ETHNIC CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: THE ROLE OF THE BIBLE IN PEACEBUILDING AND RECONCILIATION IN KENYA (1992– 2008)

BY

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DECLARATION

I, MARIAN KERUBO AUNDA hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed....................................Date......07. 11. 2013...............

Marian Kerubo Aunda

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signed....................................Date......7.11.13...............

Dr. Ochieng Kamudhayi

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DEDICATION

To my dear parents Rev. Geoffrey Aunda and Mrs. Teresa Aunda in love and gratitude

for their love, care and support.

ABSTRACT

This study has examined the universal phenomenon of ethnic conflict. The main purpose was to identify what the bible teaches on peacebuilding and reconciliation and establish its role in conflict resolution. In order to achieve this purpose, the study first developed a conceptual framework that would enable the explanations of the triggers of ethnic conflict and the factor that stimulates the triggers into violent ethnic conflict. Political manipulation in times of real or anticipated political change emerged as the factor that stimulated triggers of ethnic conflict. The study also developed a conceptual framework to explain when conflict mechanisms were introduced in Kenya how they were used and if they were used successfully. The framework explained that conflict resolution mechanisms were introduced when the ugly ethnic consequences of ethnic conflict had been realised already. The conflict resolution mechanisms that were used were not successful. The bible, while it has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, it was not adequately used to resolve ethnic conflict, to build peace and to reconcile diverse Kenyan ethnic groups.

The research method used in this study was both primary and secondary research methods. The two methods were used for the purpose of verifying and validating the findings of each method. Alongside the two methods, the research also used the qualitative research method, which was deemed useful for this research, especially in analysing data. The theoretical framework that involved this study was the social identity theory and the sociology of knowledge. The two theories have been proven useful in bring groups of people which were at odds with each other at one. The findings reveal that the primary data and secondary data collaborated to a larger extent and so the research was able to meet its objectives and test and prove its hypotheses in the affirmative. The findings were that the bible was a useful manual against negative ethnicity and a useful tool for ethnic reconciliation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCP	Concerned Citizen for Peace
CETCOBS	Centre for Translation and Contextual Bible Study
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence
Dr.	Doctor
FBO	Faith Based Organization
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
JCITCK	Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KNAR	Kenya National Accord and Reconciliation
KNDR	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
KPTJ	Kenyans for Peace Truth and Justice
Mt.	Gospel According to Matthew
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	Party of Nation Unity
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
Rev.	Reverend
Rom	Epistle to the Romans
TNCIC	The National Cohesion and Integration Commission
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives the focus and framing of the study. It provides the background of the research problem, statement of the problem, research questions, hypothesis, objectives, literature review, significance and justification of the study, scope, limitation and delimitation as well as the conceptual framework. It is also critical to note that this chapter in an introduction of the entire study, which has five chapters. For that reason, this chapter identifies the main focus of this research, which was on triggers of ethnic conflict, conflict resolution and the role of the bible as to peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. The goal was to identify what the bible teaches on peacebuilding and reconciliation and establish its role in conflict resolution. Yet this demanded a clear understanding of the nature of that conflict, for instance what triggered ethnic conflict and how ethnic conflict in Kenya was managed. The research therefore had some other subsidiary goals, namely, explaining the influence behind the triggers of ethnic conflict and when and how conflict resolution mechanisms were introduced in the attempt to manage the ethnic conflict. The main argument for this research was that while the bible has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, it has not been adequately used to resolve ethnic conflict, to build peace and to reconcile diverse Kenyan ethnic groups. This means that there is a problem and so it is in order to expose the background of the problem, to which we now turn,

1.1 Background of the Research Problem

Ethnic conflict is a universal phenomenon, which has raised immense interest, especially in Africa with regard to its triggers and resolution. Evidence suggests that in Sub-Sahara Africa, ethnic conflicts are overwhelmingly persistent. In Rwanda and Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and Somalia, ethnic and clan based conflicts have continued for a long time. Ethnic conflict in Africa has a long history that can be traced to the colonial era, though their worst manifestations are clearly identifiable in post-colonial regimes. "The typical post-colonial African state is an amalgam of ethnic nationalities whose relations fluctuate from time to time, who strive for the national cake and who adopt conflict as a means of settling scores with each other".[1] Yet this does not mean that ethnic conflict is only experienced in Africa. It has been experienced universally since it has occurred in Europe, for instance in the former Soviet Bloc, Yugoslavia and in Ireland.[2] Ethnic conflict has also been experienced in Asia, Australia, North and South America as well as in the Middle East.[3]

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[1] John O Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. xi; Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), p. xv

[2] See John O Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. xi; Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 3–54

[3] P.R. Rajeswari "Ethnic Conflicts in South Asia: Cases of India And Sri Lanka" downloaded from http://www.idsa-india.org/an-sep-9.html on 28.06.2013; Muhammad Nasir Badu "Ethnic Conflict in Southeast Asian: A Comparative Study of Aceh (Indonesia) and Moro (Philippines)" downloaded from http://www.icird.org/2012/files/papers/Muhammad%20Nasir%20Badu.pdf on 28.06.2013; Alison Brysk and Carol Wise "Liberalization and ethnic conflict in Latin America" downloaded from http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2FBF02687325 on 28.06.2013; James L. Roush "Building a Culture of Peace: Ethnic Conflict in a U.S. High School" downloaded at http://promotingpeace.org/2007/4/roush3.html on 28.06.2013; Francesco Caselli and Wilbur John Coleman II "On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict" downloaded from http://personal.lse.ac.uk/casellif/papers/ethnic.pdf on 28.06.2013; Leonard Binder *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics in the Middle East* (Gainsville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1999); Saad Eddin Ibrahim "Ethnic Conflict and State-Building in the Arab World downloaded from http://www.aina.org/articles/ecasbitaw.pdf on 28.06.2013Norm Dixon "Solomon Islands: Ethnic conflict a legacy of imperialist exploitation " downloaded from http://links.org.au/node/2838 on 28.06.2013; Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs, "Solomon Islands Country Brief" downloaded from http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/solomon_islands/solomon_islands_brief.html on 28.06.2013; Benjamin Reilly

Taking Kenya as an example, her colonial master partitioned the country along ethnic lines. But during the struggle for independence almost all African nationalists of that time called for national unity as a precondition of national solidarity of the nascent states. It seemed that the struggle for independence in Kenya was a racial conflict that pitied the British colonialist and the Kenyan people. Yet after gaining independence, ethnic strife killed the determination of a people who were willing to sacrifice their ethnic origins at the altar of nationalism. Kenyan citizens retreated into their ethnic cocoons and started regarding themselves as Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba, Mjikenda and so on. They became victims of the colonial legacy of divide and rule, which on the eve of independence curved the country into conterminous administrative and ethnic units still seen in the country even today.[4]

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya, which were accompanied by an exodus of ethnic minority communities that had settled in other geographical areas perceived as not their original homes, have occurred frequently since the introduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s. The full-brown manifestations of these conflicts were visible during the 1992 multiparty elections, during the 1997 election and the worst scenario appeared in 2007/2008 post-election violence. During the times when these ethnic conflicts occurred, people from different ethnic groups fought and killed each other with claims that they were fighting to reclaim their land which was acquired illegally.. As such "The

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"Ethnic conflict in Papua New Guinea" downloaded from http://www.umsl.edu/~naumannj/professional%20geography%20articles/Ethnic%20conflict%20in%20Pan ua%20New%20Guinea.pdf on 28.06.2013;

[4] John O Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. xi; Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), , pp. xi, xvi

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association between ethnic identity and political affiliation in Kenya has provided the underlying logic for politically motivated ethnic violence".[5]

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya have been happening even when statistical records reveal that the majority of Kenyan population, that is, over 80% are Christians. It is expected that the Kenya Christians read the bible, which has been dubbed as the most widely read book in Africa, and which is regarded as is the pillar and supreme authority of the faith of African Christians where Kenya is located.[6] However, the majority of Kenyans being Christians and the bible being a widely read book has not impacted the country's political and social-economic process.[7] This raise questions as to whether Kenya Christians adhere to biblical teaching on peacebuilding and reconciliation in situation of ethnic conflict and whether the bible played any role in the management of ethnic conflict in Kenya and whether it has any role to play as to peacebuilding and reconciliation.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Core beliefs of any given society give guidance to the ways in which people build relationships. Christian faith suggests that being at peace with God is the bedrock of all other relationship. This is because those who are at peace with God are reconciled to God and so they can be at peace with self, the others and the environment. This conviction

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[5] Joost R. Hiltermann, *Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence, and Human in Kenya* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002), p. 20

[6] See M. Sibeko and B. Haddad, "Reading the Bible "with" Women in the Poor and the Marginalized Communities in South Africa" in *Semeia*, 78 (1997), p. 85; M. Masenya, "Proverb 31: 10–31 in a South African Context: A Reading for the Liberation of African (Northern Sotho) Woman" in *Semeia* 78 (1997), p 55; Zablon Nthamburi and Douglas Waruta "Biblical Hermeneutics in African Instituted Churches" in H. Kinoti and J. Waliggo (eds.), *The Bible in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Acton Press, 1997), p. 51 Emanuel Obeng, "The Use of Biblical Critical Methods in Rooting the Scriptures in Africa" in H. Kinoti and J. Waliggo (eds.), *The Bible in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Acton press, 1997), p 8; J. S. Mbiti, "The Bible in African Culture" in Rosino Gibellini (ed.), *Paths of African Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1994), p. 38.

[7] See Evangelical Alliance of Kenya: Programmes and Activities, downloaded from http://www.eakenya.org/programs on 30.04.2013.

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may have been put at the periphery in Kenya and so biblical teaching peacebuilding and reconciliation was not practiced in real life situations. This leads to the statement of the problem, which is thus formulated in the following questions. Does the bible have any role to play in peacebuilding and reconciliation, and if it does, was it ever used adequately for conflict resolution with regard to the ethnic conflict that befell Kenya between 1992 and 2008?

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions will help the researcher to unravel the aforesaid statement of the problem.

1. What was the main influence that stimulated the triggers of ethnic conflicts in Kenya?

2. What time was the concept of conflict resolution introduced to manage ethnic conflict in Kenya and did it bring peacebuilding and reconciliation among Kenyan ethnic groups?

3. What role did the bible play in conflict resolution process and was it adequately used for the purpose of peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya?

1.4 Research Hypotheses

The following are the hypothesis for the research questions.

1. The main influence that stimulated the triggers of ethnic conflict in Kenya was political changes and the political manipulation of historical memories.

2. The concept of conflict resolution was introduced to manage ethnic conflict in Kenya after the ethnic conflict had occurred and after people had been displaced from their land and dispossessed their property.

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3. While the bible has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, it did not play any role in conflict resolution and so it was not adequately used for the purpose of peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya.

1.5 Research Objectives

1. To develop a conceptual frame work that would identify the main influence that stimulated the triggers of ethnic conflict and to understand how the triggers are linked to each other.

2. To develop a conceptual frame work that would show when the concept of conflict resolution was introduced in Kenya and also why conflict resolution did not provided the much needed peacebuilding and reconciliation

3. To identify the bible's rich and manifold resources for peacebuilding and reconciliation and to show why and how these resources can be used adequately for the for the purpose of peacebuilding and reconciliation among the diverse and disconnected Kenyan ethnic groups.

1.6 Literature Review

The literature reviewed in the section is on ethnic conflict and its triggers, conflict resolution mechanism and on the way in which the bible can be used in conflict resolution.

1.6.1 Ethnic Conflict and its Triggers

Several scholars agree that the world has continuously experienced severe conflicts such that conflict seems to have become a permanent feature. Indeed, ethnic conflicts are common in almost all countries of the world, especially where people are divided into separate ethnic groups that have a racial, national, linguistic, tribal and

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religious or caste prejudices. As such, ethnic conflict has been defined as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors or parties strive to acquire at the same moment an available set of scarce resources. This definition implies that the struggle for scarce resources is a trigger of ethnic conflict. This is certainly true in Africa, where of ethnic conflict has left the continent drowning in the blood of its own people. Indeed conflict in sub-Africa has been responsible for the direct and indirect deaths of millions of civilians and has contributed significantly to the low levels of human security in the region. The problem is that the frameworks of international relations theorising and solemn declarations of international law have been unable to create a world without conflicts. It is obvious international laws cannot create a world without conflict conflicts are normal in society and so their existence is not in itself a cause for concern.[8]

Ethnic conflict, which occurs in specific cultural settings and takes a cultural perspective, can be simple or complex, organizational or communal or international. But it does not matter what form of conflict there is since the challenge is not to eliminate conflict but to channel and institutionalize it before develops into violence. Yet since ethnic conflict has a cultural appeal, it has received diverse explanations but this does not mean that the diverse explanations of ethnic conflict always contradict each other because they could be relevant and different level of analysis. There could be deficiency of common standards to judge conflict due to the diversity of cultural, political and

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[8] See Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006); Tatu Vanhanen "Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis", in *Journal of Peace Research* (January, 1999) Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 55–73; Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha "Introduction: Analysing Causes of Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa" in Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha (eds.) *Understanding Africa's Contemporary Conflict: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding* (Institute for Security Studies, 2010),; Peter Wallensteen, *Understaning Conflict Resolution* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 16; Makumi Mwagiru and Macharia Munene *Understanding Conflict and Its Management: Some Kenyan Perspective* (Nairobi: CCR-WLEA Publications),

economic systems of the world, but there are aspects of the autonomy of conflict that are common across political systems and cultures. So disagreement that occurs between scholars in identifying triggers or causes of ethnic conflict because of the perception that ethnic conflict are principally cultural conflict and so there cannot be any common explanation is a misnomer.[9]

This does not mean that several scholars have not attempted to contextualize ethnic conflict. The idea of contextualising ethnic conflict is useful for this study because it specifically analyses ethnic conflict and conflict resolution in the Kenyan context. It is important for this study therefore to identify the triggers of ethnic conflict and the mechanism of conflict resolution and contextualize them in the Kenyan context. However, the main purpose of this study is to identify role that the bible should play in conflict resolution, which is not demonstrated in the literature mentioned here. Nevertheless, even though ethnic conflicts need separate cultural and contextual explanation based on local conditions, it is possible to identify a trigger or cause of ethnic conflict that can be representative of many countries in the world. But it is not possible to understand or even manage ethnic conflict or any other conflict before defining its nature and content.[10] This is a helpful observation for this study, which is undertaken in chapter two, which develops different conceptual frameworks for explaining and helping to understand the networking of the triggers of ethnic conflict and the when conflict

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[9] See Tatu Vanhanen "Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis", in *Journal of Peace Research* (January, 1999) Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 55–73; Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006):
[10] See Tatu Vanhanen "Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis", in *Journal of Peace Research* (January, 1999) Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 55–73; Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006):

resolution mechanisms were introduced and if they succeeded in peacebuilding and reconciliation

Several scholars agree that conflicts emerge from a complex variety of reasons. At the theoretical level, the cause of conflict is some sort of social change that occur leading to conflict, which is not necessarily a negative phenomenon. The causes of conflict could also include interpersonal, industrial, political and international factors, which are different and diverse as the conflicts and parties to them are different. But these causes can be narrowed down to the lack of the fulfilment of needs, which are both biological and ontological. Scholars have also sought to identify the triggers of ethnic conflict, others even moving further to identify what could be regarded as a universal cause of ethnic conflict. In some studies, this has been identified as ethnic nepotism, which is an extended form of nepotism.[11]

Despite that conflicts are endemic, what matter most is the way a society responds to the conflict. What determines the result of the social change and the emerging conflict is a combination of society capacity and triggers of conflict. The point is that if society has the capacity to manage the conflict, then a situation of cooperation amidst latent can arise and, if societal capacity is greater and conflict resolution can lead to conflict transformation, then environmental peace is possible. However, should societal capacity not be adequate to at least manage the conflict and various conflict triggers are discharged, then violent conflict will materialize. But despite the social change, conflicts

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[11] Tatu Vanhanen, *Ethnic Conflicts: Their Biological Roots in Ethnic Nepotism* (London: Ulster Institute for Social Research, 2012); Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha "Introduction: Analyzing Causes of Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa" in Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha (eds.) *Understanding Africa's Contemporary Conflict: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding* (Institute for Security Studies, 2010); Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006);

are endemic and will always occupy a critical part of human life. There will always be conflict so long as there are human beings in the world. Since conflict therefore endemic, then it is an inalienable part of life and therefore it is important to learn how to manage it properly.

