for Liberia<sup>42</sup>; Laurent Kabila’s Alliance for Democratic Forces in Congo, while unified in their vision to dethrone Mobutu, lacked a unified vision on the future of the DRC; meanwhile postponing of the 1995 presidential elections in the Republic of Congo led to the unleashing of militia forces loyal to former President Denis Sassou Nguesso, Brazzaville mayor Bernard Kolela and incumbent democratically elected president Pascal Lissouba. The infusion of ethnic dichotomization into these conflicts also made them even more intractable. Hence a major challenge of post-conflict peace-building is the creation of an accommodative and responsive

---

<sup>41</sup> D. Horowitz, *Democracy in Divided Societies: Journal of Democracy*, Volume 4, No 4, 1993, pp28-29

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, *Democracy in Divided Societies: Journal of Democracy*, Volume 4, No 4, 1993, pp28-29

governance system which is legitimate and accountable. Horowitz further notes that when democratic elections<sup>43</sup> produce ethnic exclusions, undemocratic reaction can be expected from it. This nuance view of the pervasive effects of ill conceived organizational structure to power nascent democracies points to the requisite organizational and human capacity needed to ensure participatory democracy.

## **2.5 The Debates on the Role of the Church in Peace Building**

This section will examine the debates advanced by different scholars on the church's involvement in peace initiatives.

The challenge of the African churches is how to appeal to the Christian values to inform and transform social relationships. This is a serious challenge because churches are considered to be part of the problem of ethnocentrism, and consequently they have also failed to stand above the situation. An expression that articulates the situation within churches says: the blood of ethnicity is thicker than water of baptism. There are six points which support this assertion: first, for many years Christian churches have been using the structure of ethnicity for evangelization; second, churches have been reluctant to address the problem of ethnocentrism openly; third, bishops' pastoral letters have not yet succeeded to transform public conscience because there is no active participation of Christians from grassroots communities; fourth, an ethnic bias is also held by some ecclesiastical leaders; fifth, with regard to social problems, churches have failed to be self-critical; and sixth, there is no

---

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid, Democracy in Divided Societies*,p29

serious ecumenical collaboration intended to address socio-political issues because of religious competition.<sup>44</sup>

The Church's role is woven in a single whole with those of official actors. Whereas the state agencies will need to put up appropriate structures, the church compliments by channelling resources to the victims and ensuring that conditions are set for forgiveness and collective prosperity in the future.<sup>45</sup> For a complex situation that exhibits post violence circumstances, the Church is morally obliged to offer repository, conciliatory, counselling and mobilization for abusers and victims alike, to own up to their past atrocities and seek forgiveness.<sup>46</sup>

Peace building initiatives by the Church is clearly desirous in confronting the suffering normally faced by victims. This is because it goes beyond mere material assistance but provides the needed humanitarian responses to cover psychotherapy of traumatized victims, reconciliation and overall reconstruction of shattered lives both for victims and the aggressors.<sup>47</sup> According to Boulden, the Church is morally suitable as it focuses on aspects such as repairing relationships, rebuilding the economic base of the victims, encouraging forgiveness and restoring the respect of human dignity and rights in life<sup>48</sup>. The role of the church according to Boulden is therefore to 'mobilize resources, build trust and consensus, facilitates victims to seek redress in court of justice and supports economic reconstruction'.

According to Omondi the formation of leadership, mediation, and conflict transformation skills constitute what we may call integrative peace education, an effective means of

---

<sup>44</sup> Tarimo A, S.J., & Manwelo P, S. J., 2009, *'Ethnicity Conflict and the Future of African States'*, Nairobi, pp 40-41.

<sup>45</sup> Burton J.W. *'Conflict and Communication': The Use of Controlled Communication in International Relations*. (London, Macmillan, 1969) p113

<sup>46</sup> Burton, J.W, *Global Conflict*. (Brighton, United Kingdom: Whatsheet, 1984) pp168-204

<sup>47</sup> Ramsbotham O, and Woodhouse *'Contemporary Conflict Resolution'* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999) pp50-56

<sup>48</sup> Boulden, J (ed) *Dealing with conflict in Africa* (The United Nations, Basingstoke: Dalgrare Macmillan, 2003) p120

initiating processes of change in the society. Integrative peace education refers here to different pedagogical initiatives aimed at positively transforming the society, at personal level, through change of attitudes, perceptions and constructed beliefs, and at the community or national level, through the change of unjust structures from cultural, social, political and economical perspectives. The approach is integrative because it is multidimensional. In most cases this process is carried out through workshops, formal and informal education.<sup>49</sup>

The Church can promote the search for the truth by engaging actively in public debate that aims to establish the truth. Truth seeking can also be done under the auspices of truth and reconciliation commission. The church should seek to play an active role in truth commissions by seeking to be included in their composition as was the case in South Africa or by advocating for the integrity of truth commissions. Truth commissions can provide a more comprehensive record of past atrocities and violations than the trials of specific individuals as observed by Mudida and do so in a less divisive manner. Truth commission aims at documenting and acknowledging a legacy of conflict and vicious crimes as a step towards healing wounds and shaping a shared future<sup>50</sup> It is however important that truth and reconciliation commissions go beyond truth finding and promotes national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflict and division of the past. It is important that the church participates in truth and reconciliation commissions as members where possible, but also by encouraging citizen participation in the commissions.

However it is important to realize that truth finding does not automatically promote forgiveness and reconciliation. While truth may be critical for long term reconciliation, truth

---

<sup>49</sup> E. Omondi, S J. (ED.), 2008, "*Peace Weavers: Methodologies of Peace Building in Africa*," Nairobi, p124.

<sup>50</sup> R. Mudida, *Hekima Review: Journal of Hekima College*, (No 41, December 2009)pp124-125

finding may be divisive in short-term. Developing official and authoritative account of a contested past requires

Far more than confirming widely held beliefs about what has happened and who is responsible

The legitimacy of truth commissions and the acceptance of its findings will depend on whether the key groups –architects of the violence, victims, perpetrators and bystanders believe that the commission proceeded in unbiased and objective manner. This entails use of appropriate methodologies and considering vital source of evidence. The South African experience with truth and reconciliation commission reaffirmed that it is difficult to develop a new society without coming to terms with the past in a meaningful way<sup>51</sup>. For example Truth commissions have been set up in more than twenty countries, including the abortive or half-hearted efforts in Sri Lanka and Haiti, and rather more substantially attempts in El Salvador, Chile and Guatemala. Each reflects the nature of the situation in that country. In El Salvador, the Commission on the Truth set up on 5 May 1992 reported back to the UN Secretary-General and President Cristiani on 22 September with a 200-page assessment of 22,000 complaints received of violations perpetrated since 1980. Direct evidence was confirmed in 7,312 cases, and indirect evidence in a further 13,562, with 97 per cent of the human rights violations attributed to the rights military, paramilitary, security forces and death squads and 3 per cent to the opposition rebels (UN Doc. S/2550). Perpetrators were named, despite protests from the ruling ARENA party, and 103 army officers were dismissed, but a blanket

---

<sup>51</sup> Lederach J.P. , *Building Peace :Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*(Washington, US Institute of Peace,1997)pp81-84



amnesty was granted by the ARENA controlled National Assembly and recommendations for a purge of the Supreme Court of Justice were obstructed (Hampson, 1999: 156-7).<sup>52</sup>

In Chile, the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation set up in only 18 months, met behind closed doors and could name none of the perpetrators although the report was handed to President Aylwin on television and a public apology was made. It was greatly aided by the thousands of transcripts on disappearances that had been collected during the seventeen year Pinochet dictatorship by the Roman Catholic Church's Vicaria de la Solidaridad.

In Guatemala, the official Commission on historical clarification, despite a limited mandate and scant resources that frustrated some, used provisions in the National Reconciliation Law to recommend trials in a number of cases (Guatemala Memory of Silence Report, February 1999). This was supplemented by civil society initiatives notably the Roman Catholic Church's unofficial Project for the Recovery of Historical Memory that recorded 6,000 testimonies in local Indian languages and disseminated its report via theatre, radio, workshops and ceremonies. The army and civilian self-defence patrols were blamed for most of the 150,000 deaths and 50,000 disappearances. Two days after the presentation of the report, its coordinator was beaten to death in Guatemala City (Crocker, 2000: 111) Spiritually<sup>53</sup>, like psychological social support, is perhaps one of the most important components in field diplomacy that has not been fully explored. Spiritually in this case is not limited to something religious, but rather the interior movements and reflections In Kenya, the church action in past situation of violence has mainly been in mobilizing resources to help victims of violence. After the 1992 tribal clashes in the Rift Valley the Catholic Church helped by buying material such as blankets, payment for rebuilding of burnt houses and

---

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, *Building Peace :Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*(Washington, US Institute of Peace,1997)p83

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, E. Omondi, S. J. (ed),*Peace Weavers: Methodology of Peace Building in Africa*,Nairobi,p24

catering for the school fees of the victims children.<sup>54</sup> In the North Eastern parts of Kenya, where violent conflicts especially over resources such as pasture, watering points and livestock theft, have been witnessed, the church, especially the Catholic Church, has been very active in the provision of relief food, sinking of boreholes and disarmament programmes.