Some scholars have also noted the importance of ethnic conflict, as a force shaping human affairs, as a phenomenon to be understood, as a threat to be controlled, can no longer be denied. But ethnicity, which is a trigger of ethnic conflict, is always at centre of politics from country to country. The problem is that ethnicity has fought, blend and burned its way to into public and scholarly conscious and so it has becomes a source of challenges to the cohesion of states and international tension. As a trigger of ethnic conflict, ethnicity builds a relationship with party politics. While there is too much knowledge on ethnic conflict there is not enough understanding of the same. But the assumption is that ethnic conflict embodies regularities and recurrent patterns that are in principle discoverable. The other assumption is that ethnicity is a force that is community-building in moderation and community-destroying in excess. As such, it is fruitless and undesirable to try to abolish ethnic affiliations but it is not at all fruitless to try to limit their impact.[12] But what is emerging from the aforesaid is that conflict is unavoidable and it is part and parcel of human continued existence, but it is imperative to manage it successfully to ensure the attainment of abundant life in human continued existence. This leads the study to review the views of scholars with regard to conflict resolution.

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[12] Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006)

Scholars have noted the prevalence of ethnic conflict in Kenya as well as the triggers of ethnic conflict in the country. For instance, in the years between 1990 and 1996, Kenya was rated as a country with high percentage of ethnic hatred, institutionalized conflict, violent conflict, ethnic conflict, residual ethnic conflict as well as on the predicted ethnic conflict. It has been noted that ethnic conflict, which has been at the centre of politics, economic development and social tension in Africa, exploded in Kenya in the early nineties, putting the country in an abyss of destruction. Scholars not only note the complexity of ethnic conflict in Kenya but also the notable undercurrents of ethnic conflicts, mainly from demographics, land ownership and political perspective. In Kenyan ethnic conflicts, there is a dual relationship that influences conflict on the one hand and how conflict affects demographic behaviour, the economy and other spheres of life. Land is identified among the triggers identified. It is not only the county's most dependable resource, but also it is a key factor in explaining why conflict persists in the country. Other triggers of ethnic violence in Kenya are ethnic animosity, inequitable distribution of the national cake, land disputes, political wrangling, political marriages and separations/divorces of convenience among potential antagonist ethnic groups as well as lack of inspiring, nationalistic and neutral political leadership. Negative ethnicity is also a trigger of ethnic conflict in Kenya. It is presence in the country is by the least undeniable. It leads to ethnic conflict and it has been a persistent challenge to the socio-political/economic stability in Kenya. The problem is that negative ethnicity.[13]

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[13] Tatu Vanhanen "Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis", in *Journal of Peace Research* (January, 1999) Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 55–73; John O Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Tatu Vanhanen, *Prospects of Democracy: A Comparative Study of 172 Countries*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1997);. Kabiro wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity and a Tool for Ethnic Reconciliation in Kenya" in D. C. Chemorion, C. B. Peter and Esther Mombo (eds.) *Contested Space: Religion and Ethnicity yin Kenya* (Limuru: Zapf Chancery, 2013)

1.6.2 Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Conflict resolution seeks to manage conflict through various mechanisms and above all to cultivate for peacebuilding and reconciliation. The issue for conflict resolution is not merely ending a war and bringing a volatile situation to an end but also on how to deal with the root cause of conflict and seek ways on how conflict can be avoided. The main issue therefore has been on how conflict can be avoided, yet the causes of conflict and war have informed thinking in international relations for a long time because conflict cannot be adequately resolved without understanding its cause or causes.

As noted above, conflicts are endemic and an inalienable part of life but conflict can also be beneficial. However, this can only happen when conflict is well managed and in a timely way. Yet so as to manage conflict properly and effectively, conflict must first be identified. This means being able to understand the type of conflict and the role it plays in society or in relationships. However, the challenge in identifying conflict is that there are some conflicts that cannot be seen physically. Indeed violence conflicts are easy to identify but non-violence conflicts are not. But this study will be looking at violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya and so which are identifiable. In that case, managing conflict properly requires one to first identify the conflict, understanding the type of the conflict and the role it plays in society or relationships. Several scholars agree that peaceful resolution of ethnic conflict, which should always prevail as a rational and more beneficial approach, is most desirable. Despite this agreement, violent ethnic conflicts continue to occur across the world. The global community is haunted by physical and emotional consequences of recent ethnic violence, which has occurred in many places of

the world. As such, the need for ethnic reconciliation, without which Kenyans cannot become one people sharing a common identity, is highly needed.[14]

Several scholars also agree that successful and sustainable resolution of ethnic conflicts represents and enormous barrier to future prosperity in Africa. Moreover, the post-conflict reconstruction of countries that have experienced ethnic conflict and those around them symbolizes the greatest challenge for sub-Saharan Africa today. Equally, the problem of conflict in Africa and how they can be managed efficiently and effectively is one of the big challenges for African diplomacy[15]. However, the noticeable gap is on the fact that the role of the bible in conflict resolution has not been mainstreamed in conflict resolution, an endeavour that this research is to undertake.

The problem however is that while conflicts have early warnings, these are not easily recognized and so conflict catches many people unaware, and this makes them to respond to it inappropriately. In fact, before ethnic violence erupted in Kenya before an electioneering period, a lot of things used to happen and which should have given warning that severe conflicts were about to break out. Scholars agree that this necessitates the need for people to be alert for the early warnings of conflict so that they can respond to the threatening conflict appropriately. The point is on taking preventative measures referred to as preventive diplomacy, which tries to prevent conflict before it erupts. This has been recognised as strategy to promote peace through preventing conflict and to

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[14] Bojana Blagojevic, "Causes of Ethnic Conflict: A Conceptual Framework" in Journal of Global Change and Governance• Volume III, Number 1•Winter 2009; Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006); Kabiro wa Gatumu "Authentic Biblical Christian Community: Paul's Perspective on Ethnicity and Gender Relations vis-à-vis the African Church" in *Sapientia Logos* 5.2 (2013), pp. 32-76

[15] Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha "Introduction: Analysing Causes of Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa" in Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha (eds.) *Understanding Africa's Contemporary Conflict: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding* (Institute for Security Studies, 2010); Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006)

stress the importance of partnership in preventing conflict and promoting peace. As such, the whole essence of preventive diplomacy is not only to read the signs of the time, but also to put in place measures that can arrest the symptoms. It always leads to post-conflict peacebuilding since a peace that has been successfully negotiated must be consolidated. Yet even though Preventive diplomacy may not be effective in all situations., s not an option; it is a necessity. Conflict resolution also needs diplomacy of human justice, which consolidates the concept of human security, as a mode of mediation in protracted conflicts. However, scholars seem to be in agreement that the challenge of conflict resolution is not how to do away with conflict but how to deal with conflict so that its harmful effects do not ruin societies and relationships.[16] While this is theoretically true, it has not practically happened in Kenya. This is a visible gap in Kenya and which this study seeks to minimise by accentuating the importance of mainstreaming the bible in conflict resolution mechanism.

Scholars have also noted the preoccupation with the peaceful conflict resolution has not been translated into lasting solutions in the conflict resolutions. This is because there is no general agreement as to what conflict resolution approaches should be and what its final aim should be. The issue has always been whether the desirable approach is to resolve conflict or to settle it. While resolving conflict is supreme, the problem is that

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[16] United Nations, "Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results (Report of the Secretary-General) downloaded from http://www.un.org/wcm/webdav/site/undpa/shared/undpa/pdf/SG%20Report%20on%20Preventive%20Diplomacy.pdf on 28.06.2013; Ban Ki-moon "Remarks at Security Council High-Level Briefing on Preventive Diplomacy" http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/sgspeeches/statments_full.asp?statID=1316#.UiGzRlOoHDk downloaded on 28.06.2013; Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006); Zimmerman Ekkart, *Political Violence, Crisis and Revolution: Theories and Research* (Boston, Massachusetts: G. K. Hall & Co, 1983); Philip Mwanika "Mediation and peacebuilding through regional arms control and disarmament diplomacy: A diplomatic continuum in the Somalia peace process", in in Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha (eds.) *Understanding Africa's Contemporary Conflict: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding* (Institute for Security Studies, 2010), pp. 62–86

many of the conflict resolution enterprises regionally and internationally aim not at resolution but at settlement. The other problem is that settlement and resolution are often confused for each other though they are different both in methodology and epistemology. Their relationship to power and with power distinguishes them. Settlement is anchored on the notion of power, while resolution rejects power as the dominant framework for managing social relations. It is also noted that for conflict resolution to yield results, it must always seek to usher peacebuilding and reconciliation. This must involve dialogue, which is the first step in providing a sense of belonging and the recognition of people's commonality, is necessary to stabilise and sustain societal relations. Even so, constructive dialogue in a situation of conflict is very difficult to achieve, especially when dialogue for mutual understanding proves to be premature. Yet what would happen in such circumstances is not to start by ignoring or setting aside radical disagreement, but by taking such disagreements seriously. So instead of dismissing radical disagreement in a premature search for mutual understanding, it would be good to begin looking in the opposite direction". This is because radical disagreement is not a terminus to dialogue but a highly characteristic form of dialogue, that is, agnostic dialogue. The point is that dialogue is still dialogue no matter what shape it takes. In fact, dialogue has already produced impressive and encouraging results both at the elite level and more strikingly at the grassroots level. They also observe that dialogue for mutual understanding is the communicative foundation upon which conceptual and cultural peace-building is constructed.[17]

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[17] Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha "Introduction: Analyzing Causes of Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa" in Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha (eds.) *Understanding Africa's Contemporary Conflict: Origins, Challenges and Peacebuilding* (Institute for

1.6.3 The Bible and Conflict Resolution

The above mentioned and reviewed literature has sought to shed light to the ways in which conflict can be understood and the ways in which conflict can be resolved. However, it appears that understanding conflict, especially ethnic conflict is elusive and so scholarly research, which will probably elicit different opinions will continue to find space in different publications. The same applies to the mechanism of conflict resolution, and which this research discusses below. However, this research is contributing to the existing body of knowledge by looking at ethnic conflict and the mechanism of resolving it from a neglected area. This is the bible, which the research wants to demonstrate that it is useful manual for conflict resolution and a tool for ethnic reconciliation. Several literatures were identified that sheds light on bible and conflict resolution and the ways in which it can be used for peacebuilding and reconciliation. The bible is a religious artefact and religion has an input not only to the causes of conflict but also to conflict resolution. Religion has also been politicized and the war justifying texts of its sacred texts are emphasized more than the teachings of peace contained in the same sacred texts As such, the bible as a religious book is not wholly innocent since to a certain extent it contains passage with a potential to elicit numerous conflicts and also other passages whose interpretation can be used in conflict resolution. On one hand, there evidence that the bible has been used to further ethnic animosity and it has also been used to isolate and exclude some people because of their ethnicity. On the other hand, there is evident that the bible and other sacred texts enrich dialogue for the purpose of conflict resolution

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Security Studies, 2010); ; Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011)

Scholarly evidence has clearly demonstrated this dual stance with regard to the bible. The case of apartheid in South Africa is a good starting point. Apartheid was ethnically biased but was reinforced in the life of South Africans through the use of the bible. Apartheid, which the ethnically biased because of the way it balkanized South Africans in racial or ethnic oriented groups, was reinforced in South Africa through the bible and biblical scholarship of the time served it. Also, the discourses in the bible which tell narratives about the Samaritans have been used in some commentaries to propagate the view that negative ethnicity is biblical. This is because of the Jews prejudice against the Samaritans but which Jesus repudiated, especially in the so-called parable of the Good Samaritan and in his encounter with the Samaritan Woman in John 4. While this has helped many Christian to challenge ethnic and racial prejudices of their own time, old interpretation make ethnic ideologies to appear as if they are divinely ordained and made Christians and their institutions key transmitters of the idea that race/ethnicity is simply a naturally God ordained party of human heritage. [18]

The bible is useful for peacebuilding and reconciliation, especially because of its emphasis on justice. In fact, peacebuilding and reconciliation are often inseparable from justice and righteousness, which involve judgement and arbitration. The point is that if justice does not accompany peace, practical steps such as nonviolent direct action should be taken in the spirit of loving the enemy as taught in the bible. So peace is essential for safety, material abundance and also that peace may counter aggression and violence

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[18] Mohammed Abu-Nimer "Conflict Resolution, Culture, and Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peacebuilding" Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 38, No. 6, 2001, pp. 685–689 ; Douglas Bax "The Bible and Apartheid 2, in De Gruchy J &Villa-Vincencio, C (Eds.) 1983 *Apartheid is a Heresy* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmans, 1983), pp. 114 – 128; Gerald O West, *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation* (Pietermaritzburg, Cluster / Maryknoll, New York: Orbis books, 1991); Tite Tiénou, "The Samaritan: A Biblical-Theological Mirror for Understanding Racial, Ethnic and Identify?" in Robert J. Priest, Alvaro L. Nieves (eds.) *This Side of Heaven: Race, Ethnicity, and Christian Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

between neighbouring communities. Embracing the biblical concept of covenant is regard as critical in conflict resolution. In biblical terms covenant, which is essentially a covenant of peace, means the restoration of divine-human relationship to its original wholeness. The bible, for instance in Isaiah 2: 4 to demonstrate that universal peace is portrayed in terms of the restoration of cordial relationships between nations in the complete absence of war and hostility. The point he is making therefore is that the bible has very useful information that can be used for the purpose of conflict resolution geared towards peacebuilding and reconciliation. While scholars maintained that the way some texts of the bible have been interpreted contain potential of triggering ethnic conflict, they have noted that the same texts can be interpreted different for conflict resolution. For instance, the interaction of Jesus with the Samaritans whom the Jews hated has provided the basis on how Christians can deal with ethnic conflict today. This is because a closer examination of Samaritan identity can provide useful insight for modern Christian understanding of race and ethnicity. [19]