The complexity of conflicts draws a wider constituency than would have been realized earlier. Such conflicts include the so called ethnic clashes in Kenya in 1991-3 mostly in the Rift Valley for example did not just involved the communities affected only but also involved neighbouring communities and other communities far away, who hard to provide places to live for relatives who had been displaced in the conflict . They also involved the government and outside actors such as donors who noted the growing insecurity and churches which intervened in a humanitarian capacity.<sup>55</sup> /

## **2.6 Chapter overview**

The Church's role in peace building is relevant since it touches on important aspects of the conflict resolution by preaching reconciliation, justice and forgiveness. Here we can consider where the church fits on restorative and retributive justice. According to Marshall, restorative justice is a process whereby parties with stake in a specific offence collectively resolve how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future. offenders entered the restorative justice process with a variety of expectation and needs which means there can be no one measure of perceived " success" as far the church are concerned. There is some

---

<sup>54</sup>Republic of Kenya, *Report Parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate the Causes of Tribal Clashes in the Rift Valley and Western Provinces* (Kiliku Report) – June, 1992p.98

<sup>55</sup> M.Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theories, Processes and Institution of Management*(CCR Publications 2006)p90.

evidence that direct mediation creates satisfaction than indirect mediation. Offenders are more likely to think mediation useful than victims, though victims tended to feel that mediation has solved problems caused by the offence. While retributive justice is based on the principle that people who have committed human rights violation or ordered others to do so should be punished in court of law or at minimum must publicly confess and ask forgiveness.<sup>56</sup> As a church positive element of retributive justice helps in avoiding vigilante justice in which victims seek punishment, or justice from their perpetrators, potentially creating a cycle of revenge. As a church truth telling and the meeting of victims and perpetrators are important in the process as are expressing remorse and making restitution of the victim and his or her family justice. The church is particularly equipped to deal with issues at grass -root levels given its moral authority and mandate and could therefore make a great contribution towards social transformation in the society. The church's position in society therefore puts it at an upper hand to work with both the external actors and internal actors alike to achieve sustainable positive peace.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Van Ness, Dan and Catherine Crocker. *Restorative Justice: Definition, Principles, Values and Goals.* Washington DC: PFI Centre for Justice and Reconciliation, 2003. Retrieved on 28 February 2004 from [http://www.restorativejustice.org/rj3/RJ\\_City/](http://www.restorativejustice.org/rj3/RJ_City/)

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, *Restorative Justice: Definition, Principles, Values and Goals.* Washington DC: PFI Centre for Justice and Reconciliation, 2003

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACE BUILDING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF KIBERA-KENYA**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This is a case study chapter, it will analyse electoral conflict in Kenya since the advent of multi party politics. It will largely consider the findings of the case study in Kibera in relations to the peace building programmes and activities undertaken by the church in the study area. The chapter will therefore be structured to reflect the summary of election violence and conflict analysis in Kibera. It will also probe the peace building process and the church involvement in peace initiatives in the study area. The chapter concludes by examining the programmes put in place and challenges encountered in implementation of the same by the church.

Kibera is one of the Districts in Kenya, Nairobi Province, located in the Southern part in the outskirts of Nairobi, the Capital City of Kenya. It borders Makadara District to the East, Dagoreti District to the North, Westland District to the West and Kajiado to the South.

Kibera is the largest urban informal settlement in Africa with an estimated population of one million people, occupying an area of 5 square kilometres. The area comprises of thirteen villages namely; Laini Saba, Makina, Katwekera, Silanga, Lindi, Mashimoni, Kichinjio, Kisumu Ndogo, <sup>1</sup>Raila, Kianda, Olympic, Soweto east and Soweto west. Other

---

<sup>1</sup> GOK Ministry of Planning, *District Development Plan (2002-2007)*p2

villages include Ayani, Karanja Road, Fort Jesus and new decanting site in Langata which are more organized settlements with better housing.

The area is represented by Hon. Raila Amolo Odinga who is also the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya who also vied for the presidency in the last general election.

### **3.1 Summary of Election Violence in Kibera**

Elections in Kenya have been a trigger for localized violence and displacement since the advent of multi-party politics in the early 1990s. In 2007 the risks of post-election violence were evident.<sup>2</sup> There was an unusually direct polarization of the two major contenders down ethnic lines, the likelihood of a close election and emerging doubts regarding the impartiality of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, as well as the presence of armed militia. However no one, Kenyan or international, anticipated the scale or speed of escalation of the violence. It resulted in the death of over 1,000 persons and the displacement of an estimated 500,000<sup>3</sup> and, unlike previous outbreaks, threatened to run out of control and pose a threat to the very fabric of the state.

The pattern of violence was complex, taking different forms in different parts of the country and with peaks during specific periods – immediately after the elections, around mid-January and in the last week of January 2008. Four broad forms of violence outlined

---

<sup>2</sup> Abdi, J and Dene, J, *The Kenyan 2007 Elections and their aftermath: the role of media and communication*. An Analysis, Policy Brief No. 1, BBC World Service Trust, March 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Amani Forum, *Regional Fact-finding Mission to Kenya on the Post Election Violence*, 13 – 21 January 2008.

below emerged during the initial weeks and has since been substantiated by a number of in depth reports.<sup>4</sup>

**Spontaneous violence:** The first wave of violence broke out shortly after the announcement of the Presidential election results and recurred throughout January in reaction to unfolding political events. Largely spontaneous, politically driven and ethnically targeted, it involved large-scale burning, looting and loss of life, and stemmed from the anger of ODM supporters at what they perceived as the theft of the election. It took place wherever large numbers of ODM supporters were present [including Nairobi slums area (especially Kibera) and many towns in Nyanza, Western and the Rift Valley, and to a lesser extent, Mombasa] and was directed by gangs of youth, some reportedly receiving payment and encouragement from local ODM activist<sup>5</sup> against local Kikuyu and those perceived to be PNU supporters. With time, some of this violence – notably looting and roadblocks – also developed more economic motives.

**Organized attacks:** Ethnic violence in the Rift Valley erupted on 29-30 December and involved gangs of Kalenjin “warriors”, groups of young men ranging from several hundred to thousands of the same age group armed with traditional weapons<sup>6</sup>, driving away local Kikuyu, and others perceived to be PNU supporters, including Kisii and Luyha. Although many deaths were caused, the overall objective was generally not to kill, but rather to intimidate and to drive people away: indeed some ODM heartlands in the

---

<sup>4</sup> Amani Forum, *Regional Fact-finding Mission to Kenya on the Post Election Violence*, 13 – 21 January 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson, D and Lochery, E, *Violence and Exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, 2008: Predictable and Preventable?* *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No.2, July 2008.p16

<sup>6</sup> Ashley, D. BHC visit reports, Jan and Feb 2008 p37

Rift Valley, such as Kapsabet, experienced no deaths. The attacks reportedly entailed a degree of orchestration and financial sponsorship by local and traditional leaders (and training and organization by senior former military and police figures) that played on deep-seated ethnic resentment over Kikuyu settlement and perceived economic dominance. A perception that the Kalenjin had been unfairly treated by the Kibaki regime, with a significant number of influential Kalenjin in the administration and security forces removed after the fall of Moi, also played a role.<sup>7</sup> The manner of the violence was reminiscent of previous election violence during the 1990s. The sites of the violence - rural settlement schemes such as Burnt Forest, Molo and Tindaret, too were often the same as those during the 1992 and 1997 elections and several of the same individuals were allegedly involved.

This is a case of structural violence where the some section of the society feels exclusionism. On the structural level according to Lederach a change in focus is created that moves beyond direct relationships to relational patterns that involve and affect whole groups .The structural dimension highlights the underlying causes of conflict and the patterns and changes it brings about in social structures.<sup>8</sup> The issues are sometimes understood as the “content” or “substance” of a conflict and may include issues such as human basic needs, access to resources and institutional patterns of decision-making. The church should engage in analysis of social conditions that create disparity and inequality among ethnic, religious or racial groups should be identified. Lederach further contends that, the church should encourage discussion about conditions and patterns that have

---

<sup>7</sup> Economist, *More Mayhem than Mediation*, Jan 30, 2008 p11.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.* J.P Lederach, R.Neufeldt and H Culbertson *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning Monitoring and Learning toolkit*(Notre Dame: John B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies,2007),pp17-23

contributed to perceived and actual disparity in access to resources and power in African states. The church should consider whether there are consistent patterns of marginalization and exclusion that have provided a greater privilege for some disadvantage of others. Identifying historical patterns of ethnic marginalization is particularly vital for positive social transformation.

Conflict transformation in a structural context would represent deliberate intervention to provide insight into the underlying causes and social conditions that create and foster violent expressions of conflict and to openly promote non-violent mechanisms that maximize participation of people in decisions that affect them.

According to Pastor Ambrose Tindi<sup>9</sup> it was revealed that the church has taken steps towards empowering the community in Kibera by engaging the youth and women to participate in gainful activities through access of credit finance from Jami Bora a micro-finance institution.

**Organized retaliatory attacks:** A second wave of violence began on 24<sup>th</sup> January centred in Nakuru and Naivasha and parts of the surrounding countryside towards Molo, comprising reprisal attacks by mobs of Kikuyu youth, aimed at communities of Luo, Luyha, Kalenjin and other minority groups seen as being associated with ODM, and by extension the violence against Kikuyu elsewhere in the country. In part sparked by the arrival of displaced Kikuyu from the Rift Valley and Western, it was reportedly preceded by fundraising by local leaders and Kikuyu elite for 'self defence' allegedly led by Mungiki. At the same time, and for similar reasons, lower-level violence and intimidation occurred against non-Kikuyu in several towns in Central Province.