The literature provides lessons that contemporary Christian can learn from the age-old animosity between Jews and Samaritans and which was not ethnic but related to whom they worshiped. The lesson includes expecting proper ethical behaviour from the people we and our ethnic groups despise. This emerges from the fact the so-called God Samaritan was not just good but he was a human being with a true understanding of God's mercy to others. But the priest and the Levite were not just cruel but heartless and

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[19] Cynthia Sampson "Religion and Peacebuilding in I. William Zartman (ed.) *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods & Techniques* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace); Chong Chee Pang, "Peace and Reconciliation: Biblical Themes in East Asia" in Sebastian C. H. Kim, Pauline Kollontai and Greg Hoyland (eds.) *Peace and Reconciliation: In Search of Common Identify* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 51–53; Tite Tiénou, "The Samaritan: A Biblical-Theological Mirror for Understanding Racial, Ethnic and Identify?" in Robert J. Priest, Alvaro L. Nieves (eds.) *This Side of Heaven: Race, Ethnicity, and Christian Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

godless people who failed to act justly and to love mercy. This is indeed a good lesson to learn from the bible, especially in a society fragmented along ethnic lines. The Epistle to the Romans too may have some lessons for Kenyans on how to minimise, if not to eradicate negative ethnicity and ethnic conflict. The epistle may also have lessons for Kenyan political and religious leaders as well as theological educators as to ethnic reconciliation and cohesion. The assumption is that Christians from different Kenyan ethnic groups are familiar with the content of Romans and would probably agree that Romans is not only a pronouncement against negative ethnicity but also an instruction manual for ethnic reconciliation. The main lesson for Kenyans from Romans is that they now share a group identity of being Kenyans. This recognition is vital as it reduces the old hostility and creates awareness that all ethnic group merit respect.[20]

1.7 Significance and Justification of the Study

The gap that exists in the studies related to ethnic conflict and conflict resolution, as noted in the section on literature review, is on the mainstreaming the bible in conflict resolution. The significance of this study is in its attempt to close this gap by identifying the role the bible can play in conflict resolution and the lessons it can provide with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation. The significance of the study is clear in that it is a contribution to the already existing knowledge about ethnic conflict and ethnic resolution.

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[20] Tite Tiénou, "The Samaritan: A Biblical-Theological Mirror for Understanding Racial, Ethnic and Identify?" in Robert J. Priest, Alvaro L. Nieves (eds.) *This Side of Heaven: Race, Ethnicity, and Christian Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Philip F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003); Samuel L. Gaertner et al, "The Common Ingroup Identity Model for Reducing Intergroup Bias: Progress and Challenges" in Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown (eds.) *Social Identity Process: Trends in Theory and Research,* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2000), pp. 133-148; Kabiro wa Gatumu, "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity and a Tool for Ethnic Reconciliation in Kenya" in D. C. Chemorion, C. B. Peter and Esther Mombo (eds.) *Contested Space: Religion and Ethnicity yin Kenya* (Limuru: Zapf Chancery, 2013)

The social justification of this study is based on the benefits to be drawn from its findings. It will benefit the society because it will inform Christians in general and Christian peacemakers in particular the importance of taking the bible seriously when it comes to conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation. Taking the teachings of the bible seriously will not only help in eradicating disconnect between faith and practice in the society, but also encourage ethnic tolerance and respect of different ethnic identity in Kenya, without which Kenya cannot exist. This justifies the study because ethnic tolerance and respect of ethnic identity is a pointer to peace building and reconciliation, which leads to eradication of ethnic conflict in Society.

1.8   Theoretical Framework

This study, as it emerges from the literature review above, was inter-disciplinary because it touched on the subjects of biblical theology, ethnic conflict and conflict resolution. The issue of peaceful co-existence demanded this study to adopt more than one theory. This helped the study to theoretically explain the ways in which people at odds with each other can be brought together for peaceful coexistent. The theoretical framework of this study was therefore informed by two theories derived from social science. These included the social identity theory and the sociology of knowledge theory. The two theories were reckoned as useful in reconciling groups that have been alienated from one another.

The social identity theory insinuates that common group identity initiates perceptions, judgment and actions that contribute to the development of more harmonious and constructive relations within and between different ethnic groups.[21] The theory

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[21] Gaertner, Samuel L. et al 1993"The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias" in *European Review of Social Psychology* 4, (1993), p. 21

suggests that ethnic groups that have been socialized in an aura of ethnic tension and animosity, which leads to ethnic conflict, can recognize their group shared identity. The sociology of knowledge reckons that when two persons arrive at their meeting place from social worlds that have been historically produced in isolation from each other, their interaction occurs in a situation that has not been institutionally defined for both. Each person first observes the activities of the other, assigning a motive to them. When these activities occur again, the observant typifies the motives as regular, saying, 'Aha there he goes again'. At some stage in their interactions, these typifications will be expressed in specific patterns of conduct. Each person will begin to play roles vis-à-vis each other and each will inwardly receive the reiterated roles of the other and make them the models for his/her own role-playing. The consequence is that each will take the role of the other and the 'Aha there he goes again' becomes the 'there we go again'. This relieves both individuals a considerable amount of tension because the other person's behaviour is no longer a source of astonishment and potential danger to the other. The two individuals successfully construct a background, which serves their separate actions and mutual interaction.[22]

The social identity theory and the sociology of knowledge theory pointed to the necessity of appreciating that "the other" has always existed and will always exist. The theories suggested that it was critical to learn to live with "them" like they are "us". The working of these theories was validated more specifically in chapter four in the section that deals with the lessons Kenyans can learn from the bible with regard to conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation.

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[22] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, p. 74

1.9 Research Methodology

The methodology of this study was guided by primary research and secondary research and also the qualitative research method.. It is critical therefore to explain What each research method entails.

1.9.1 Primary Research

Primary research basically involves collecting data about a given subject directly from the real world and gathering information directly from individuals who have it. It is important because it can help to uncover the bias of an author or juxtapose it against another document of the same event in order to understand more fully multiple perspectives as to the historical causes or triggers of an occurrence.[23] In this research, the researcher will be seeking to gather data and information from victims of ethnic conflict, especially those who are still living in the internally displaced person's (IDP) camp and Christians who may have been affected by ethnic conflict in one way or the other. Examples of primary research include surveys, interviews, observations and ethnographic research.[24] It is often undertaken after the researcher has gained some insight into the issue by reviewing secondary research or by analysing previously collected primary data. It can be done through various methods, including questionnaires, telephone interviews, person to person interview, focus group discussion, experiments and direct or participatory observations.

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[23] Kathleen Swan and David Locascio. "Alignment of Technology and Primary Source Use within a History Classroom" *Contemporary Issues in Technology and Teacher Education, 8, 2, (2008),* p. 177, dwonladed from http://www.citejournal.org/vol8/iss2/currentpractice/article1.cfm. on 17.05.2013
[24] See Purdue Online Writing Lab (OWL), "What is Primary Research and How Do 1 Get Started?" downloaded from http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/559/01/. accessed on 15.05.2013; Michael Monet, "What Are the Advantages to Primary Data in Sociology?" Downloaded from http://www.ehow.com/list_6455221_advantages-primary-data-sociology_.html. accessed on 15.05.2013

1.9.2 Secondary Research

The methodology was also guided by secondary research, which is also known as desk research. Secondary research involves the summary, collation and/or synthesis of existing research where data is collected from, for example, research subjects or experiments.[25] As such, it makes use of data previously researched for other purposes, which is publicly available. This information can be contemporary or historical, qualitative or quantitative.[26] So it uses published research or reports or surveys found in a library, archives or the internet. The aspect of secondary research included a study of relevant secondary materials that were of benefit to this study. The material was obtained from scholarly literature and other publications of the Government printers. It also included the search for primary materials, especially from the commissions that have so far investigated ethnic conflict in Kenya. This therefore implies that secondary research uses materials as books, magazines, journals, newspapers among others.

In secondary research, the researcher may not need to go to the ground since all the information collected has been documented already. The point here is that secondary research may answer the questions the research is asking and so there would be no need to go to the field to correct data. Yet the researcher went to the field in order to corroborate documented evidence with primary data hence the use of both primary research and secondary research approaches. Secondary research is also important because it provides an opportunity to compare the primary data for the purpose of checking its validity and reliability. It is also significance because it can provide some

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[25] Sunny Crouch and Matthew Housden, *Marketing research for managers:* (The Marketing Series; Chartered Institute of Marketing, Butterworth: Heinemann. 2003). p. 19

[26] See "Introduction to Research: Secondary Research" downloaded from http://libweb.surrey.ac.uk/library/skills/Introduction%20to%20Research%20and%20Managing%20Informa tion%20Leicester/page_24.htm, on 16.05.2013

data, especially from the government, which would have taken a very long time for the researcher to obtain. It is also significant because it allows access to inaccessible subjects such as people of old civilizations or documents from the archives.

Secondary research is also significant because it helps to make primary data collection more specific. This is because with its help, researchers are able to identify the gaps and deficiencies hence creating awareness of the additional information that need to be collected. Again, it also provides larger and higher-quality databases that would be difficult for any individual researcher to collect on his/her own. Precisely, the most important feature of secondary research and secondary data analysis is that data can be used to establish the generality of a quantitative function and it can also be used to identify problems of theoretical interest.[27]

1.9.3 Qualitative Research

Alongside primary and secondary research, the study also required the tools of qualitative research method, which is a systematic subjective approach used to describe life experiences and give them meaning. Qualitative method studies things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomenon in terms of meaning people bring to them. It is intended to penetrate to the deeper significance that the subject of the research ascribes to the topic being researched. It involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter and gives priority to what the data contributes to important research questions or existing information.[28] According to Kothari, qualitative research deals with qualitative phenomenon, that is, phenomenon relating to or involving quality or kind. The method is of benefit especially when the interested is on

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[27] Russell M. Church "The Effective Use of Secondary Data" downloaded from http://www.brown.edu/Research/Timelab/archive/Pdf/2002-02.pdf, accessed on 17.05.2013
[28] See http://www.cam.ac.uk/qualitativeanalysis, accessed on 17.05.2013

investigating the reasons for human behaviour, that is, why people think or do certain things the way they do.[29] According to Kombo and Tromp, qualitative research is subjective to assessment of people's attitudes, habits, opinions, education and behaviour. They add that qualitative research is useful because it involves an in-depth understanding of human behaviour.[30]

Qualitative research is useful to this study because of its aim, which is to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. The method was therefore useful in helping the researcher to understanding the human behaviour associated with ethnic conflict and the reasons behind ethnic conflicts. It was also relevant to this research because of its usefulness of answering the "how", "why" and to an extent the "what" questions.[31] The research questions showed that the "how", "why" and "what" questions were central to this research. The usefulness of the qualitative research is seen in the fact that it provides the researcher with many choices related to data collection, which include but not limited to, storytelling and classical ethnography. It also involves forms of data collection, which includes interviews and group discussions, observation and reflection field notes. This research chose to collect data through questionnaire, interviews and focused group discussion and reflecting on field notes that had been collected by other researchers.

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[29] C. R. Kothari, *Research Methods: Methods and Techniques*, (New Delhi, New Age International 2004), p. 3
[30] D. K. Kombo and D. Tromp *Proposal and the writing: An Introduction*. (Nairobi, Paulines Publications Africa, 2006), p. 70
[31] See National Institute for Health Research (NHS) "Qualitative Research Design" downloaded from http://www.rds-sc.nihr.ac.uk/planning-a-study/study-design/qualitative-research-design/. on 15.05.2013

The aim of the qualitative research method is to gain insight; explore the depth, richness and complexity inherent in a phenomenon.[32] It also aims at detecting the underlying motives and desires. It also aims at understanding the richness and complexity of social experience and the way people live and interact closely in their day to day life. Qualitative research data, which has non-numerical attributes, was suitable to this study since it enabled a response to the research questions which sought to inquire or investigate whether biblical statements on peacebuilding and reconciliation were relevant and applicable to Kenyan Christians during and after the ethnic conflict that befell Kenya between 1992 and 2008.

1.10 Outline and Overview of Chapters

This study is made up of five chapters, which are structured as follows.

Chapter one contains a general introduction to the study. It covers the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the research questions and the hypothesis for the statement of the problem and for each research question. The chapter gives a literature review and articulates the significance and justification of the study, the research methodology of the study as well as the chapter outline.

Chapter two provides two conceptual frameworks. The first is a conceptual framework on the major influence that stimulates the triggers of ethnic conflict. The conceptual framework explains that ethnic conflict have occurred in Kenya when there is a real or anticipated political change and the major and identifies the political manipulation of historical grievances and the major influence that stimulates the triggers of ethnic conflicts to bring about violent ethnic conflicts. The chapter also provides a

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[32] See "Qualitative Research Designs: Comparison of Qualitative and Quantitative Research" downloaded from http://www.umsl.edu/~lindquists/qualdsgn.html, accessed on 15.05.2013

conceptual framework that explains when conflict resolution has been introduced in the attempt to manage ethnic conflict in Kenya. The conceptual framework explains that conflict resolution are introduced after ethnic conflict had happened and after people had been displaced and dispossessed their property. The chapter also provides reason as to why the bible is critical for peacebuilding and reconciliation and also provides analyses on the concept of conflict resolution and how the concept relates to the bible.

Chapter three is on the presentation of the raw data as it was collected from the field using primary and secondary research methods. The methods of data collection are identified in this chapter as questionnaires, focussed group discussions and interviews. The data collected using these methods agreed with one another to a great deal

Chapter four dealt with the interpretation and analyses of data. It identified the political manipulation of historical grievances as the predominant factor that motivated other triggers of ethnic conflict. This was done by analysing actions of politicians and political statements they made before the occurrence of ethnic conflict. The chapter also notes the inadequacy of conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya to enhance peacebuilding and reconciliation. The chapter also analyses the usefulness of the bible in conflict resolution and enumerates the lessons Kenyans can learn from the bible with regard to conflict resolution. The lessons from the bible are seen as providing the role the bible can play in conflict resolution.