---

<sup>9</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 3rd march 2010 at Victory Church Olympic Kibera



The use of excessive police force: At certain times and places the police (Kenya Police, Administration Police and General Services Unit) used excessive force both in dealing with the election related demonstrations and in attempting to contain in slums those they believed intended to join those demonstrations. This caused a significant number of deaths from gunshot wounds. According to OCHR there was a "consistent pattern of police using firearms and live ammunition to respond to demonstrations and related violence in Kibera, Eldoret and Kisumu and Police failed to abide by the principle of proportionality and necessity"

Gender Based Violence: there is some evidence that Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) was employed as a tool of intimidation, with reports of the threat of rape being used to chase women from their homes.<sup>10</sup> Other cases of SGBV appear to have been opportunistic, perpetrated by gangs of youth in slums or targeted at women fleeing violence. Whilst SGBV is not thought to have been systematic or widespread, figures should be treated with caution as sexual violence is generally underreported in Kenya as elsewhere. Furthermore, during the violence underreporting will have been compounded by the inability of many women to reach health facilities and police stations due to insecurity.<sup>11</sup> A few cases of ethnically motivated forced circumcision of males from the Luo and Luyha communities, allegedly perpetrated by Mungiki, were documented in Naivasha, Nakuru and Nairobi. However, the number of cases suggests that circumcision was sporadic rather than an overall trend in the violence.<sup>12</sup> Concerns have been expressed about sexual exploitation and violence against women in camps, including by volunteers,

---

<sup>10</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Ballots to Bullets*, March 2008.p67

<sup>11</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Ballots to Bullets*, March 2008.p68

<sup>12</sup> International Crisis Group, *Kenya in Crisis*, Africa Report No. 137, 21 February 2008 pp21-22.

although numbers are difficult to ascertain due to a lack of reporting mechanisms. The poor design of certain ad hoc camps, including lack of lighting, has contributed to overall levels of insecurity, including that of women.

According to father Alex of Kibera parish Christ the king church; the church played a great role assisted by Guadalupe fathers in rescuing the victims of rape and helping them<sup>13</sup> seek medical attention in which forty women were rescued and referred for treatment in the nearby hospitals including Kenyatta National Hospital. The church also organised for counselling services for the victims by professionals which comprised of Amani Centre of professional counsellors and church members who are trained in counselling.

### **3.2 Conflict Analysis**

Conflict in society is as a result of the disagreements or incompatible goals between two or more groups about something. There are two main types of conflict that includes violent and non-violent conflict. Violent conflict results in physical injuries and death and can easily be identified while non-violent conflict is embedded in unjust structure and may not be easily identified by the parties in it (structural violence).

Violent conflict is the most manifest form of conflict. It inflicts physical harm on those affected by it. This kind of conflict is manifested in different levels of conflict, from wife battering in a family conflict to the use of missiles in international conflict.

---

<sup>13</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 4<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera

The type of conflict which occurred in Kibera was violent conflict which inflicted physical injuries on the victims and resulted in scores of people losing the lives. According to Pastor Aloice Anyango of Kibera Baptist Church, the church has tried to bring back the community to the road of reconciliation<sup>14</sup> by organising community cultural gatherings events where different communities exhibit traditional food and sharing it with other communities perceived to be enemies. This was further amplified by Pastor Alex Saranda of Patmos<sup>15</sup> Fellowship Church who stated that the church has been organising joint meetings for the communities with both political and opinion leaders to encourage interactions among them.

Non violent conflict is more difficult to deal with because in many instances, it can neither be seen nor even imagined. The best characterization of non-violent conflict is structural conflict, which gives rise to structural violence. This idea emphasizes that structural violence is no less harmful than violent conflict. Structural violence, can, and does lead to violent conflict. Structural violence is thus embedded in the structure of the relationships and interactions. Where the underlying structure of relationships is unjust and inequitable, it breeds conditions of structural violence where the weaker party suffers even though not always visible. The way out of such condition as observed by Adam Curle and John Galtung is to change or overthrow the structure that is responsible for the conflict<sup>16</sup>.

---

<sup>14</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 6<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Kibera Baptist Church

<sup>15</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 6<sup>th</sup> march at Patmos Church Mashimoni Kibera

<sup>16</sup> M. Mwangi, *Conflict In Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*(ACCR Publications.Nairobi.2006)p28-32

This conflict can be anchored in structuralism which explains relationships in international society through the economic, politic and geostrategic structures on which relationships are based. The conflict management component of structuralism is peace research, which sees conflict as being rooted deeply in the structure of the international society. For peace research, peace can only be attained by dismantling the structure which gives rise to conflict in society.

The world society on the other hand views international relationships as being based on a complex pattern of transactions and international relationships. In the process of these interactions much conflict is generated. The conflict management arm of world society is conflict research. Its approach is to understand the causes of conflict. It encourages the parties involved to understand the sources and hence ultimately to resolve the conflicts through problem solving workshop mechanism<sup>17</sup>.

Kenya electoral process has sadly been marked with violence ever since the restoration of multi party politics in 1991. The previous election violence was marked by incidences of heckling, stone throwing and physical assaults.

The post 2007 election violence was however quite different in many ways. It was by far the most destructive and deadly violence ever experienced in Kenya's recent history.

According to the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence (CIPEV, 2008), this violence was more widespread and more unprecedented and affected six of the eight provinces in Kenya. It also followed rather than preceded the election and

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid* M. Mwangi, *Conflict In Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*(ACCR Publications.Nairobi.2006)pp28-32

in most form took an ethnic dimension.<sup>18</sup> At the end 1,133 people were killed and property worth million of shillings destroyed. Over 350,000 people got displaced. Aside, there were numerous cases of rape and other sexual assault.

In Nairobi, most of the violence was concentrated in the informal settlements (slums) in the City including Kibera, Mathare, Kariobangi, Huruma, Kawagware, Dandora and others.<sup>19</sup>

Violence in Nairobi, though spontaneous in occurrence, was to some extent pre-planned. This was the conclusion of the Waki report which added that the immediate pre-election violence was one of deep suspicion and acrimony between the Kikuyu landlords on one hand and Luo and Luhya tenants on the other. Talks of possible plans to rig the outcome of election in Langata constituency against Raila in favour of Stanley Livondo and the dynamics of tribal and ethnic mix of politics in Kibera also strongly contributed to violence<sup>20</sup>.

According to the interview conducted by the researcher, Pastor Joshua of Christ Eternal Church stated that the church took initiative to talk to the youth to stop fighting with the

---

<sup>18</sup> GOK, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008) p 317

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* GOK, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008) p 317

<sup>20</sup> Report of KNCHR on *Human Rights Abuses Nairobi*: GoK 2008) p42

help of security agents and they organised with its members to accord necessary assistance to the victims which saw a number of victims rescued<sup>21</sup>.

A number of people suffered terribly during the violence. The orgies of violence left a total of 125 in Nairobi with Kibera alone recording 68 deaths on official documents. Amongst the features of the violence were forced and traumatic circumcision, gang rapes burning of properties, displacement and looting in Kibera areas of Laini Saba, Soweto, Kianda, Gatwikira, Makina and Kisumu Ndogo villages. The Waki Report<sup>22</sup> indicated that Toi Market in Makina area which prior to elections had housed over 3000 traders was burnt down and properties looted causing immense suffering to traders, suppliers and the locals who depended on it for their livelihood. Most of the deaths in Kibera were as a result of gun shots by the police<sup>23</sup> indicating state involvement in the violence.

The Church as a centre of solitude truth and confessions must therefore be prepared to provide victims of perpetrators of violence, the chance to resolve their deep mistrust amicably based on the framework of tract two conflict management strategies.

In an interview with Pastor William of Life spring Bible Church, it was clearly evident that the political leaders were brought in to a meeting with the church leaders to appeal to them to put in mechanisms of bringing situation back to normalcy to allow peace to prevail.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 13<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at Jesus Christ Eternal Church Kibera.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*: Report of KNCHR on Human Rights Abuses Nairobi: GoK 2008) p42

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid* Report of KNCHR on Human Rights Abuses Nairobi: GoK 2008) p42

<sup>24</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 13<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at Lifespring Bible Church Kibera.

There are three major ways universally accepted for peace building which include track one diplomacy which works from the top down and occurs between heads of states, other political figures and inter-governmental representatives. Track one diplomacy uses formal negotiations in an attempt to reach political agreements such as peace agreements, cease fire agreements and others. Track two diplomacy is also top down but usually involves unofficial middle level leaders from international NGOs, churches academics and private business. It is often used as supplement or precursor to track one diplomacy. Track three works from bottom up, it involves activities at grass root levels attempting to form and heal relationships between ordinary citizens in conflict areas<sup>25</sup>.

The complexity of the international environment is such that states and nations can no longer facilitate the pursuits of human interest consequently have witnessed a phenomenon growth in the number of international, transnational and other non-state actors, all of whom affect issues of war and peace, knowledge and responsibility, environment and survival. These functional systems of activities or organizations such as churches have become in some cases more important providers of services than states. They have also become in the modern system very active participants in search for institutions and proposals conducive to peace. They also play part in mediation of international disputes.<sup>26</sup>

One of the most important contributions to the understanding of international relations is that unofficial actors are also engaged in the practice of diplomacy. This type of

---

<sup>25</sup> E.M. Cousens and C. Kumar (eds), *Peace Building as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001) pp1-20

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* Cousens E.M. and Kumar C. (eds), *Peace Building as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001) pp1-20

diplomacy is known as track two diplomacy whose main characteristic is power rejection unlike the official actor (track one) which is based on power relations. Track two either does not thrive in fidelity or to formal rules of procedure and bureaucracy as does the track one diplomacy. It does not emphasize on institutionalization of operations or formalization of relationships.

According to James of Christian Hopenet Church<sup>27</sup> the church has been very instrumental in putting the shattered lives of the victims back to the track by offering counselling services to them and providing an opportunity for reconstructing their houses for resettlement.

Since track two does not<sup>28</sup> have the official structures it does not have specified reporting mechanisms by which authority must be sought before taking action, thus enabling quick response by the conflict manager who plays by the ear where necessary.

Track two in the church is embedded aims at bringing reconciliation, a process of restoring relationships between parties that have been deeply alienated from each other due to hurtful and destructive conflicts. Restoring such relationships involves multi-dimensional, complex and far reaching process that aim at dealing not only with past but also with the future relationships between the protagonists. Civil society actors have special role to play as catalysts and facilitators of societal reconciliation work.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 13<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at Christian Hopenet Church Kibera.

<sup>28</sup> Burton W. J. *Conflict Human Needs Theory*, (London Macmillan 1990)p5

<sup>29</sup> Paul Van Tangerene, Malin Breank, Marte Hulloma and Juliete Verhoever (ed), *People Building Peace II, successful stories of civil society* (London Lynne Rremer Publishers, 2005)p: 7



Reconciliation if handled properly is a mechanism that can address root causes of conflict as well as amend deep emotional wounds and thereby produce more durable solutions and sustainable peace, contrary to most approaches used in handling conflicts including force, adjudication, arbitration, or bargaining type negotiation and mediation which tend to suppress or treat superficially problems underlying conflicts. As a result the same basic conflict tends to recur in different guises over time.

In that regard it could be said that reconciliation is not only an effective approach for dealing with conflict situations but is also powerful crisis prevention mechanism. It embraces the acknowledgement of harm done by either party to the other, genuine expression of remorse, asking for or granting pardon, remedying the consequences of the harm, defining a new mutually beneficial relationship that addresses the root causes of the past conflict and guarantees the past mistakes will not be repeated.

According to Hizkias Assefa some have categorized this process as truth telling, administration of justice, healing and forging a new basis for future relationships that are different from the hurtful past. Translating this understanding of reconciliation into practice particularly where there has been large scale social conflict is not easy hence careful handling by an institution or an agency which can be trusted by both the victims and the perpetrators for which the church is suited<sup>30</sup>

Reconciliation is as much as affective process as it is cognitive and intellectual. It deals with feelings and emotions as much as reasons. While it might be easier for bitter protagonists to rationally understand the need for reconciliation in their relationships it s

---

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid* Paul Van Tangerene, Malin Breank, Marte Hulloma and Juliete Verhoever (ed), *People Building Peace II, successful stories of civil society* (London Lynne Reemer Publishers, 2005p)17

often more difficult for them to act on those realization and come to terms with the conflict emotionally.

The Church as a centre of solitude, truth and confession must therefore be prepared to provide victims of perpetrators of violence, the chance to resolve their deep mistrust amicably whether victims suffer serious psychological trauma displacement and physical anguish, they should not be left to bear perpetual despair, instead the church could address their fears of insecurity, hopelessness, economic difficulties, prejudices and injustices , what roles has the church played in the overall reconstruction, reconciliation and peace building process after the post election violence in Kibera? These roles perhaps could involve dealing with delicate matters which are national in orientation, constitutional in meaning and individual economic development in perspective.

According to Samuel of Power of Resurrection<sup>31</sup> Church, Kenyan Societies in general and those of Kibera in particular, face a number of challenges as victims of post election violence. They have lost properties; some have been displaced from their residence and source of income that they were used to before the violence. A larger majority who witnessed the brutal murder of their relatives are undergoing untold psychological trauma. Some of the victims and abusers are still living together heightening tension and the urge for revenge. Many other victims are terrified that violence could return. According to scholars such as Ball and Nicole, the palpable sense of insecurity makes the victims to fail

---

<sup>31</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at Power of Resurrection Kibera

to return to normal life thus leading to a vicious cycle of under development and subsequent violence.<sup>32</sup>

Since people have abandoned their homes, their education and their livelihoods, there are other real fears of social and cultural distortions, which make reconstruction and reconciliation more complex to be managed by state actors and international organizations alone. Peace building initiatives by the Church is clearly desirous in confronting the suffering normally faced by victims. This is because it goes beyond mere material assistance but provides the needed humanitarian responses to cover psychotherapy of traumatized victims, reconciliation and overall reconstruction of shattered lives both for victims and the aggressors.<sup>33</sup> The Church is morally suitable as it focuses on aspects such as repairing relationship, rebuilding the economic base of the victims, encouraging forgiveness and restoring the respect of human dignity and rights in life<sup>34</sup>. The role of the church according to Boulden is therefore to 'mobilize resources, build trust and consensus, facilitates victims to seek redress in court of justices and supports economic reconstruction'.

---

<sup>32</sup> Ball J. Nicole. *The challenges of peace building in war torn societies, in cracker C.A., Hamps O and Aoll, P (eds), Turbulent Peace: The challenges of managing international conflict.* (Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, 2001)p.42

<sup>33</sup> Ramsbotham O, and Woodhouse 'Contemporary Conflict Resolution' Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999) pp50-56

<sup>34</sup> Bouleden, J (ed) *Dealing with conflict in Africa* (The United Nations, Basingstoke: Dalgrare Macmillan, 2003) p120

### **3.3 Peace Building Initiatives in Kibera**

The post election violence in Kibera, in 2007, started spontaneously following the announcement of the presidential election results which seems to have gone contrary to the expectations of the youth having produced a presidential candidate whom they believed was popular enough to shake the goal net.

The stake of the people in this area was very high as most of them had high hopes and dreams of better living after voting for a change according to Bishop William, the coordinator for Pastors for Peace Association and also the chair of District Peace Committee. This change was to bring social, political and economic development especially to the youth. It was envisaged to be a new Kibera where poverty is reduced if not eradicated<sup>35</sup>, employment opportunities opened to the youth to reduce unemployment which has bedevilled the area for a long time, better conditions of living where social amenities are provided and infrastructural development enhanced.

In the event that this was never to be due to suspected stolen presidential elections, hell broke loose. This sparked off wanton destruction of property, looting, gang raping and senseless killings which saw a great number of people dead, about 68 people died in Kibera alone out of 125 people who reportedly died in Nairobi as official figures put it. A number of people were left homeless as their houses were either looted, destroyed or

---

<sup>35</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 16<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Faith Fellowship Church Kibera

burnt and were therefore forced to flee for their lives and hence becoming internally displaced persons (IDPs).<sup>36</sup>

The youth participated actively in the violence. They were out on hire by politicians to cause mayhem hence most of the destruction and killings were executed by them.

### **3.4 Role of the Church in peace building in Kibera**

The church is accused of contributing to the precipitation of conflict in the run up to the elections, as some of the churches were campaigning openly for their preferred candidates and anointing them as their preferred choice on political party lines hinging on tribal inclinations, thus leading to the burning of five churches in Kibera alone during the violence.

However, the church retreated and realized that unity in diversity is the way for this country to survive. The church therefore took centre stage in helping the people who were displaced or injured in the violence. According to Zadock, their involvement as discussed here below is a showcase of forgiveness in part of the church<sup>37</sup>.

The churches involved include ACK, Catholic, Pentecostal and Evangelical churches.

---

<sup>36</sup> *Op cit* GOK, Report of *The Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence* (Nairobi, Government Printers, 2008) p. 194.

<sup>37</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 4<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera.

### **3.5.1 Capacity Building**

Under the umbrella of the ACK, churches grouped together comprising of thirty (30) pastors from different churches in Kibera to form an association known as “Pastors for Peace”, thus coordinating the activities and programmes which were to alleviate the violent conflict which they embarked on in phases.

The concept of relief to development continuum is linked to the goal of achieving long term self-sufficiency for aid recipients and is based on an analysis which emphasizes the structural cause of conflict. Using this approach the ground work is laid for long term development during the emergency phase along with efforts at rebuilding and reconciliation. Boutros Ghali argues that emergency relief and development should not be regarded as alternatives; instead relief activities should be met in away which from the outset provide a foundation for lasting development<sup>38</sup>.

The importance of aid in post conflict situations from the international community includes relief assistance comprising of food, clothing and logistics.

Rehabilitation which includes: rebuilding physical structures such as schools and health facilities; the return of services such as education; health and agriculture; and Community level initiatives.

Short term assistance may be required for activities such as demobilization of the warring parties, the demilitarization of war zones, the provision of food and other relief to those displaced by the conflict and the repatriation and resettlement of returning refugees.