Chapter five is the conclusion of the study. It tests thee ways in which the objectives of the study have been met, attests to the validity of the hypotheses of the study and makes recommendations to stakeholders in conflict resolution and recommendations for areas that may need further research.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has given the focus and framing of the study by identifying the background of the research problem, the statement of the problem, research questions and hypotheses. The chapter has also exposed the objectives of the research and reviewed some literature that has discussed the subject this research was looking at. The chapter also provided the justification and significance of the study, theoretical framework and gave a chapter outline. But the research sought to explain the triggers of ethnic conflict as well as when and how conflict resolution was introduced as its penultimate, the next chapter provides a conceptual framework on the triggers of ethnic conflict and a conceptual framework on conflict resolution.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS ON TRIGGERS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM IN KENYA

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter laid down the direction which the study followed. The chapter provided the background of the problem, the statement of the problem and the research questions among other things. This chapter provides a multi-dimensional conceptual framework on the triggers of ethnic conflict, specifically focusing on Kenya, which has experienced multiple ethnic conflicts since the introduction of multi-party politics in the early 1990s. As noted, "The way to study conflict triggers in a controlled environment would be to focus on the situation within a single country with several ethnic groups sharing same geo-political settings and experiencing the influences of same causal factors"[33]. This is true for Kenya wherein ethnic conflict occurs when a particular set of triggers and conditions converge, but which are stimulated by major political change or crisis that promote ethnic intolerance, ethnic politics, politicization of ethnicity and negative ethnicity. These are stimulated by political manipulation of historical memories of inter-ethnic grievances such as historical land grievances. This evokes emotions of fear, anger and hatred toward the "other". It also arouses an inter-ethnic competition and struggle for scarce resources and ethnic nepotism.

This chapter also provides a multi-dimensional conceptual framework for understanding conflict resolution mechanism in Kenya. The secondary sources have identified several mechanisms that have been used internationally, regionally and locally.

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[33] Robert Nalbandov "Living with Security Dilemmas: Triggers of Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Georgia" in *Transience Journal* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010), p. 47

It seems that conflict resolution mechanisms that have been used in Kenya include, but not limited to, mediation and its collaborating aspects of arbitration and negotiation, individual approaches, for instance the concerned citizens for peace (CCP), formal justice system and commissions of inquiries for instance Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) and Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). The conceptual framework provided in this chapter seeks to construct a basis for a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation where the bible plays a major role in uniting an ethnically divided society like Kenya.

2.1 Triggers of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya: A Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework on the tigers of ethnic conflict represented with the diagram below explains how the triggers of ethnic conflict, which have been identified by secondary data, can be combined to explain how their interaction leads to ethnic conflict. The goal of multi-dimensional conceptual framework is to provide a basis for a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation in an ethnically divided society like Kenya and many others. The explanation given by figure 1 is that before the occurrence of any ethnic conflict in Kenya, what comes first is a major political change or crisis. For instance, the 1992 ethnic clashes occurred after Kenya was declared a multiparty democracy. The political change at this time was the repealing of section 2A of the Kenyan constitution, which made Kenya a *de jure* single party state. Before and after this, political propaganda that multi-party politics would cause ethnic animosity and people would fight each other was perpetuated in political rallies. This brought about ethnic intolerance, negative ethnicity and raised some historical memories for instance, historical land grievances. According to the Waki Report, Kalenjins argued that ethnic

conflict was a product of age-old anger over land distribution following independence, and which was not rectified after the country gained independence in 1963. They argued that land was alienated by the colonial government and then unfairly parcelled out to Kikuyus and other groups whom they view as outsiders.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework on Triggers of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya
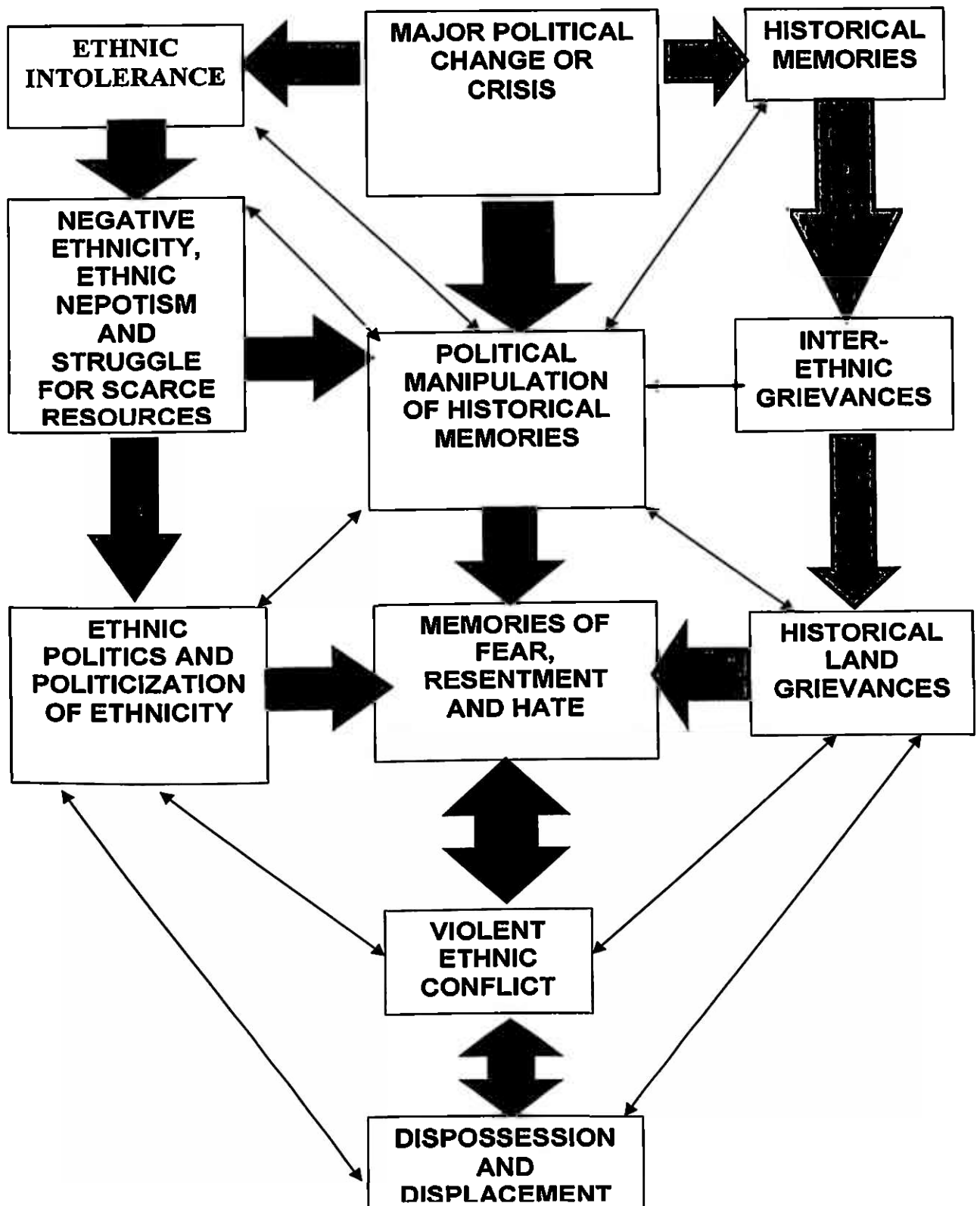
Many Kalenjins believed that issues relating to land were the reason for both the pre-electoral violence in the 1990s and the post-election violence after the December 2007 elections. A government report confirmed what many observers believed that the ethnic conflict had been instigated by the ruling government in order to fulfil Moi's prophecy that multiparty politics would lead to tribal clashes.[34] The Akiwumi report also noted that prior to the introduction of the multi-party politics, the communities involved in ethnic conflict lived reasonably peacefully but upon the introduction of multiparty politics, politicians exploited historical ethnic grievances to trigger ethnic conflict.[35]

The anticipated political change before the 1997 ethnic violence was the clamour for the constitutional reforms that would facilitate free and fair electoral completion, which was led by the opposition and civil society. The fear, especially in Mombasa Likoni constituency was that the parliamentary seat would once again go to the opposition as it had happened in the 1992 general election. The 1997 Kenya Human Rights Commission concluded that the ethnic violence that occurred in Likoni was a crisis precipitated by KANU hawks in an attempt to distract the pro-reform group and thereby regain control of the political arena ahead of the general election. The media reported that the police had received orders from "above" not to interfere with the raiders who were evicting people from upcountry and who were perceived to have oppressed the people from the coast economically for a long time. The media report of leaflets that were

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[34] See G. M. Musila, "Options for Transitional Justice in Kenya: Autonomy and Challenge of External Prescriptions" in *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 3, 2009, pp. 447 (also available at http://iiti.oxfordjournals.org/content/3/3/445.full.pdf+html, accessed on 17.07.2013; Schlee and Watson "Space and Time", p. 30
[35] Hon Mr Justice A. M. Akiwumi "Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya", (also known as Akiwumi Report) pp. 92–93 downloaded from http://www.marsgroupkenya.org/pdfs/crisis/2008/01/Judicial_Commission_Report_On_Tribal_Clashes_In_Kenya/Tribal_Clashes_In_Western.pdf#381 on 17.07.2013

signed by the "Association of Pwani People" asking coast people to cooperate to evict the non-coast people but which were seen as the work of the invisible instigators of the clashes. The media also reported that several politicians from the Coast and the Rift Valley were responsible for planning and funding the ethnic violence at the Coast.[36] As it were, the poor administration of justice as a result of the police being ordered not to interfere with the raiders led many people to suspect, if not believe that the Mombasa clashes, like the one in Rift Valley, were instigated by the State, or at least by certain powerful elements in the regime who dreaded the possibility, as in 1992, of a defeat of the ruling party KANU. A common factor between the 1992 and 1997 ethnic violence both in Rift Valley and Coast is that the ethnic violence vanished as soon as the elections were over. This implies that the ethnic violence in 1992 and 1997 were politically instigated to sway the outcome of the election.[37]

The 2007–2008 post-election ethnic conflict was the outcome of political manipulation not only with regard to the disputed election results but also with regard to the fuelling of ethnic tension through political manipulation.[38] While the cause has been wrongly regarded as the inter-ethnic resentment between Kalenjins and Kikuyus, the disputed 2007 election results triggered the ensuing ethnic violence.[39] Political statements inspired the Kalenjins belief that the Kikuyus had marginalized them for too long by

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[36] See Daily Nation, 18th August 1997, Daily Nation, 20th August 1997 and Daily Nation, The People Dairy 18th August 2000, p.2, all cited in
[37]

[38] See Jennifer G. Cooke, "Background on the Post-Election Crisis in Kenya" downloaded from http://www.smartglobalhealth.org/blog/entry/background-on-the-post-election-crisis-in-kenya/ on 17.07.2013; Catherine Akurut "Kenya: Involvement of the ICC in the 2007 post-election violence" downloaded from http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1139:kenya-involvement-of-the-icc-in-the-2007-post-election-violence&catid=60:conflict-terrorism-discussion-papers&Itemid=265 on 17.07.2013; Donatellah Lortch,"Kenya's Post Election Violence and the Plight of Its Internally Displaced" downloaded from http://www.donatellalorch.com/articles/violence.pdf on 18.07.2013
[39] See Adeagbo, "Post-Election Crisis in Kenya", p. 174

dominating the major sectors of the Kenyan economy at their expense. As such, albeit the trigger factor of the violence being the disputed election results other deep-seated triggers must be attributed to political utterances and actions of politicians. Like the 1992 and 1997 ethnic clashes, historical land grievances were used as a smokescreen while ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity was the real issue. Political big wigs took advantage of the negative ethnicity to build mistrust over Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities that had lived side by side for a long period.[40] In fact, as figure 1 show, political manipulation of historical memories has always been at the centre of every ethnic conflict. This observation is certainly validated by the Akiwumi report, which noted that even though the promise of getting land from those who were displaced was used to entice youth into violence, the desire for political power and not land hunger was the causal factor.[41]

The point is that ethnic conflicts appear when political leaders see it to be in their interest to amplify ethnic sentiments.[42] This has been happening in Kenyan before any ethnic conflict arose and so it appears that negative ethnicity is an instrument used for political or material purposes. From this perspective, people are mobilised to compete for resources or in other ways fight for their interests, and negative ethnicity has been used as a tool for mobilisation. Political elites, for example, find it useful to encourage or even to create ethnic affiliations in order to garner political support. In other words, ethnic

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[40] See the Waki Report age. 32, while citing the Akiwumu report, notes that individuals from different groups had lived side by side for many years until the advent of multi-party democracy. This is when violence was used to kill and displace opposition party voters in order to keep them from voting.

[41] Hon Mr Justice A. M. Akiwumi "Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya", (also known as Akiwumi Report) p.3 downloaded from http://www.scribd.com/doc/2204752/Akiwumi-Report-Rift-Valley-Province on 17.07.2013. See also the Waki Report, p. 32; Phoebe Akinyi-Dar Nyawalo et al *The Invisible Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Rift Valley and Western Regions* (Nairobi: Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung), pp. 45–46

[42] See Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines? p. 54-5,

identity becomes a dynamic phenomenon that changes in tandem with political change. As such, ethnicity is a political phenomenon responding to a large extent to changes in social and political circumstances.[43] Undoubtedly, the post election bloodshed in 2007–2008 was not an inevitable outburst of sectarian hatred but that ethnicity became an issue because of a political power struggle that found ethnicity useful to fan passions and mobilize support. Even so, it was not an autonomous driver of the post-electoral violence since political manipulation was obvious.

The killing and eviction of Kikuyu people around the Enoosupukia area noted above was related to the struggle for scarce resources, though political manipulation was the most evident factor behind the atrocities that were committed. Politician, William ole Ntimama incited Maasai people with political innuendos that Kikuyu people were cutting down trees at the hill and so creating an environmental hazard by ruining the source of water that fed the lowlands. This pleased the pastoralist Maasai community who saw Ntimama as a defender of not only their land rights but also as the one who ensured the survival of their grazing and watering areas, which the Kikuyus had invaded through farming. But even after the eviction of the Kikuyu people, trees were never planted in water catchment areas. Ntimama's clan members started grazing their cows in the area and which caused animosity among other Maasai clans.[44] It is obvious therefore that, ethnic sentiments have been played upon especially during the run up to political elections in Kenya, which in three instances has ended with severe political violence (1992, 1997 and 2008). It also happens that even though most of the major ethnic groups in the Kenyan past political history have been integrated in the political system, ethnic

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[43] See Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines? p. 37
[44] Klopp, "'Ethnic Clashes' and Winning Elections", p. 494

affiliation still played a role in the highly personalised political management of the country and thus always held a potential for politicisation.[45]

It is clearly identified that in each of the violent election cycles from 1991 to 2008, there is enough evidence pointing to the fact that political machinations work closely with the politicization of ethnicity. Political leaders agitated for a return of their "ancestral" land from the "foreigner" during the 1991 political rallies in the Rift Valley and in 1997 a prominent Kalenjin cabinet minister warned of dire consequences for Kikuyu in the Rift Valley if their favourable presidential candidate (Mwai Kibaki) continued with his electoral challenge.[46] The 2007 elections were framed as a "Kenya against the Kikuyu" or "41 tribes against the Kikuyu"[47]. This therefore suggests that politicians have long used ethnicity to mobilize votes and deliberately create divisions between the Kikuyu (who voted predominantly for Party of Nation Unity (PNU) and the Luo and Kalenjin (who voted predominantly for Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The ODM political strategy was to cause fear over Kikuyu domination, while the PNU political strategy focused on disparaging stereotypes about the ODM presidential candidate (Raila Odinga) and his ability to lead.