---

<sup>38</sup> B.Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peace Making and Peace Keeping*, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of The Secretary Council on 31 January 1992 (New York: United Nations, 1992), p5.

Medium-term assistance usually consists of social welfare issues such as the reconstruction of state facilities destroyed or damaged during the conflict, the rehabilitation of social services, the provision of tools and seeds for people being resettled and the reconstruction of transport systems and other physical infrastructure.<sup>39</sup>

According to Pastor Muga the phase one component involved giving of first aid to the victims, relief assistance and offering temporary settlement to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). This was done by referring the IDPs to campsites which had been set up by the Red Cross Society at Jamhuri Park, and by identifying church members who were not displaced to give accommodation to the displaced.<sup>40</sup>

Each one of the 30 pastors was charged with the responsibility to identify 20 displaced persons through their churches for assistance.

The Internally Displaced Persons were therefore provided with foodstuffs, water, utensils, mosquito nets, blankets, mattresses and vouchers for Kenya Shillings one to two thousand. This was done in collaboration with Church Mission Society (CMS) whose country Director, Mr. Tongoi, solicited donations from other organizations, well wishers and his personal friends, who contributed immensely towards this cause<sup>41</sup>.

In the second phase, the church in collaboration with African Leadership and reconciliation Ministries organized training of trainers who would later carry out training to the larger community.

---

<sup>39</sup> G. Harris, *Reconstruction, Recovery and Development: The main Tasks in G. Harris(ed) Recovery from Armed Conflicts, in Developing countries: An economic and Political Analysis, London 1999 pp 6-8*

<sup>40</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 8<sup>th</sup> April at Anglican Church of Kenya Kibera.

<sup>41</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 8<sup>th</sup> April at Anglican Church of Kenya Kibera.

The target groups for the training include peace building initiatives with specific group leaders, opinion leaders, youth group leaders and local political leaders.

The scope of training revolved around peace building initiatives with specific reference to reconciliation and forgiveness, counselling skills, communication skills, truth and justice.

The training targeted three hundred and forty leaders participated.

The trainings were conducted to equip the religious leaders and the community leaders with skills to understanding conflict and conflict analysis process, responses to community conflict, understanding the concepts of peace and peace building, advocacy in peace building and communication in peace building.<sup>42</sup> This helps the community groups to handle conflict situations thus enhancing peaceful co-existence and to act as change agents as they spread the message of peace, reconciliation and the importance of coexistence to the community, with whom they are in constant touch, to transform them into changing their attitudes towards each other<sup>43</sup>

### **3.5.2 Advocacy and Youth training**

This was the third phase in which the church in collaboration with Care Kenya took initiative of organizing for sporting activities such as football games, songs, drama and skits, festivals with peace messages.

Cultural events were also organized where traditional dishes were cooked and shared

---

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, Interview conducted by the researcher on 8<sup>th</sup> April at Anglican Church of Kenya Kibera.

<sup>43</sup> CARE International, Report on *Building Peace: Bridging Peace Message in Kibera* (B-NEP, Kibera May 2009)pp2-5



among the communities. Following the success of these events, Care Kenya, an NGO, together with AMREF and in collaboration with Athletics Kenya organized athletics for schools in Kibera where Athletics Kenya selected individuals who performed well to be included in the scholarships and Care Kenya undertook to give bursary to individual students who won to pay for their levies at school and buy books, uniforms and cater for their healthcare for a period of one year. These were all done in the spirit of bringing the youth together and to encourage reconciliation<sup>44</sup>.

According to Pastor Mings of Above Victory Church the<sup>45</sup> fourth phase is on development programme which involve both youth out of school and in school. During the conflict analysis, youth were found to be both actors and players in the conflict of 2007/2008. Due to this the church targeted the youth specifically for peace building programmes.

The programmes initiated by the church include, youth vocational training covering five churches and each church has been given ten slots of youth to be trained in the centre making a total of 50 youth trainees at any given time. These youths are trained in the field of tailoring, masonry, electronics, hairdressing and motor vehicle mechanics. This programme is sponsored by centre for Urban mission, a department in Anglican Church, and pays a maximum of Kenya Shillings Ten thousand and if the course requires more, individual churches pays the difference.

Library service programme is also offered by the church to school going children. These libraries are known as homework clubs providing an opportunity for children who cannot

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid CARE International, Report (Kibera, May 2009)p3

<sup>45</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2010 at Salvation Army Church Kibera.

afford to study or do their homework at home due to lack of facilities<sup>46</sup>.

According to Njoroge et al, the churches which have been identified for library service (homework clubs) include St. Jorome ACK in Katwekera, Tumaini Pentecostal Church in Raila village and Glory Ministries in Laini Saba village and Emmanuel Church.

The libraries are equipped with books, chairs, tables and stand by generators in case electricity goes off. It opens its doors to students from standard six to form four as from 6pm to 8pm everyday. There is a bible study conducted for 15 minutes everyday by disciples and pastors where students are encouraged to forgive one another and love their neighbours as themselves.

Extra curricular activities are also conducted which include sporting activities and life skill training once every quarter.

The library training has so far attracted three hundred students from around the community living in the area. The church has also started an informal school with a population of 95 students offering school feeding programme (Breakfast and Lunch). This has been found to be very useful for attracting the children to go to school, since majority of them attend school on an empty stomach are not even sure of a meal back at home.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup>Interview conducted by the researcher on 17<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera.

<sup>47</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 4<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera.

### **3.5.3 Women Enterprise and Transformative Youth**

The church has started group savings and loans scheme where women are encouraged to save. The capacity of women is built in this respect by taking them for a course to take up business. They are trained in bread making, cards making from waste papers and in poultry farming.

A hall has been constructed with the assistance of a donor and the church tops up the women savings by giving five thousand Kenya shillings to each one of them to enhance their business. This has encouraged women who have started businesses and are now able to feed their families.

Formation in leadership, mediation and conflict transformation skills constitute what according to Omondi, may be called integrative peace education, an effective means of initiating process of change in the society. Integrative education here refers to different pedagogical initiatives aimed at positively transforming the society, at personal level through change of attitudes perceptions, and constructed beliefs at the community or national level, through the change of unjust structures from cultural, social, political and economic perspectives<sup>48</sup>.

The youth in Kibera had formed themselves into terror gangs; some calling themselves “GOGO” boys whose activities was to collect illegal tax from unsuspecting passers by including motorists. They would barricade the road and demand for payment before anybody could pass, especially around a place known as Darajani (at the bridge) near Makina.

---

<sup>48</sup> E.Omondi Opongo, *Peace weavers: Methodology of Peace Building in Africa(ed)* (Paulines Publications Africa 2008),pp124

The church in collaboration with Care Kenya having identified them after undergoing the process of tax collection engaged their group leader known as “Mona” (nickname) who agreed to mobilize his members to participate in relief distribution at a fee of Kshs.200 per day to load and offload the relief supplies and to provide security at the distribution centre.<sup>49</sup>

Since that day, the young men saw a side of themselves they had never discovered. They could be trusted but more importantly they were respected and no one dared to disrupt the distribution of relief supplies. The group has seen growth in the capacity of its members.

They have since acquired a new name, Youth Reform. They have been recruited by Care Kenya (NGO) to join with others to form the Network of Peace Project. In the project, they have received training in some aspects of peace building and exposed to working in collaboration with others<sup>50</sup>.

They have also learnt to use their respect to bring together and resolve conflicts instead of being hired by the politicians to cause mayhem. With the introduction of peace project, the youth group have been attached to other groups who have offered them further training and they are now engaged in other income generating activities such as organic farming, and others have been trained as Trainers of Trainers (TOT) such that they are now training other groups within Kibera<sup>51</sup>.

---

<sup>49</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 4<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera.

<sup>50</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2010 at Care Kenya Office Kibera

<sup>51</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2010 at Care Kenya Office Kibera

### **3.5.4 Reconstruction of Toi Market**

As violent conflict ceded to the prospects for a sustainable peace within the conflict systems which proliferated across Africa, concern simultaneously shifted from conflict resolution towards post-war reconstruction. Crossing the conflict relapse vulnerability threshold has remained a pre-occupation in policy and academic circles.

The point at which post-war reconstruction takes off is an asymmetric power dynamic between the victimized community emerging from conflict and the donor community.<sup>52</sup> The realities of the post-conflict environment therefore necessitate an understanding of the endogenous and exogenous actors and structures involved in post-war reconstruction efforts.

Over the past decade, post-conflict reconstruction in Africa has taken the form of an admixture of approaches which include approaches of democratic reconstruction, security reform, rule of law, institutional reform and community trust and compliance required to dispel the potential of security dilemma within democratic societies.<sup>53</sup>

The reconstruction of Toi market began in earnest following the destruction by youth who set it ablaze following the violence which broke out in the area. This Market used to host ten thousand families occupying ten thousand stalls. All these were razed down to ashes by rowdy youth.

---

<sup>52</sup> Roy Licklider. *The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars 1945-93*, in: *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 1995.

<sup>53</sup> Collier P., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, the World Bank, Washington, DC, 2003.

The market before it was burnt down was giving business indirectly to a round one hundred thousand people. All these lives were shattered and the youths kept vigil around the burnt market guarding against anybody who would restore the market. Any attempt towards reconstruction of the market thwarted by the very youths. The church intervened and organized stakeholders meeting which brought in bankers, market representatives, government officials, local administration, the youth representatives, where it was resolved that the youth should be given a chance to participate in gainful employment to stall their being hired out by the politicians to wreck havoc. In this meeting the importance of engaging the youths and a donor was approached to assist in reconstruction. Jamii Bora; a microfinance agreed to rehabilitate the market. According to the interview with Pastor Josephine of New Jerusalem Ministry<sup>54</sup>, reconstruction has since started and so far thirty four thousand stalls have been constructed. The youths have been involved in the construction by providing security and getting daily wages of Ksh 500. They have also been allocated stalls and given Ksh. 10000 as start up capital for business. This money was given by Jamii Bora with open chance to acquire more loans as they form groups of five people without collateral.

### **3.6 Relief and Rehabilitation Programme**

Since the out break of the post election violence, the Catholic Church through its Christ the king church in Kibera Laini Saba has been working in five villages in Kibera which include; Soweto High Rise, Lindi, Laini Saba, Mashimoni and Shilanga. These villages

---

<sup>54</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at New Jerusalem Ministry Kibera

were chosen as a result of the proximity to the location of the church. This was revealed by Maureen a human rights activist working with Christ the King Church.

The catholic church working through its department of relief services in collaboration with Trocaire (Irish catholic association), Goal Kenya, Guad Alupe Fathers(missionaries), St Patrick Fathers and Camelian sisters(Health care services) were involved in offering relief services to the victims of post election violence which include, provision of food stuff, blankets, mattresses, utensils, mosquito nets, water and medical suppliers.<sup>55</sup>,as revealed by father Alex in an Interview conducted by the researcher.

The people who had serious medical conditions as a result of the violence were referred to St. Mary's Hospital and Nairobi Hospital for surgery at the expense of the church. Four people were referred to these Hospitals with bullets lodged in their bodies and deep cuts. Rape cases were also referred to the health facilities and a bout forty women victims of rape within the five villages were rescued.

The church undertook to rehabilitate the shattered lives of the victims of the violence by offering counselling services through Amani Counselling Centre and Kenyatta Support Centre both of which are professional counselling institutions.<sup>56</sup>

Peace building efforts based on the second dominant concepts which are long term efforts by mainly indigenous actors who promote political economic development and a sustainable solution to the root causes of conflict. This entails action in political, economic, humanitarian and social sphere in a broad comprehensive effort that can only

---

<sup>55</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2010 at Christ the King Catholic Church Kibera

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, Interview conducted by the researcher on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2010 at Christ the King Catholic Church Kibera

be carried through by relying on multimedia of diverse actors. This includes the international community which comes with assistance that takes shape of relief assistance which includes food, clothing and logistics. Rehabilitation included rebuilding physical infrastructure such as schools, water, health facilities as noted by Lederach.<sup>57</sup>

The resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) was carried in two phases which saw some of the victims resettled back to the village of their choice in Kibera and a number of them chose to go back to the area where their ethnic community stays for security purposes. The second phase comprised of the displaced persons who chose to go back to up country. This exercise saw one thousand people relocated to upcountry using buses and Lorries hired by the church to transport the people together with their belongings.<sup>58</sup>

The church also targeted school going children and sponsored six hundred secondary school going children to continue with education.

According to Maureen a human rights officer working in collaboration with the catholic church and based at the Christ the king church, she informed the researcher in an interview that two public forums have been organized to bring together the communities, local political leaders, religious leaders, police and local administration for reconciliation and the need for co-existence as the main theme and to sensitize the people to know their rights. Further reference is given in Chapter Two page sixty eight (68).

---

<sup>57</sup> *Opcit.* Lederach J, *Building in Divided Society*, p25.

<sup>58</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 16<sup>th</sup> April 2010 Kibera



The internally displaced persons who could not be able to pay rent were assisted with rent payment for three months running to help them settle. This programme included about one hundred people who benefited. The same groups of people were further supported with between Ksh 3000-Ksh 5000 as capital to help them start up small business to enhance earning a living and be able to continue paying rent.<sup>59</sup>

### **3.7 Youth and Sports**

The youth have been mainly targeted for the programme since they were found to have been involved more in participating in the violence.

Sporting activities including football, music, drama and athletics have been organized to bring together the youth to preach peace through sports clubbed youth for peace sports in which messages of peace are delivered and participating teams awarded certificates with the winning teams awarded trophies.

This has assisted in cooling off tempers and the youth appreciating one another in spite of coming from different ethnic communities.

The church has organized vocational training for the youth and for the schools to build their capacity and develop their skills, into becoming responsible citizens. The vocational disciplines include; tailoring, carpentry, hair dressing and computer technology which

---

<sup>59</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 16<sup>th</sup> April 2010, Kibera

have seen a number of youths enlisted in the programme, thus further entrenching the spirit of reconciliation and peaceful co-existence.<sup>60</sup>

### **3.8 Challenges Encountered**

Although there are remarkable achievements as seen from various programmes initiated by the church organization in Kibera, there are however challenges encountered during the exercise as revealed to be common to most of the churches interviewed, these challenges include, lack of adequate funding to help sustain projects, negative ethnicity has been a great challenge to an extent that people shun away from projects which are not run by people from their ethnic community. They even doubt the genuine of the projects initiated if the majority beneficiaries from one ethnic community. Uniting people to stay together after undergoing the ordeal orchestrated by their very neighbours is still a big challenge. Personal security to the project implementers has been a challenge more so during the time of violence as there was zoning and some zones were declared a no go zone for particular communities.

Lack of government land policy and planning for the urban slum dwellers has been challenging, making it difficult for communication flow as there are no roads to pass through the congested building.

Provision of an emergency health care and even putting off accidental fire became almost next to impossible.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 4<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera

### **3.9 An Overview of the Chapter**

The case study of Kibera has revealed that the church is claiming back its rightful position, after almost losing it in the run up to general elections of 2007 in Kenya. The church is best suited in such circumstance of conflict situation to stand in the gap to assist bring back the shattered lives, severed relations to normalcy. The communities are now looking up to the church for reconciliation and restoration of peace, a factor which the church has taken up keenly. The reconstruction of the community is based on the goodwill the communities have with the church and it is therefore for the church to squander that opportunity before that window closes out. This will help the church in coordinating the programme for reconstruction of the area in order to sustain peace and transform the conflict in the area. The peacebuilding process in Kibera should be continuous and must embrace the youth who have been found to be actors and players in the violence.

---

<sup>61</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher on 4<sup>th</sup> march 2010 at Christ the King Church Kibera

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **4.0 Summary**

This chapter will reflect the conclusions drawn from the previous chapter and make recommendations for future consideration by the policy makers and or academia. The previous chapter dwelt on the critical analysis of the role of the church in peace building in Kibera which findings brought into fore a number of programmes undertaken by the church which include relief supplies, capacity building, reconstruction, organising cultural events, rallies and sporting activities all in the name of bringing people together for reconciliation and co-existence.

In the previous chapters particularly in chapter one involvement of the church in peace building has been highlighted despite the fact that the same church was reflected to fuel the violence by directly campaigning for their preferred candidates based on their ethnicity and parties.

The available literature on the involvement of the church in peace building confirms that the adversaries are brought together in reconciliation confirming the first hypothesis. This is further amplified by the role the Anglican church played to use referent power to facilitate formation of truth and reconciliation in South Africa.

The church took initiative of providing shelter, water, food and supplies in the church compound in Eldoret to Internally Displaced Persons which further confirms the hypothesis of effectiveness of the church's role in peace building.

The analysis of different debates in chapter two reveals that peace building is a continuous process, which is aimed at preventing violence from recurring among nations and people through preventive diplomacy.

The church however plays a very important role which is woven in a single whole with official actors which put up appropriate structures but the church complements by channelling resources to the victims and ensures that conditions are set for forgiveness, reconciliation, repairing the shattered relationship, rebuilding the economic base and collective prosperity in future which confirms the third hypothesis of rebuilding relationship and co-existence.

The Church's role is woven in a single whole with those of official actors. Whereas the state agencies will need to put up appropriate structures, the church compliments by channelling resources to the victims and ensuring that condition are set for forgiveness and collective prosperity in the future.<sup>1</sup> For a complex situation that exhibits post violence circumstance, such as the one experienced in Kenya particularly in Kibera, the Church is morally obliged to offer repository , conciliatory, counselling and mobilization for abusers and victims alike, to own up to their past atrocities and seek forgiveness. This has been found to be the case in Kibera confirming the first hypothesis which is hypothesized that the church initiative has brought reconciliation.

Peace building initiatives by the Church was found out to be clearly desirous in confronting the suffering normally faced by victims. This is because it goes beyond mere material assistance but provides the needed humanitarian responses to cover psychotherapy of traumatized victims, reconciliation and overall reconstruction of shattered lives both for victims and the aggressors<sup>2</sup>. According to Boulden, the Church is morally suitable as it focuses on aspects such as repairing relationship, rebuilding the economic base of the victims, encouraging forgiveness and restoring the respect of human dignity and rights in

---

<sup>1</sup> Burton, J.W, *Global Conflict*. (Brighton, United Kingdom: Whatsheet, 1984) pp168-204

<sup>2</sup>Ramsbotham O. and Woodhouse 'Contemporary Conflict Resolution' Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999) pp50-56

life<sup>3</sup>. The role of the church in Kibera was therefore to 'mobilize resources, build trust and consensus, facilitate victims to seek redress in court of justice and support economic reconstruction' as was evident by reconstruction of Toi market distribution of relief food, water ,clothing, medicine and creating easy accessibility to credit facilities for women and youth to build their economic base. These programmes initiated by the church have facilitated reconstruction of communities in Kibera as envisaged in 3<sup>rd</sup> hypothesis.