Indeed Political manipulation, incitement and organization are important dimensions with regard to the occurrence of ethnic violent in Kenya. During the ethnic violence that occurred in 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, politicians played upon the issue "immigrant" and "natives" and created a pervasive fear of immigrant domination of the

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[45] Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines?, p. 55
[46] See Klopp, "Can Moral Ethnicity Trump Political Tribalism?
[47] See M. Chege, "Kenya: Back from the Brink?" in *Journal of Democracy*, (2008) 19, 4

natives during political campaigns rallies.[48] Kikuyu living in Rift Valley were implicitly alluded to as *madoadoa* (stains) to be removed from the land, and politicians were said to have repeatedly stated that after the election the Kikuyu will be returned to Central Province in one pick-up truck.

The conceptual framework as depicted in figure one implies that the political manipulation of historical memories whenever there is or there is an expected political change stimulates the triggers of ethnic conflict. While this may vary in different contexts as a noted in chapter one, in Kenya political manipulation of historical memories seems to be the force behind ethnic conflicts. Violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya have in most cases occurred during an electioneering period where too much political outburst is experienced. In that case, political manipulation of historical memories works in cohort with elections to arouse the triggers of ethnic violence, which could be said to have been dormant though not dead. In politics and elections, politicians are involved and it is their utterances and actions that determine whether conflict or peace will prevail. In fact, ethnicity, ethnic sentiments and identity were generally manipulated for political and economic gains in the ethnic violent conflict in Kenya.[49] Also, "the violence that has characterised the Kenya's political and social scene appears to have been the result of a deliberate manipulation and instigation by the State. The immediate causes of the violence were political rather than ethnic. The other causes advanced, such as land disputes or cattle rustling, appear to be far-fetched, for they merely served as a

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[48] See Sarah Jenkins, "Ethnicity, Violence, and the Immigrant-guest Metaphor in Kenya" in *African Affairs*, 1–21 downloaded from http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2012/07/10/afraf.ads051.full.pdf+html on 18.07.2013 on the discussion on "immigrants'" and "natives" narratives

[49] See Joshia O. Osamba Violence and the Dynamics of Transition: State, Ethnicity and Governance in Kenya in *Africa Development*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1 & 2, 2001, pp. 46, 48

camouflage to sustain the conflict".[50] The point therefore is that ethnic conflicts in Kenya were exacerbated by political feuds even though the violence had its roots in ethnic rivalries and struggle for ancestral lands. Yet such triggers may have not caused such ethnic conflicts if politicians did not capitalize on them. In fact, it can be said that political wrangling and interference with the dormant ethnic identity provoked negative ethnicity, which boosted by the struggle for scarce resource, caused the unrelenting ethnic conflict in Kenya.[51]

Political leaders have undoubtedly exploited ethnic grievances over perceived historical injustices in Kenya and each and every ethnic conflict since 1992 has been just another consequence of such machinations.[52] Some Kenyan politicians have shrewdly made use of negative ethnicity as well as ethnic animosity and intolerance to create bad relationships between different ethnic groups. As such, ethnic conflicts are the means through which most politicians have been accessing political power and the means through which they control that power as well as the state's economic resources. The competition for political power and economic resources has been apparently intense in Kenya and it works very well especially on the front of the politicization of ethnicity. Generally, the triggers of ethnic conflict in Kenya have political utterances and actions as a thread that cuts across them. Political leaders are the ones who encourage their ethnic group to rally around some ethnic issues for political gain. These triggers are enhanced by political crisis or change, which culminates to ethnic rivalry and violence. As observed, "ethno-political violence is a deliberate political strategy by desperate groups

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[50]. Osamba Violence and the Dynamics of Transition", p. 51
[51] See Oluwafemi Atanda Adeagbo, "Post-Election Crisis in Kenya and Internally Displaced Persons: A Critical Appraisal" in *Journal of Politics and Law* Vol. 4, No. 2; September 2011, p. 175
[52] S. Bayne, *Post-election Violence in Kenya: An Assessment for the United Kingdom Government,* (Nairobi: April, 2008), p. 1

intended to effect change in the political system that marginalizes them."[53] As a matter of fact, political leaders encourage the emergence of an ethno-nationalism so as to mobilize supporters.[54] For that reason, politics, political utterances and actions are is the nexus between ethnic conflict and all its triggers. In fact, all the evidence suggest that ethnic conflicts that have occurred in Kenya between 1992 and 2008 "resulted from decades of political manipulation of ethnic tensions ... intertwined with longstanding grievances over land".[55]

2.2 Conflicts Resolution Mechanisms in Kenya: A Conceptual Framework

Figure two below is a description of what prompts conflict resolution in Kenya and when the process begin. The history of violent ethnic in Kenya makes it clear that the point at which a need for conflict resolution arises is after a violent ethnic conflict, whose climax is the displacement of people and dispossession of their property. This is clear from 1992 to 2008.

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[53] Tarimo "Politicization of Ethnic Identities
[54] See Solofo Randrianja, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Democracy," in Stephen Ellis, ed., *Africa Now: People, Policies, and Institutions* (London: James Currey and Heinemann, 1996), p. 31.
[55] Human Rights Watch "Ballots to Bullets: Organised Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance", vol. 20, no. 1, (Human Rights Watch, New York 2008), p. 3, downloaded from http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/kenya0308web.pdf, accessed on 18.06.2013

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework on Conflict Resolution in Kenya

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   VIOLENT ETHNIC     │
                    │     CONFLICT         │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                             ↕
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  DISPOSSION AND      │
                    │   DISPLACEMENT       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                             ↓
┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌────────────────────┐
│  COMMISSIONS OF  │  │   CONFLICT   │  │  MEDIATION/ARBIT   │
│  INQUIRIES AND   │←─│  RESOLUTION  │─→│  RATION/NEGOTIA    │
│     FORMAL       │  │  MECHANISMS  │  │    TION AND        │
│ JUDICIAL SYSTEM  │  │              │  │   INDIVIDUAL       │
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────┘  │   RESPONSES        │
                             ↓          └────────────────────┘
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     ELUSIVE          │
                    │  PEACEBUILDING AND   │
                    │  RECONCILIATION      │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                             │
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │       BIBLE          │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                             ↕
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  PEACEBUILDING AND   │
                    │  RECONCILIATION      │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                             ↕
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   SOCIAL JUSTICE     │
                    └─────────────────────┘
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Economic Justice	Retributive Justice	Distributive Justice

41
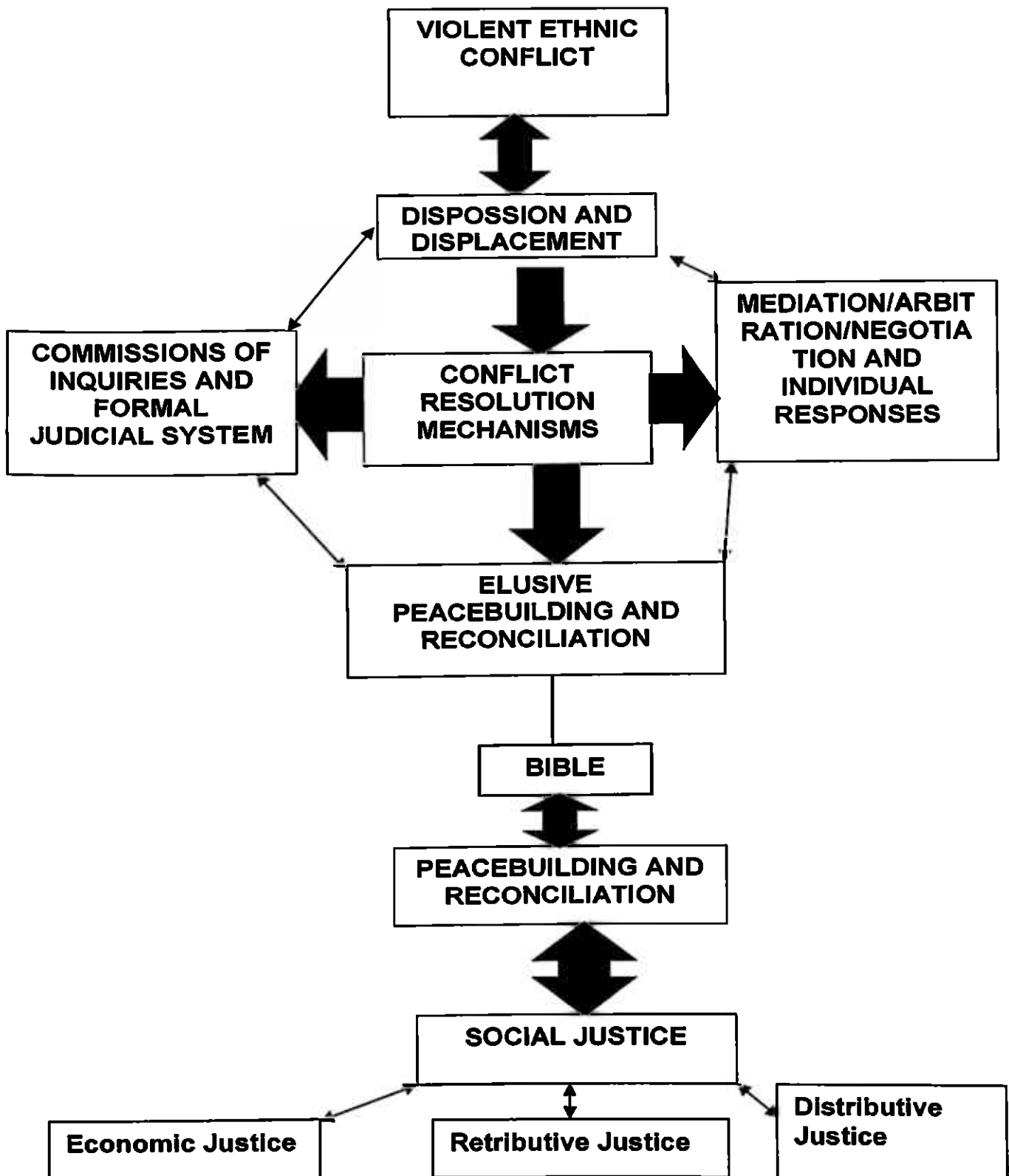
During the 1992 ethnic conflict between 700 and 1000 people died and around 250,000 people were displaced[56]. During the 1997 ethnic conflict in coast province, which occurred before the election, supporters of the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU) sought to cleanse the region of all non-natives (Luo and Kikuyu) who were perceived to be loyal to the opposition candidates Jaramogi Odinga and Mwai Kibaki (Luo and Kikuyu respectively). The resulting violence led to the death of hundreds and displacement of about 100,000 persons. After the 1997 elections the then runner up (Mwai Kibaki) attempted a legal challenge to the official results. Ethnic tensions again rose up in the Rift Valley since supporters of declared winner (Daniel arap Moi) took the legal challenge as an affront to the Kalenjin people.[57] Many people were killed and others were displaced and dispossessed their property. The same happened in 2007/2008 post-election violence. Those who were displaced, as this study has shown in chapter 4, are still in the camps for the internally displaced persons and which the current government is making some effort to resettle. Yet in all these ethnic conflict, there is a distinct pattern that emerged and which suggests that the ethnic conflicts in Kenya appear to be connected to political tensions and especially during highly contested elections periods. It also emerges that after every ethnic conflict; people are displaced and dispossessed their property. It is only after this that some conflict resolution mechanisms, for instance, formation of commissions of inquiry into the ethnic conflict are initiated.

To be specific, ethnic conflict that occurred after Kenya became a multiparty state caused displacement and dispossession. It is only after this that the Kenya Parliament

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[56] See W. Oyugi, "Politicized Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: A Periodic Phenomenon," 2000, p. 13. Downloaded from: http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/cafrad/unpan010963.pdf on 03.06.2013

[57] G. Lynch, "Negotiating Ethnicity: Identity Politics in Contemporary Kenya" in *Review of African Political Economy* (2006), 33 (107)

formed the Kiliku Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate ethnic clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya. It was formed on 13th may 1992 and its scope was to first investigate the root causes of the clashes that rocked the country since 1991. Secondly, it was to identify the person(s) who might have perpetrated or participated in the clashes and in this regard to identify politicians and political parties, organized groups, general public, administration police, security personnel as well as local and international media involved in, or responsible for, the violence. Finally, the committee was to make recommendations that would help to avert such clashes in the future. The report provided clear findings on who were responsible for the violence but they were neither investigated nor prosecuted.[58]

The most comprehensive official investigation into ethnic/political violence in Kenya took a year to conclude and the report was only released to the public two years after it was given to the then President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi by the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya, also kwon as Akiwumi Commission. The Commission's mandate was to investigate the pre-election violence that had happened between 1992 and 1997. It concluded its work in 1999, but when the government made the report public in 2001, the Attorney General of the time criticized it publicly. Afterwards, nothing much was heard of the report and little or no effort was made to clear the individual names of people mentioned and to whom further investigation was recommended because of their suspected roles in the violence.[59]

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[58] Kenya Human Rights Commission, "Lest We Forget: The Faces of Impunity in Kenya", August, 2011, p. 14 downloaded from http://www.khrc.or.ke/resources/publications/doc_download/29-lest-we-forget-the-faces-of-impunity-in-kenya.html.on 26.06.2013
[59] Tom Maliti, "Did Moreno-Ocampo rely only on Waki and KNCHR reports for Kenya cases? Part IV" downloaded from http://www.icckenya.org/2011/11/did-moreno-ocampo-rely-only-on-waki-and-knchr-reports-for-kenya-cases-part-iv/, accessed on 26.06.2013

The 2007–2008 post-election violence saw the formation of the Waki commission and the Kiplagat-led Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission. These two commissions were created through the effort of the Kenya National Accord and Reconciliation (KNAR) process. The terms of reference for the Waki Commission aimed at ending the culture of impunity and giving Kenya back a sense of nationhood where Kenyans cease to be ethnocentric and become Kenyan citizens. It was also expected to investigate the omissions and actions of state security agencies and the actual causes of the violence. It was then to make recommendations to prevent violence in future, reconcile, promote peace and ensure those involved in causing violence are brought to justice.[60] The TJRC was made into law through the TJRC Act in October 2008 and it begun functioning in August 2009 when the Commissioners were sworn in. Its mandate was to establish a historical record of human and economic rights abuses between 1963 and 2008 and compile a report suggesting the measures for non-repetition and prevention of future conflicts. Secondly, it was to inquire into the causes, nature and extent of the violations; determine the identity of the alleged perpetrators and recommend prosecution or amnesty; to identify the victims and determine ways for redress. Finally, it was to investigate into the irregular and illegal acquisition of public land and make recommendations on the repossession; inquire into the causes of ethnic tensions; and to promote peace, justice, national unity, healing and reconciliation.[61]

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[60]Judie Kaberia, "Waki Commission spells out mandate" downloaded from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2008/06/waki-commission-spells-out-mandate/, accessed on 26.06.2013
[61] Republic of Kenya *The Truth, Justice and Bill 2008*, (Nairobi, (2009) downloaded from, http://www.tirckenya.org/images/documents/TJRC-Act.pdf, accessed 26 June 2013

Alongside the judicial commissions of inquiry, formal judicial system, as a conflict resolution mechanism, has also been initiated after the pangs of ethnic conflict and when people are already displaced and dispossessed their property. For a long time, formal judicial system was the most predominant methods of conflict resolution that were recognized under law in Kenya during the period under study were adjudication and arbitration. However, courts cannot bring peacebuilding and reconciliation because their rulings have to be obeyed and failure to obey a court ruling leads to a certain form of punishment.