According to Omondi the formation of leadership, mediation, and conflict transformation skills constitute what we may call integrative peace education, an effective means of initiating processes of change in the society. Integrative peace education refers here to different pedagogical initiatives aimed at positively transforming the society, at personal level, through change of attitudes, perceptions and constructed beliefs, and at the community or national level, through the change of unjust structures from cultural, social, political and economical perspectives<sup>4</sup>. The approach is integrative because it is multidimensional. The statement from Omondi is therefore applicable in the Kibera situation and that of Kenya as a whole because the communities living in Kibera have been put through integrative peace education to help them understand one another as partners in the struggle to bring peace and positive change in the society in which they live. Intensification of integrative education to the members of the public has led to the communities appreciating the importance of integrative society where difference in ethnicity is seen as unity in diversity and not a tool for dividing the country on ethnic lines.

---

<sup>3</sup>Bouledon, J (ed) *Dealing with conflict in Africa* (The United Nations, Basingstoke: Dalgrare Macmillan, 2003) p120

<sup>4</sup>E. Omondi, S J. (ED.), 2008, "*Peace Weavers: Methodologies of Peace Building in Africa*," Nairobi, p124.

The Church in Kibera through their Association of peace promotion has assisted to promote the search for the truth by engaging actively in public debate that aims to establish the truth. Truth seeking which has been put under the auspices of truth and reconciliation commission has some church representatives as commissioners including the Commission of Justice Peace and National Cohesion and integration thereby advocating for the integrity of those commissions. Truth commissions can provide a more comprehensive record of past atrocities and violations than the trials of specific individuals as observed by Mudida and do so in a less divisive manner. Truth commission aims at documenting and acknowledging a legacy of conflict and vicious crimes as a step towards healing wounds and shaping a shared future<sup>5</sup> It is however important that truth and reconciliation commissions go beyond truth finding and promotes national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflict and division of the past. It is important that the church participates in truth and reconciliation commissions as members where possible, but also by encouraging citizen participation in the commissions, so that communities can be put back to the track of healing and co-existence which was found taking root in Kibera confirming hypothesis number two expressed in chapter two.

However it is important to realize that truth finding does not automatically promote forgiveness and reconciliation. While truth may be critical for long term reconciliation, truth finding may be divisive in short- term. Developing official and authoritative account of a contested past requires:

Far more than confirming widely held beliefs about what has happened and who is responsible

---

<sup>5</sup>R. Mudida, Hekima Review: *Journal of Hekima College*, (No 41, December 2009)pp124-125

The legitimacy of truth commissions and the acceptance of its findings will depend on whether the key groups –architects of the violence, victims, perpetrators and bystanders believe that the commission proceeded in unbiased and objective manner. This entails use of appropriate methodologies and considering vital source of evidence.

It is therefore important that the newly set up commissions on Truth Justice and Reconciliation and Justice Peace and National Cohesion take into consideration the underlying factors so that the methodology chosen shall be as objective as possible to enhance the acceptability of its findings by all involved in the violence and to foster National Unity.

It is stated in the Bible that a house built on sand collapses and gets ruined completely when rain, flood and wind buffets it<sup>6</sup> On a similar front, Kenya seems to have been founded on sand since independence. This is attributed to the fact that the seed of ethnicity was planted during the colonial period when the colonialists pitted one community against the other using the principle of ‘divide and rule’. Those who collaborated with and those who revolted against the colonialists viewed each other as enemies, a trend that continued even after gaining independence. Accordingly, when Kenya gained independence in 1963 from the British, it inherited non-democratic institutions and cultures such as legal systems that facilitated tyranny, oppression and poverty, which later fell into the hands of corrupted politicians and governments who lavished themselves with political and economic favors in a pattern that has extended into the post-colonial era.

---

<sup>6</sup> Mathews Chapter 7:24, Holy Bible p1019



At the initial stage of governance, following the publication of the Seasonal Paper No. 1 of 1965, Kenya was in the stage of 'take off' as described by Rostow<sup>7</sup>. However, the Seasonal Paper was either partially or was never implemented. Instead, the political leadership at the time started to marshal wealth for them with impunity at the expense of the populace and as a result of this; corruption and nepotism became a common phenomenon in Kenya. This explains the inequality that is currently prevailing in Kenya. In addition, the political class at the time kept on amending the constitution to consolidate power around the presidency and also to justify their immoral actions; a fact that created an imperial president who has control over both the judiciary and the legislature.

Besides, although it is stated in Kenya's national anthem that 'justice be our shield and defender', the political class rarely adhere to the laid down laws of our country. The judiciary was used before the re-introduction of multi-party era to convict without trial those who were seen to be critical of the government; to gag the media; and to deny the populace the bill of rights such as freedom of speech. In addition, land tenure systems in use in Kenya is very poor as it empowers the politically correct and corrupt individuals to get land without necessarily paying for them when a considerable number of the populace are living as squatters and/or IDPs in their own country.

The electoral system in the country is also wanting as it is not transparent and accountable. All the general elections of 1988, 1992, 1997 and 2007 were marred with 'vote rigging' and all resulted in violence. Moreover, elections play a vital role of legitimizing a government. Hence when the verdict of the electorate is respected, it is less likely that violence will ensue. This is evidenced by the fact that there were no incidences of election violence except for

---

<sup>7</sup> Rostow W. W., *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960) pp 4-16

some few pre-election ones during the 2002 general elections. This was because the verdict of the electorate was upheld.

Kenya as a nation whose roots is built on strong Christian foundations, a country whose core value is to 'dwell in unity, peace and liberty' as articulated in the national anthem, one would not have expected the tribal animosity and violence witnessed in the 2007 post election violence. Thus, the causes of the crisis as revealed in this study show that the leadership has failed to build a true national unity in the country that would foster a desired structure for good governance and sustainable peace and cohesion. This is partly attributed to the fact that the government seems to be promoting the culture of impunity given that individuals in government who have been adversely mentioned in corruption charges and the perpetrators of previous election violence have never been prosecuted; hence the general public is never deterred from engaging in the vices and on this basis we need to take the advice of Martin Luther King who once said:

The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundation of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges. But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred<sup>8</sup>.

Given that the government structure(s) Kenya has had since independence have failed to liberate its citizens, the citizenry must rise up and act because as Pope John II once said, "The way out in whatever dimension-economic, social, political- must happen first in man given

---

<sup>8</sup> Luther Martin, "I have a Dream-1963" in E. Beare (ed), *Speeches that Changed the World*, (London: Bounty Books, 2005) p114

that man cannot remain with no way out”<sup>9</sup>. As a way out therefore, Kenya needs to borrow a leaf from the words of John F. Kennedy, former US president who asserted that:

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force....<sup>10</sup>

Kenyans must therefore not hate each other or any ethnic community because their destiny is tied up with the destiny of all the entire populace and their freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of all the citizens. On this ground I invoke the call by President John F. Kennedy who said that, “Let both sides (all communities in Kenya) explore what problems unite them instead of belabouring those problems which divide them”<sup>11</sup>. From this description the peace building process must take the cognisance of the fact that the country needs to be united and the seed of hate against each other must be dealt with by the church which is better placed to sow the seeds of love among communities and to each other as the Holy Bible states in the book of Hebrews Chapter 12:14 that “make every effort to live in peace with all men and to be holy without which no one will see the Lord”.

---

<sup>9</sup> John Paul II., “Our lady of Jasna Gora-1983” in E. Beare (ed), *Speeches that Changed the World*, (London: Bounty Books, 2005) pp 135

<sup>10</sup> Luther Martin., “I Have a Dream-1963” in E. Beare (ed), *Speeches that Changed the World*, (London: Bounty Books, 2005) pp 114

<sup>11</sup> Kennedy J. F., “Ask not What Your Country Can Do for You” in E. Beare (ed), *Speeches that Changed the World*, (London: Bounty Books, 2005) pp 98

#### **4.1 Recommendations**

The study proposes the following recommendations such as: The Kenya government should speed up reforms which should include institutional and judicial reforms, so as to put up stronger structures in place to foster meaningful and sustainable peace building.

Integrative education to the communities should be enhanced to sensitize them on the importance of inter-personal relationship and the need for reconciliation and reconstruction. Preventive diplomacy should be the focus of attention and be given prominence to forestall future occurrence of violence. As such, the church should claim its rightful place in peace building process given its position and mandate and demand to be recognised as an important partner of state as far as peace building is concerned.

The area of Kibera being the largest informal settlement in Africa should have a deliberate policy on land tenure and planning so that the social evils embedded in the structure are obviated. Also, the Kibera slum upgrading scheme should be scaled up with proper targeting so that not more slums are created in the name of upgrading Kibera.

The Government should engage the Church, NGO's and other development partners to work hand in hand complementarily to sustain the peace building initiative. Training and Education on demystification of Negative ethnicity should continue. The Education System should develop a top student rewards system specific to informal settlement areas so as to act as a morale booster for students from the area and to enhance their performance.

Further research is therefore suggested to be conducted on the impact of peace building initiatives on the community as carried out by the church in the area of study.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Assefa H. and Wachira (eds) *Peace Making and democratization in Africa, theoretical perspective and church initiative*, Nairobi – Kampala (East Africa Educational Publishers Limited 1996).

Barcovitch J. et al, “International Mediation”, *A Multi-level Approach to Conflict Management* (London; Macmillan, 1992).

Bercovitch J. and Rubin, J.Z. *Mediation in International Relations; Multiple Approached to Conflict Management*. (London: St Martisa Press, 2004).

Boulden J. (ed). *Dealing with Conflicts in Africa: (The United Nations Organizations, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).*

Bouleden J. (ed) *Dealing with conflict in Africa (The United Nations, Basingstoke: Dalgrare Macmillan, 2003).*

Braybroke M., “The Interfaith Movement in the 20th Century,” in Joel Beversluis (ed.), *Sourcebook of the World’s Religions* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000), 131; and Phan C. Peter, *Being Religious Interreligiously: Asian Perspectives on Interfaith Dialogue* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004).

Chigan D. *The Role of Civil Societies in Conflict Resolution*. (London: Macmilan, 2005)

Christopher Cooker “How wars End” *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 26, 3 (1997).

Collier, P and Hoeffler, A. “Conflicts,” in Bjorn Lomborg (Ed), *Global Crises, Global solution*, (Cambridge University Press: 2004).

Cousens E. M., "Introduction" in Elisabeth M. Cousens & Chetan Kumar (eds), *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001).

Galtung J., "A Structural Theory of Aggression" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 1, No.2 (1964).

Galtung J., "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, (1969).

Ghali B.B., *An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, UN, Report, A/47/277/S24111.

GOK, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008).

Hoyweghen V., Saskia. (1996). "The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: A Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority." *African Affairs*. Vol 95. No 380. (July).

Irobi G.E., "Ethnic Conflict Management in Africa." *A Comparative Case Study of Nigeria and South Africa*. Annotated Conflict Cases ([www.beyondintrability.org/casestudies/nigeria-southafrica](http://www.beyondintrability.org/casestudies/nigeria-southafrica).)

Jeong H. W., *Peace Conflict Studies: An Introduction* (Aldershot: Ashgat, 2000).

John Paul II, "Collaboration among the Diverse Religions," in Joel Beversluis (ed.), *Sourcebook of the World's Religions* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000).

Johnston, Douglas and Sampson, Cynthia, eds., 1994, *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Juma Kathina Monica, Conflict Prevention, Management and Conflict Resolution in Africa: A reader (Pretona University Law Press Pulp 2007).**

**Kelman H. C., "Transforming the Relationship between Former Enemies: A Socio-psychological Analysis in R. Rothstein (ed.) After the Peace: Resistance and Reconciliation (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999).**

**King Jr. M. L., "The Power of Non-violence" in J. M Washington (ed.) The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr. (New York: Harper Collins, 1986).**

**Lederach J. and Reynolds L. Building Peace, Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. (Uzalata. US Institute of Peace 1997).**

**Lederach J. P., Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 1997).**

**Lederach J. P., Neufeldt R. and Culbertson H., Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring and Learning Toolkit (Notre Dame: John B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2007).**

**Lederach J., Building Peace Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Society (Uzedaty:Us Institute of Peace,197) (ed)**

**M. King, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr.: the Power of Non-Violent Action (Paris: UNESCO, 1999).**

**Makenkamp M., Paul van Tongerene and Hans Van de Veen. Searching for Peace in Africa. (Publication of European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation 1999).**

**Miller C. E., A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies, Second Edition (Addis Ababa: UPEACE Africa, 2005).**

Mische P. M., "Religion and World Order," in Joel Beversluis (ed.), *Sourcebook of the World's Religions* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2000), 267; and Michael L. Fitzgerald and John Borelli, *Interfaith Dialogue: A Catholic View* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006).

Montville J. V., "The Healing Function in Political Conflict Resolution.

Mudida R., *Enhancing the role of the church in the conflict transformation in Africa* *Journal of Hekima College*, Number 41, December 2009.

Mugenda M. O. and Mugenda, A. G., "Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches." (Nairobi: Act Press, 1999).

Mwagiru M., *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: CCR Publications, 2006).

Mwagiru M., *Conflict: Theory Processes and Institutions Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000).

Mwagiru M., Kiplagat B. A. and Odera J., *Security Protocols in the Horn of Africa* (Research document prepared for the African leadership forum on security in Africa) 1997.

Mwagiru M., *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya* (Centre for Conflict Research and Catholic Peace and Justice Commission), Nairobi, 2003.

Ndahiro T., (2004). "The Church's Blind Eye to Genocide in Rwanda." In *Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches?* (Eds). Carol Rittner, John K. Roth and Wendy Whitworth. St. Paul, Minnesota: Paragon House.

Omondi E., Opongo, S., J. (ED.), 2008, "Peace Weavers: Methodologies of Peace Building In Africa," Nairobi.



Omondi Opongo E., *Peace weavers: Methodology of Peace Building in Africa* (ed) (Paulins Publications Africa 2008).

Osagie-Usman, Charles, 1994, 'Mission of Revenge', West Africa, 3984.

Ramsbotham O., and Woodhouse 'Contemporary Conflict Resolution' (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

Ramsbotham O., et al "Contemporary Conflict Resolution" (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).

Ramsbotham O., Woodhouse T., and Miall H., *Conflict Resolution, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

Republic of Kenya, Report Parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate the Causes of Tribal Clashes in the Rift Valley and Western Provinces (Kiliku Report) – June, 1992.

Republic of South Africa; Report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Pretoria; Government Press, 1998).

Republic of South Africa; Report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Pretoria; Government Press, 1998).

Reychler L., 1997, 'Religion and Conflict', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no.

1

Rukwaru M., *Fundamentals of Social Research* (Eureka Publishers, 2007).

Sampson C., 1997, 'Religion and Peacebuilding', in Zartman and Rasmussen, eds., 1997, *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Scott Appleby R., "Disciples of the Prince of Peace? Christian Resources for Nonviolent Peacebuilding," in *Beyond Violence: Religious Sources of Social Transformation in Judaism*, Heft James L. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004).

Scott Appleby R., 1999, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Boston: Rowan and Littlefield.

Smocks, (ed.), 2006, 'Religious Contributions to Peacemaking: When Religion Brings Peace, Not War,' United States Institute of Peace, Washington

Spence R., "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace?" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent & Roland Bleiker (eds) *Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings, 24-26 September 2001*. (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 2001).

Tarimo A. and Manwelo, P. *African Peacemaking and Governance* (Nairobi: Action, 2007).

Tarimo. A, S.J , &., Manwelo P, S. J 2009, 'Ethnicity Conflict and the Future of African States', Nairobi.

Tiemessen, A. (2005). "From Genocide to Jihad: Islam and Ethnicity in Post Genocide Rwanda." Paper for presentation at Annual Meeting of CPSA in London, Ontario, 2-5 June 2005.

Tschirgi N., "Post Conflict Peace keeping Revisited Achievement, Limitations and Challenges (Networks: WSP, 2000).

Vayrynen R., "To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts" in Vayrynen R. (ed.) *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation* (London: Sage, 1991).

[www.newsfromafrica.organization/articles](http://www.newsfromafrica.organization/articles).

[www.recweb.organization/files/resourcesmodule](http://www.recweb.organization/files/resourcesmodule).

Yasmin S., "Ethnic Pluribus Unum, 'Race and Reconciliation" in Adekeye' A. A and Landsberg C. (ed). *South Africa in Africa; The Post Apartheid Decade* (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2007)

Zartman W. I. (ed.). *Elusive peace: Negotiating an end to civil wars*. The Brookings Institution. New York. 1995 p. 5: J Markakis. *Resource conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Sage. London.

Zartman W. I. "Ripe for Resolution": *Conflict and Intervention in Africa*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)

## **APPENDIX: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

I am a student pursuing a Master of Arts degree in International Conflict Management and I am carrying out a study on **“The Role of Church in Peace Building in The Aftermath of Election Violence in Kibera District, Nairobi Province, Kenya”** The study seeks to establish the role the church played in the management of the post election violence in Kibera District. The information that you will give will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and for the fulfilment of academic requirement only.

Yours Faithfully,

J.O. Ondego

M.A Student

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

University Of Nairobi

1. Following the election violence in Kibera after the disputed Presidential results, there have been a number of programmes conducted by the church in attempting to bring peace in the area. Kindly indicate whether your church may have been involved in any kind of peace building programmes or activities towards this?
2. Give a brief historical background of the root cause of the violence after disputed presidential result in Kibera and what informed the decision to initiate the programmes?
3. The objectives or Purpose of the programme s?
4. Which groups are you targeting with your programmes?
5. What are some of the source of your funding?
6. Describe the peace building efforts that have been or are being initiated to reconcile the different communities or persons residing in Kibera.
7. What are the achievements of your programmes?
8. What are the challenges encountered during the implementation of the initiated peace building programmes?
9. In your own opinion what are the lessons learnt from the implementation of the peace building programmes?

**10. Based on the above, what would you propose as the way forward or recommendation?**