Mediation and its collaborating aspects of negation and arbitration as well as individual responses were used as mechanisms to resolve the conflict that occurred after the announcement of the December 2007 election result. The mediation process was not Kenyan made since it took the intervention of the international community to jumpstart it. Neither the country's institutions nor the political stakeholders demonstrated the capability to resolve the crisis. It needed some international mediation led by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to break the deadlock between the conflicting parties and to arrive at a power sharing formula. Apparently, Kenyan homemade conflict mechanisms were scarce such that international and regional institution had to intervene in order play part in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Even so, since the need to stop the post-election violence was imminent, all stakeholders appreciated the need for dialogue though they did not have the capacity to initiate it. But with the help of international mediators led by Kofi Annan, the country embarked on a national dialogue and reconciliation process.

Apparently, the 2007-2008 post-election violence prompted some individuals to seek to build peace, initiate a culture of tolerance and to reconcile the country. The most notable individual approach is that of the Concerned Citizen for Peace (CCP), which came into existence on 1st January 1, 2008. The CCP was formed in order to rally for peace and tolerance and to call for dialogue after the 2007/2008 post-election violence that culminated to political and ethnic killings and wanton destruction of property. The group wanted to see a Kenya without violence, a Kenya that is not divided on political or tribal lines, that is, a peaceful and united Kenya. In their attempt to realize their goal, CCP formed the core group of concerned citizens with the objective of establishing an open forum where people could share experiences and initiate actions. In the end, they became an effective, country-wide peace building structure, not only for the election violence but for other emerging violent conflict.

The above explanation as to the conceptual framework on conflict resolution implies that conflict resolution in Kenya has been reactive and crisis driven. There is no doubt that conflict resolution mechanisms are only initiated after ethnic conflicts occur and when the distressing and dreadful results of ethnic conflict have been felt already. The attempt to resolve the conflict comes a little too late and nothing much is done to this effect. The point is that conflict resolution mechanisms have not manage to bring peacebuilding and reconciliation, leave alone to see to it that social justice has been implemented. As figure 2 above shows, the conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya have no connection with social justice, which encompasses three basic concerns. This is because conflict mechanisms in Kenya have led to an elusive peacebuilding and reconciliation.

The conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya therefore seem to have been running in a vicious circle. The conceptual framework as depicted in figure two suggests that the conflict resolution mechanism in Kenya need to be augmented with other resources. This is because of the conceptual framework's opinion that conflict resolution mechanism in Kenya since 1992 has not moved closer to peacebuilding and reconciliation. The bible therefore is recognised as vital in peacebuilding and reconciliation. In that case, allowing the bible (or any other religious and sacred text) in conflict resolution mechanism could be a sure way of bringing peacebuilding and reconciliation without sacrificing the social justice at the altar of forgiveness. As shown below in this chapter, the bible has adequate resources that can speed peacebuilding and reconciliation. But this must culminate with social justice, which has three concerns. These include economic justice which is interested with economic equity, empowerment and fair return that is commensurate with labour. The second is remedial justice, whose demands are on a fair and efficient legal system that gives legal redress in accordance with he laid down rules and regulations. The third is distributive justice, whose interest is on managing and running fair social systems and structures, to ensure not only equal access to opportunities but also equal and fair share of burdens. It is guided by the principle that all people within a given society possess a certain share of that society's benefit and burdens. To implement social justice to the letter is to make sure its three basic concerns enumerated above have been met.

The conceptual framework illustrated in figure two above hints that the bible (or any other religious book) has a role to play in conflict resolution. Yet there was not

attempt to use the teachings of bible or any other religious or sacred text in the attempt to reconcile Kenyans. The role of the bible is critical and there would be no harm in allowing it to play a role in conflict resolution. It is enormously probable that the bible could speed peacebuilding and reconciliation the process. But what is it that the bible has for it to be used in peacebuilding and reconciliation? It is important to understand what is in the bible with regard to conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation.

2.3 Biblical Teachings and Principles on Peacebuilding and Reconciliation

The bible has much to say on peacebuilding and reconciliation. It gives two facts that provide some encouragement as to why peacebuilding and reconciliation should be practiced. The first, on which all peacebuilding and reconciliation should be modelled, is the call to be reconciled with God through Jesus Christ. Theologically, the fall of Adam recorded in Genesis 3 alienated human beings from God, despite the fact they were the placed at the centre of God's creation. The bible therefore is a story of God seeking to reconcile humanity back to himself through Jesus Christ. The second is a call to humanity to be reconciled with one another, which is a God-given mandate. The bible depicts reconciliation as God's initiative, aiming at restoring a broken world back to God through Christ (Col 1:20). Christians participate in reconciliation because they have been transformed into ambassadors of reconciliation.[62] The prime biblical texts on reconciliation with God and among different people are Romans 5:1-11,[63] and 2 Corinthians 5:17-20.[64]

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[62] See Chris Rice et al, Reconciliation as the Mission Of God: Christian Witness in a World of Destructive Conflicts" downloaded from http://www.weapri.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/reconciliatonasthemissionofgod.pdf on 22.07.2013

[63] Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Through him we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand, and we rejoice in our hope of sharing the glory of God. More than that, we rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint

The bible also has some principles that are essential in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Peacemaking, which is based on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, "blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God (Mt. 5: 9) is a key principle. This means that peace has to be made hence peacemaking is a crucial Christian character. Unity and identity is another biblical principle and which is critically essential in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Paul has dealt in length as to the issue of unity and identify among the Jews and Gentiles in his epistle to the Romans, which has been discussed in more details below. Love is another biblical principle that points to the reason as to why reconciliation is necessary. The bible clearly calls for the love of neighbour pointing out that the neighbour is not just the person next do but any person in need.[65] The love should also be extended to the enemies given that "while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son" (Rom 5: 10). The principle of forgiving each other is also critical in peacebuilding and reconciliation. The bible calls it readers to forgive each other for instance in Matthew 6: 15, 18: 21–22 and Colossians 3: 13. Therefore, forgiveness is an important element in reconciliation since for the victim, forgiveness means 'letting go' of resentment because of the pain that has been

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us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us. While we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly. Why, one will hardly die for a righteous man -- though perhaps for a good man one will dare even to die. But God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Since, therefore, we are now justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God. For if while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, now that we are reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. Not only so, but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received our reconciliation.

[64] "Therefore if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come. All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation".

[65] This comes out clearly in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10: 29–30) who helped a Jew who had been attacked by robbers while his own Jewish people (a priest and a Levite) had bypassed him. Jews and Samaritans lived under some ethnic tension and no one could have considered the other his or her neighbour

caused since Christ has taken that pain. The experience of being forgiven by God is thus critical since it helps those forgiven to find it easier to forgive others. However, it will be shown in chapter four, which is deals on data presentation and analysis, that forgiveness does not mean perpetuating a culture of impunity.

Another biblical principle as to peacebuilding and reconciliation is based on the Hebrew concept of *shalom*, which is indeed a biblical concept noting that the New Testament render the Hebrew word with a Greek word *irêne*, which basically have similar connotations with *shalom*. Both the Hebrew and Greek terminologies are used to designate a rich concept that carries broader meaning than the English term peace. In Hebrew, the term shalom (like the Arabic term salaam) conveys a desire for wholeness, fulfilment, completion, unity, and wellbeing, thereby encompassing both reconciliation and justice. Several theologians have studied the Hebrew word *shalom* and have ably demonstrated that peacebuilding and reconciliation must also encompass justice.[66] Indeed justice is fundamental to shalom and that conflict may be necessary when the "prevailing peace" is based on injustice. The Hebrew word 'shalom' to refers to society in totality where all the intertwining social structures operate in harmony with each other.

The communal Hebrew society, as reflected in the Old Testament, has close affinity with the African communal life and the community life anticipated in the New Testament. This also applies to the 'modernized' Africans who have embraced the global culture. Many of them still retain values embedded in the African culture. Indeed the

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[66] See John, MacQuarrie, *The Concept of Peace*, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1973) pp. 14–41; Philpott, Daniel, "Beyond Politics as Usual: Is Reconciliation Compatible with Liberalism?" in Daniel Philpott (ed.)*The Politics of Past Evil: Religion, Reconciliation, and the Dilemmas of Transitional Justice* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 14–15; John W.De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), pp. 41 – 95; Zehr, Howard, *Changing Lenses* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1995), pp. 136–142

concept of 'shalom' encompasses the whole sphere of life which Africans can easily relate with. The word means bringing a sense of completeness or wholeness in human relationships, but with God at the centre. Some words that can explain the idea of complete intimacy relationships include joy, abundance, health, pleasure, closeness, absence of fear and violence, freedom from shame, diseases, pollution or any evil that would act as an obstacle between people and God.

However, since this study seeks to establish the role of the bible in conflict resolution, it is crucial to establish what conflict resolution encompasses in order to ascertain where the concept of conflict resolution and the bible find a common ground. This is necessary since some of the terms that are necessary in conflict resolution such as peacebuilding, forgiveness and reconciliation are also, as noted above, biblical terms.

2.4 The Concept of Conflict Resolution

A major challenge in modern times relates to mechanisms of conflict resolution that would achieve genuine reconciliation and long-lasting peace. This is because the prospect of destruction arising from ethnic conflicts is beyond imagination since local and regional conflicts are causing misery to millions of people in many parts of the world, causing wide-ranging global grief.[67] For that reason, the concept of conflict resolution involves a range of methods aiming to alleviate or eliminate triggers of conflict. It also includes use of non-violent resistance measures in an attempt to promote effective resolution and makes effort to get the conflicting parties to mutually accept each other's existence.[68] It seeks to transform destructive armed conflict using constructive

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[67] See Michael Henderson, *All Her Paths are Peace: Women Pioneers in Peacemaking* (West Hartford, Connecticut : Kumarian Press, 1994)
[68] See Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); N. L. P.

and non-violent channels. As such, peace and conflict studies are concerned with transformation or resolution of conflict and the building of amicable and positive peace. However, successful and effective conflict resolution and transformation requires comprehensive and systematic understanding of the root or remote cause of the conflict. This is necessary since it provides the fundamental ground on which strategies for resolution, prevention and intervention can be mapped-out.[69] The implication therefore is that conflict resolution aims at peacebuilding and reconciliation. Any conflict resolution process that does not aim at peacebuilding and reconciliation among conflicting communities is a waste of time and resource.[70]

The concept of conflict resolution therefore takes peacebuilding, which is relationship-centred seriously[71]. Indeed, the value of building relationships between the groups in conflicts cannot be underrated if relationships help fortify and sustain people in the process of social change. Conflict resolution however acknowledges that peacebuilding must be built on a firm foundation of justice and reconciliation if social change is its end result. This implies that to focus on relationships and the process of how justice is achieved and how to build peace are irreplaceable in conflict resolution. Reconciliation is also irreplaceable though it is controversial and has complex problems because it relates to particular cultural and religious contexts and it revolves around spiritual and personal choices. The problem is that when it comes to reconciling groups

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Swanström and M. S. Weissmann, 'Conflict, Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management and Beyond: A Conceptual Exploration', Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Programme, Washington and Nacka, Sweden, 2005)

[69] See Brian-Vincent Ikejiaku, "African Union, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of the Recent Kenya and Zimbabwe Conflicts" in *International Journal of Development and Conflict* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2011), p. 63

[70] Personal communication in an interview conducted on 25th May 2013.

[71] Neufeldt (et al) *Peacebuilding*, p. 83

of people, this inevitably turns out to be social reconciliation.[72] However, the concept of

conflict resolution understands reconciliation as a process that restores shattered

relationship between two actors, whether individual or social groups. In that case, despite

its complexity, reconciliation is necessary to conflict resolution since it includes restoring

relationships that re-unites people in conflict through mutual compromise and

understanding. As such, reconciliation offers fundamental repair to human lives,

especially those who have suffered.[73] It offers a beginning of new life through recovering

lost spaces and addressing different dimensions. This means that the process of

reconciliation is concerned with making space, which can be physical, where zones or

areas are created and where people feel safe and free from harm. The space can also be

social, where people can speak their minds, think aloud and talk together with others

about the future. The space can also be internal where a traumatised person can be free

from the burdens of the past.[74]

The concept of conflict resolution therefore seems to suggest that the process of

peacebuilding and reconciliation are part and parcel of the journey to peace, no matter

how complex they could be. This however begs a question, was the above understanding

of the concept of conflict resolution applied in Kenya during the period under study as to

ethnic conflicts? When the above understanding of concept of conflict resolution was

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[72] Krishna Kumar "Promoting Social Reconciliation in Post conflict Societies. Centre for Development Information and Evaluation" United States Agency for International Development, USAID Program and Operations, Assessment Report No. 24. (1999)

[73] See Robert J. Schreiter, *Reconciliation: Mission and Ministry in a Changing Social Order* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1995), p. 21

[74] See Neufeldt (et al) *Peacebuilding*, pp. 29–33 for a detailed discussion on how reconciliation creates space and recovers lost space

explained to participant of a contextual bible study workshops[75] they said that if such an understanding of conflict resolution was at the reach of the majority of Kenyans, the recurrent ethic conflict between 1992 and 2008 would have been resolved successfully.[76] The concept of conflict resolution therefore endeavours to walk through, from start to finish.

2.5 Conclusion

Ethnic conflict is a complicated phenomenon and so it is not amenable to naive and uncalculated logic. Yet in Kenya, political manipulation of historical memories is the force that stimulates historical land grievances, negative ethnicity, ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity, ethnic nepotism and the struggle for scarce resources to trigger ethnic conflict between 1992 and 2008. Other intervening factors may have not been considered in this chapter but it the evidence suggests that violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya are related to tensions in politics, at least, during highly contested elections. These conflicts occur in an environment dominated by feelings of marginalization and mistrust of government and other people and such conditions have mainly been exploited by unscrupulous politicians. Perhaps combating politicized ethnicity shall take legal, institutional and cultural reforms, with the goal of developing a politico-legal and social environment that eschews ethnic mobilization, where Kenyans acknowledge and celebrate their diversity, while not using that diversity as a wedge. In view of this, it is important to develop a conceptual framework with regard to conflict resolution since

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[75] The contextual bible study workshops were facilitated by the St. Paul's University Centre for Translation and Contextual Bible Study (CETCOBS) in Eldoret (27th to 29th of August 2012) and Naivasha (25th to 27th October 2012) where ethnic conflict was widespread during the 2007/2008 post-election violence
[76] Personal communication during an interview with Rev. Dr. Kabiro wa Gatumu (Chairman of CETCOBS) held on 25th May 2013

where conflict emerges and people are displaced and disposed, attempts have always been made to bring peace and reconciliation.

The chapter has also provided a conceptual framework that expedites the understanding of how conflict resolution in Kenya has been conducted and if this has been achievable. The chapter has also developed a conceptual framework so as to understand conflict resolution mechanism. It has shown how conflict in Kenya has been managed and when it was managed. The mechanisms of conflict resolution came to the forefront only after ethnic conflict had emerged and people having been dispossessed and displaced already. The mechanisms have not been a success towards peacebuilding and reconciliation. The conceptual framework implies that having the bible to play its role in conflict resolution could possibly speed peacebuilding and reconciliation. Since the conceptual framework introduced the bible into conflict resolution, the chapter has analysed what the bible contains and which is relevant for conflict resolution and why it should be used in conflict resolution. The chapter also explored what could be termed as a universal understanding of the concept of conflict resolution. The purpose was to ascertain the link between the bible and conflict resolution, which was discovered to be the use of terms such as forgiveness, peacebuilding and reconciliation, which are central biblical terms with regard to human-to-human relationship and human-to-God relationship.

However, in order to justify the inclusion of the bible in the conflict resolution conceptual framework, it was necessary to gather primary data from people of different cadre. The following chapter is on the presentation of the raw data as it was gathered through a questionnaire distributed to different people, interviews and focused group

discussions without any interpretation or analysis. This will follow in chapter, which interprets and analyses the primary data as presented in chapter three, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER THREE

PRESENTATION OF DATA

3.0   Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed conceptual frameworks on triggers of ethnic

conflict and conflict resolution mechanism. This was necessary because for an effective

conflict resolution it is important to understand how the conflict emerged and how it was

resolved. Again, the point of view of this research is that the bible has a role to play in

conflict resolution. For this reason, it was necessary to gather primary data that can

support this hypothesis. It was also necessary to gather some primary data with regard to

the triggers of ethnic conflict and the methods used to resolve ethnic conflict is in order to

fit the bible into the conflict resolution mechanism. This chapter basically deals with the

presentation of data as it was collected without any effort to analyse or interpret it. The

presented data was collected using several data collection methods. These methods

included a questionnaire, interviews and focused group discussions. However, the

questionnaire was the precursor of interviews and focused group discussion, since both

followed the format of the questionnaire. The questionnaire had three sections, which

corresponds to the headings under which data has been presented. The chapter presents

data under three headings, namely, demographic and personal information of the

respondents, the triggers of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution mechanism and African

Christians and the role of the bible in conflict resolution. The findings from interviews

and focused group discussion are entwined with the views of the respondent of

questionnaires under the three headings of data presentation.

3.1   Demographic and Personal Information of Respondents

As noted above, the questionnaire was divided in three sections. The first section sought to obtain the demographical information or the personal information of the respondent. This included the respondents name (but which was optional), age, gender, marital status, church or denominational affiliation and the respondents area of residence in Kenya. Many of the respondents did not give their names but their age was between thirty-five (35) and sixty-five (65) years. It was not easy to get the population size of the areas that were hardest hit by the ethnic violence in the period stated but the respondents had at one time resided in one of the places that were affected by the ethnic conflict. A total of forty-five (45) questionnaires were sent out and at the time of writing this chapter thirty-four (34) questionnaires had been returned. Six respondents were from the former Coast Province, ten were from the former Rift Valley Province, six from the former Nyanza province, four from the former Western Province and five from the former Nairobi Province. One respondent had resided at the former Coast province during the ethnic conflict that occurred in 1997 but now residing in Limuru. Two had resided in the former Rift Valley during the ethnic conflict that occurred in1992 and in 1997 but now residing in Nairobi and Thika respectively. Fourteen (14) respondents had received secondary school education up to form four, Ten (10) had a bachelor's degree, six (6) had a Master's degree and four (4) had a doctor of philosophy degree. Eighteen (18) males and 16 females responded to the questionnaires

3.2   Triggers of Ethnic Conflict

The second part of the questionnaire sought to identify whether the respondents had a good knowledge of the various ethnic conflicts that had happened in Kenya

between 1992 and 2008 and how they were resolved. This included their knowledge on the cause, the mechanism used to manage the conflict and whether the mechanisms that were used brought peacebuilding and reconciliation. All the respondents were in agreement that the changes that happened in Kenya in 1992 and which made Kenya a multiparty state, the utterances and actions of the politicians in political and election campaigns rallies in 1992, 1997 and 2007, the disputed 2007 election results, ethnic intolerance, negative ethnicity and land grievances had much to do with the genesis of ethnic conflicts in Kenya. IT is important to present data under each subheading of the triggers of ethnic violence in order to establish how each trigger resonated with political manipulation

3.2.1 Historical Land Grievances

The raw data from all the sources that the researcher interacted with was in agreement that the genesis of the multi-party era, land issues became emotive political tool that raised bad ethnic blood. Land was the central agenda during the *majimbo* (devolution) rallies that were held especially in 1991.[77] However, the issues of land were traced back to the colonial era. In a focused group discussion held on 14th July 2013 in Nakuru, the discussants held that land problems in Kenya have a history that can be traced from the colonial era to the present. They cited land grabbing and unequal land distribution and issuance of title deeds as the main issues that resonates with historical grievances. In another focused group discussion, held in Limuru on 22nd July 2013 also connected historical land injustices and grievances to the colonial era. The discussants

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[77] Personal communication with interviewees and focused group discussions held in Nairobi, Kisii and Molo are of the Rift Valley between 15th July and 10th August 2013.

revealed that the forefathers of the residents of Ndeiya from Kiambu County[78] previously owned the posh estate in Nairobi nowadays known as Karen were settled in Ndeiya in the 1930's.

Yet the majority acknowledged that political statements and utterances reminded some Kenyans of historical land injustices. This was recognised as the major influence that stimulated almost all ethnic conflicts that have taken place in the areas they were residing or had previously resided. They recalled the *majimbo* (devolution) debates and rallies in the early1990's, especially those conducted by William Ole Ntimama (a Maasai politician) and which are documented in various secondary sources. Ntimama began a campaign against Kikuyu people at a *majimbo* rally held in his Narok North Constituency. In this rally, he targeted the Kikuyu, referring to them as inciters and agitators and accused them of having acquired the Maasai land by dubious means. It was in this rally that the politician issued the infamous order to the Kikuyus in Narok to "lie low like envelops or face the consequences".[79] Ntimama's claim was that if any politician allied to the Kikuyus would ascend to political power, the Maasai land would be forever lost.[80] What followed was a massive eviction and killing of the Kikuyu people, especially around the Enoosupukia area. In an interview with the *Saturday Standard* on 13th July 2013, Ntimama admitted that the retired Kenyan President Moi used him to shout to the

[78] For the creation of Ndeiya and Karai settlement schemes see Martha Wangari Musalia, Gender Relations and Food Crop Production: A Case of Kiambu District Kenya, 1920-1985, (Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kenyatta University, 2010), p. 200
[79] See Weekly Review, 1 March 1991, See also Ato Kwamena Onoma, *The Politics of Property Rights Institutions in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 173
[80] See Jacqueline M. Klopp, "'Ethnic Clashes' and Winning Elections: the Case of Kenya's Electoral Despotism." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 2001 35(3), pp.490–496

Kikuyus to lie low since he never really caught on well with any Kikuyu leader.[81] The observation of the focused group discussion was that political statements and utterances reminded some Kenyans of historical land injustices and other factors worked hand in hand to trigger the violent ethnic conflict.

3.2.2 Politicization of Ethnicity and Ethnic Politics

The interviews, focused group discussion and the researcher's own observation and the analysis of the existing field notes agree that politicization of ethnicity has been a major trigger of ethnic conflict in Kenya It was noted that most of ethnic conflicts in Rift Valley were aimed at driving the Kikuyu out of the vast province. The focused group discussions especially singled out the 1992 ethnic clashes, which involved attempts to forcibly remove Kikuyus from the area. The Kikuyus had been perceived to be supporting the main opposition candidate (Kenneth Matiba) who at that was Kikuyu.[82] The focussed group discussion was in agreement with the secondary data that, witnesses to the Special Parliamentary Select Committee that investigated the 1992 clashes that happened at the Metetei farm in the then Rift Valley Province implicated some politicians to have had incited the locals to fight. This was done through utterances that incited the Kalenjin people to remove *madoadoa* (stained people) from the area. The witnesses also alleged that the politicians transported warriors to the area and paid them for each person killed.[83] The focussed group discussion also agreed with the report of all the commissions

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[81] Saturday Nation "How Moi used me to shout at the Kikuyu to lie low: Ntimama" downloaded from http://www.nation.co.ke/Features/weekend/How-Moi-used-me-to-shout-at-the-Kikuyu-to-lie-low-Ntimama/-/1220/1913230/-/format/xhtml/item/1/-/a8h9i1z/-/index.html on 15.07.2013

[82] See Jacqueline M. Klopp 'Kenya's internally displaced: managing civil conflict in democratic transitions', in D. Bekoe (ed.), *East Africa and the Horn: confronting challenges to good governance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series, 2006) ; Ndegwa, "Citizenship and Ethnicity, p. 3

[83] See Jacqueline M. Klopp, "'Ethnic Clashes' and Winning Elections: the Case of Kenya's Electoral Despotism." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 2001 35(3), p.474

that were instituted to investigate periodic ethnic conflicts (especially Kiliku, Akiwumi and Waki reports), and which implicated politicians as the organizers of the violence and killing for political ends, and noted that the warriors and gangs of youth who took action were both paid and pressed into service.[84]

In the 2007 general elections, ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity worked very well. There was an anticipated political change of guard or the maintenance of the status quo. Anybody who lived in Kenya or read the history of Kenya during that time is aware of the fact that in 2007 the elections were framed as a "Kenya against the Kikuyu" or "41 tribes against the Kikuyu"[85]. This means that politicians have long used ethnicity to mobilize votes and deliberately create divisions between the Kikuyu (who voted predominantly for Party of Nation Unity (PNU) and the Luo and Kalenjin (who voted predominantly for Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The ODM political strategy was to cause fear over Kikuyu domination, while the PNU political strategy focused on disparaging stereotypes about the ODM presidential candidate (Raila Odinga) and his ability to lead. However, this was not the first time such an unfortunate occurrence to happen in Kenya. As noted above, political leaders agitated for a return of their "ancestral" land from the "foreigner" during the 1991 political rallies in the Rift Valley. In 1997 a prominent Kalenjin cabinet minister warned of dire consequences for Kikuyu in the Rift Valley if their favourable presidential candidate (Mwai Kibaki) continued with his electoral challenge.[86]

The interviewees and focussed group discussions as well as the secondary data regarded Kenya as a country in which ethnic politics and the politicization of ethnicity is

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[84]Focused group discussion held in Nakuru on 20th July 2013. See also the Waki Report, p. 26
[85] See M. Chege, "Kenya: Back from the Brink?" in *Journal of Democracy*, (2008) 19, 4
[86] See Klopp, "Can Moral Ethnicity Trump Political Tribalism?

a major trigger of ethnic conflict. It is a country in which politicized ethnicity challenges nationalism by uprooting and replacing national patriotism with ethnic patriotism.[87] Politicians who feel excluded or threatened with exclusion invoke ethnic ideology hoping to establish a reliable base of support to fight what is purely personal[88]. The politicization of ethnicity and ethnic stereotypes that led to the December 2007 post-election violence[89] is a clear indicator to the point we are making. The point is also made clear by the 1992 *majimbo* rallies noted above, where politicians politicized ethnicity by making public declaration that if a certain ethnic group, which was referred to as thiefs and inciters, ascended to power the Maasai land would be stolen and their water catchment area ruined. This may have happened because the success of political leaders in winning popular backing depends on the trust which they inspire, and ultimately on their ability to obtain material benefits for their ethnic group in the form of government jobs or loans, building of a school or clinic, construction of a road or electric supply.[90] It appears therefore that "we are dealing with a kind of patronage politics, with economic resources used as a political tool to enable the leadership to buy support for their policies."[91] The problem is that when political and bureaucratic leaders appeal to ethnic identities to fulfil their ambitions, the practice of politicizing ethnic identities becomes one cause among

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[87] See wa Wamwere, *Negative Ethnicity* p. 81
[88] See Anthony M. Wanjohi, "Causes and Effects of Ethnic Clashes in Kenya". in http://www.hotneus.com/causes-and-effects-of-ethnic-clashes-in-kenya.htm accessed on Friday, 06.05.2010
[89] Mara J. Roberts, "Conflict Analysis of the Post-Election Violence in Kenya, (September 2009), downloaded from http://ndpmetrics.com/papers/Kenya_Conflict_2007.pdf on 11.07.2013.
[90] Tarimo "Politicization of Ethnic Identities
[91] See Douglas W. Waruta, "Tribalism as a Moral Problem in Contemporary Africa," in Jesse N. K. Mugambi and Anne Nasimiyu-Wasike, eds., *Moral and Ethical Issues in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers, 1992) 112-130, esp. 127.

many causes of ethno-political violence.[92]This certainly makes the politicization of ethnicity to become a crucial trigger with regard to ethnic conflict in Kenya.

Both primary and secondary data identified and associated the deliberate personalisation of presidential power with making the politicisation of ethnicity, ethnic politics and use of state violence possible.[93] The Waki report explains how power had been personalised around the presidency and how this had been increased through changes in the Constitution under each president since independence. In all these constitutional changes, laws were routinely passed to increase executive authority. It is unfortunate that between 1963 and 1991, the Constitution was amended 32 times.[94] Several scholars therefore seem to agree that since ethnic tensions have only typically emerged during electoral contests, then it is not ethnicity per se that cause ethnic conflict but politicized ethnicity. This happens when commercial and misleading politicians exploit existing mistrust and feelings of marginalization to add fuel to ethnic tensions and conflict for political gain.[95] As such, a general agreement was that politics based on ethnicity were major problem with regard to the instigation of ethnic conflict. It emerged from both interviews and focused group discussion that there is enough evidence to demonstrate that the main force ethnic based politics and the politicization of ethnicity is

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[92] See Tarimo "Politicization of Ethnic Identities
[93] Sigrid Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines? A Study of Underlying Rationales for Kenyan Electoral Behaviour (Unpublished Master Thesis Submitted to Department of Political Science, University of Oslo June 2009, p. 56, downloaded from https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/15069/siax-xmasteroppgave.pdf?sequence=2. accessed on 03.06.2013.
[94] "Waki Report 2008" downloaded from http://www.knchr.org/Portals/0/Reports/Waki_Report.pdf. on 03.06.2013
[95] See S. Ndegwa, "Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Transition Moments in Kenyan Politics." The American Political Science Review (1997): 91, 3; W. Oyugi, "Politicized Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: A Periodic Phenomenon." (2000) http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/cafrad/unpan010963.pdf. on 03.06.2013; Klopp, J "Can Moral Ethnicity Trump Political Tribalism? The Struggle for Land and Nation in Kenya" in *African Studies*, 2002, 61,(2)

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one of the major triggers of behind ethnic conflicts in Kenya, which is also documented in secondary data.[96]

It also emerged that Kenyan politicians have a tendency to sensationalize and politicize existing differences among ethnic lines. Secondary data has also identified this as one of then a major trigger of ethnic violence, especially in the former Rift Valley, Western and Coast Provinces.[97] The primary data also showed that in periods of anticipated political change or crisis, and in certain historical and socio-economic circumstances, ethnicity is readily politicized. The primary data also revealed that ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity happen because nations and states are ruled in the name of an ethnically defined people and because rulers perceive it their obligation to care for "their peoples". These two factors provide incentives to align political loyalties along ethnic divides where those who hold political offices seek to gain legitimacy by favouring people from their ethnic group over others when distributing public goods and government appointed jobs. Politics now becomes the question of which ethnic group should controls which share of executive government. In view of this, it is ethnic exclusion from state power and competition over the spoils of government that breed ethnic conflict. For that reason, ethnic politics explains the dynamics of war and peace and also different kinds of conflicts result from different causal processes.[98]

The observation from both the primary and secondary data was that ethnic mobilization by politicians has always thrived in situations of low interpersonal trust (fear of the others) and when individuals feel marginalized. This kind of situation has

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[96] See Ndeta "It's time for actors"
[97] See Prisca Mbura Kamungi, The Current Situation Of Internally Displaced Persons In Kenya (Jesuit Refugee Service, March 2001), p. 10
[98] See Wimmer, Cederman and Min, "Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict", pp. 316-321

perpetually encouraged nefarious politicians to provoke ethnic tensions that boiled up into outright ethnic conflict, violence, loss of life and dispossession of property. Equally, ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity is determined by inequities in the distribution of resources to different ethnic groups and the ethnic groups' uneven access to the state.[99] It seems that ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity are related to ethnic nepotism and the struggle for scarce resource. As it were, the primary data's understanding of politicization of ethnicity corresponded, though not in similar words, with Joseph Rothschild view that to politicize ethnicity is to render people cognitively aware of the relevance of politics to the health of their ethnic cultural values and vice versa. It is also to stimulate their concern about this nexus and to mobilize them into self-conscious ethnic groups. It is also to direct their behaviour toward activity in the political arena on the basis of this awareness, concern and group consciousness.[100] This is also a problem if ethnic politics is as powerful and robust in predicting civil wars as is a country's level of economic development and if ethnic demands and grievances play a prominent role in most conflicts reported in the daily news from many countries in the world.[101]

3.2.3 Negative Ethnicity

Interviewees and focused group discussion separately agreed that politicization of ethnicity worked in cohort with negative ethnicity. The majority of respondents, interviewees and discussants in focused group discussion agreed that negative ethnicity was widespread in Kenya even at the present. A focused group discussion and several

[99] See Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines? p. 38
[100] See Joseph Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics. A Conceptual Framework*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 1, 6
[101] See Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman and Brian Min, "Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data" Set in *American Sociological Review*, 2009 74, p. 316

interviews revealed that negative ethnicity and a dose of ethnic politics leads to ethnic conflicts. The common view that emerged from the primary data was that negative ethnicity takes place when people from different communities hate or prejudice other people from ethnic communities that are different from their own because their ethnic community is different from their own. An opinion was also expressed that negative is as a result of superiority or inferiority complexes. Superiority complex was referred to as an attitude in which a person or a community regard himself/herself or themselves as superior to another person or community just because of his/her or their ethnic affiliation. Inferiority complex was referred to as an attitude in which a person or a community regard himself/herself or themselves as inferior to other people, whether an individual or community just because of his/her or their ethnic affiliation. The primary data unanimously agreed that negative ethnicity manifests itself when a group of people or a society conceive themselves as superior to others because of religion, food, language, songs, culture or even that their looks are better than for the other people. Negative ethnicity also occurs when some communities feel worse and inferior to other communities and so it is not just about superiority but also about inferiority.

Focused group discussion held in several places in Rift Valley recalled the seemingly non-toxic jokes that different ethnic groups directed at each other but which were a clear manifestation of negative ethnicity. The Kalenjin referred the Kikuyu people as *madoadoa* (spotted people), hyenas, mosquitoes or cockroaches that could not be trusted since they were thieves and hypocrites. The as *andu a nduriri* (people of other nations – but now used derogatorily) *gacuriai* (people who have hanging pierced ears), *andu a ruguru* (people from the North) and who are lazy, idle and drunkards. The

stereotype jokes gradually grew into ethnic prejudices, which eventually graduate into using derogatory terms that were geared towards generating resentment, hostility and hatred. All this prompted the irresistible desire to get rid of the 'enemy' communities.[102] It deflects people's minds from its evil nature such that those who practice it do not regard it as an evil. For that reason, church leaders, university professors and academicians as well as politicians practice and perpetuate it.[103] The discussants also noted how negative ethnicity creates suspicions, hatred and enmity and threatens the very basic foundation of peace, love and unity, thus threatening the stability of Kenya. They recalled how it threatened the constitution making process in May 2003 at Bomas of Kenya. This was captured by the Kenyan press, which noted that ethnic and regional secret night meetings were happening in a heightened tension to control the Conference. Political parties and individual politicians withdrew to their regional and ethnic cocoons to fight for constitutional advantage and to map out strategies of inserting tribal and regional agenda into the draft constitution. National interest was swapped with ethnic, regional and sectarian interest.[104]

Primary data and the secondary data agreed that ethnic conflicts appear when political leaders see it to be in their interest to amplify negative ethnic sentiments.[105] Interviewees and discussants in focussed group discussion agrees that this has been happening in Kenyan before any ethnic conflict arose and so it appears that negative ethnicity is an instrument used for political or material purposes. From this perspective,

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[102] See L. Muthoni Wanyeki, "Loving each other won't cure 'negative ethnicity'", in http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/panafrican/61994 accessed on 06.05.2010: wa Wamwere, *Negative Ethnicity* p. 45-46

[103] Focused group discussion held at Nakuru on 22nd July 2013. See also wa Wamwere, *Negative Ethnicity,* p. 88

[104] (see *The Sunday Standard Online Edition,* http://www.eastandard.net, accessed on 11.05.2003 and *Sunday Nation on the Web,* http://www.nationaudio.com, assessed on 11.05.2003).

[105] Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines? p. 54-5,

people are mobilised to compete for resources or in other ways fight for their interests, and negative ethnicity has been used as a tool for mobilisation. Political elites, for example, find it useful to encourage or even to create ethnic affiliations in order to garner political support. In other words, ethnic identity becomes a dynamic phenomenon that changes in tandem with political change. As such, ethnicity is a political phenomenon responding to a large extent to changes in social and political circumstances.[106] This, as noted above, is clear in the killing and eviction of Kikuyu people around the Enoosupukia area, which was related to the struggle for scarce resources. Politician, William ole Ntimama incited Maasai people with the allegation that Kikuyu people were cutting down trees at the hill and so creating an environmental hazard by ruining the source of water that fed the lowlands. This pleased the pastoralist Maasai community who saw in Ntimama a champion of not only their land rights but also the one who ensured the survival of their grazing and watering areas, which the Kikuyus had invaded through farming. But even after the eviction of the Kikuyu people, trees were never planted in water catchment areas. Ntimama's clan members started grazing their cows in the area and which caused animosity among other Maasai clans.[107]

It is obvious therefore that, negative ethnic sentiments have been played upon especially during the run up to political elections in Kenya, which in three instances has ended with severe political violence (1992, 1997 and 2008). It also happens that even though most of the major ethnic groups in the Kenyan past political history have been integrated in the political system, ethnic affiliation still played a role in the highly personalised political management of the country and thus always held a potential for

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[106] Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines? p. 37
[107] Klopp, "'Ethnic Clashes' and Winning Elections", p. 494

politicisation.[108] However, it must be said that Kenya has a potential to rid herself off the negative vices that have contributed to the violent ethnic conflict. While governing through an ethnic minority that was based on patronage network seems to have heightened during Daniel Arap Moi's 24 years and which imprinted group identity on Kenyan politics, the potential for Kenyans to get rid of this can be proven. For instance, there are instances of cross-group cooperation, especially in the 1960s when the Kikuyus and Luos formed the Kenya African National Union to fight for independence. Equally, the creation of the National Rainbow Coalition to break the one-party stranglehold on power in 2002 is a pointer to that potential. With the two examples, it can be argued that intergroup cooperation in Kenya is in fact the norm rather than the exception. Intermarriage is common and many of Kenya's youth, especially in urban areas, grew up identifying as Kenyans first, followed by ethnic affiliation.[109]

In fact, the historical and current reality as to negative ethnicity is unmistakable. As such, almost every corner of Kenya is haunted by actual or potential ethnic conflicts. This is partly because of the fact that different communities continue to consciously or unconsciously rely on ethnicity to perpetuate their dominance and hegemony in an atmosphere characterized by scarce resources, fear and prejudice. The proliferation of ethnic conflicts in this country has been so widespread that there is hardly any region where the problem has not reared its ugly head: Western, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Coast, Central, North Eastern, Eastern and even Nairobi.[110] Yet still, negative ethnicity has a political dimension, which is traceable to the colonial legacy. It requires scarce

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[108] Archer, "Why do Kenyans Vote along Ethnic Lines?,p. 55
[109] See Clement Mweyang Aapengnuo "Misinterpreting Ethnic Conflicts in Africa" http://www.ndu.edu/press/misinterpreting-ethnic-conflics.html accessed o 03.06.2013
[110] See Barasa Kundu Nyukuri "The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development", downloaded from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACH211.pdf. on 16.07.2013

elaboration that British colonialists 'divide and rule' strategy as that which polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya. Post-colonial Kenya political leadership has faithfully perpetuated this colonial bequest, often relying heavily on ethnicity to remain in leadership or to settle a dispute with their perceived enemies.[111]

Both primary and secondary data agreed that negative ethnicity has made Kenya to become a country largely dominated by ethnic calculations. As a result, many Kenyan people see most government activity with an ethnic lens and elections are opportunities for ethnic elites to seek domination of state organs in order to assure development of their ethnic group. [112] The data also agree that dodgy politicians aspiring for electoral offices play the card of negative ethnicity and they have a strong incentive to mobilize support along ethnic lines and in most cases, they are rewarded with electoral success. The problem is that when rival parties respond in a similar manner, this pushes political rivalry towards to undesirable extremes.[113] Primary data and secondary data agreed that ethnically based political parties easily lead to increasing ethnic tensions, which leads to an outbreak of ethnic conflict. The data also agreed that ethnically based political parties mobilize support by making powerful emotional appeals to issues of identity, history and survival and so it is not surprising that ethnic conflict is often a direct result of the appearance of these ethnic parties.[114] The problem is that when ethnic groups are politicized, ethnic identities and loyalties move from the private sphere to the public

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[111] See Nyukuri, "The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development"

[112] See Lynch, "Negotiating Ethnicity", p. 61, Ndegwa, "Citizenship and Ethnicity, p. 3; J. Steeves "Presidential Succession in Kenya: The Transition from Moi to Kibaki" in *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, (2006): 44, 2

[113] See A. Rabushka and K. Shepsle, Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability, (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1972)

[114] See Stephen Kajirwa Keverenge "Political Party Formation and Alliances: A Case of Kenya", (Unpublished Thesis Proposal Submitted to School of Social and Human Studies, Atlantic International University), p. 41

sphere and the inability to go beyond ethnic framework intensifies the climate of political crisis.[115]

3.2.4 Ethnic Nepotism and Struggle for Scarce Resources

Several focused group discussions noted there was a relationship between negative ethnicity and the desire of politicians to favour people from their ethnic groups when it came to job and resource. A sociologist cum theologian who was a discussant in a focussed group discussion held at Limuru and who hails from Kitale helped the group to understand what they were discussing in a single terminology, that is, ethnic nepotism. Ethnic nepotism, as noted in chapter one on the section on literature review, occurs in situations where members of an ethnic group tend to favour their group members over non-members because they are more related to their group members than to outsiders. This disposition to favour kin over non-kin becomes important in social life and politics when people and groups of people have to compete for scarce resources. Equally, ethnic cleansing and ethnic nepotism arise when political leaders become more dependent on securing popular support. In view of this, ethnic nepotism is practiced to ensure that the state serve the interest of particular ethnic groups[116]. This occurs at the national level, when leaders "allocate to their ethnic groups considerable state resources to maintain their political influence and control of the ethnic group concerned. Such leaders aim at maximizing their support and their access to resources in competition with rival politicians".[117] As such, ethnic nepotism and the political struggle of scarce resources are

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[115] See Tarimo "Politicization of Ethnic Identities
[116] Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[117] Tarimo "Politicization of Ethnic Identities

not only allied to one another but also both are open to political manipulation, consequently leading to ethnic conflict.

The primary data and secondary data agreed that the scarcity of resources tempted the political elite to privilege particular groups. Several focused group discussions that discussed this subject observed that the first post-colonial government of Jomo Kenyatta, the majority of cabinet ministers, provincial and district commissioners were from one ethnic group. The same also was the case during the period of the succeeding government of Daniel Moi. The focused group discussions made the point that ethnic groups that feel marginalized are likely to favour leaders who are more focused on developing their community against national interest. Data form secondary sources provided similar sentiments especially in noting that ethically adjusted people favour leaders who participate in the group's preservation, especially in competition against other communities and against the national community – unless the state is controlled by fellow community members.[118]

There is no doubt that unfair allocation of national resources through ethnic nepotism and corruption has been a major trigger of violent ethnic conflict in Kenya. Some communities feel neglected while their counterparts enjoy enormous share of the national cake. In return the neglected communities unleash their anger to other communities as a way of portraying their dissatisfaction with how government resources and offices are run. Many Kenyans have lost their lives and others uprooted from their ancestral lands as a result of tribal clashes manifested through unfair and unjust allocation

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[118] See Ndegwa, "Citizenship and Ethnicity, p

of national resources engineered by malice and nepotism.[119] Kanyinga's analysis of public appointments identifies a consistent degree as to ethnic nepotism in all the successive post-independence regimes in Kenya. The preference of ethnic nepotism is especially visible in the appointment of top-brass civil servants and heads of state corporations.[120] In fact, ethnic nepotism is clear in the appointments in the public officers in Kenya during the period between 1992 and 2008.

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[119] See Musa Haron, "Lords of nepotism dragging Kenya behind" downloaded from http://safariafricaradio.com/index.php/reforms/1794-lords-of-nepotism-dragging-kenya-behind. accessed on 05.06.2013

[120] Karuti Kanyinga, "Governance Institutions and Inequality in Kenya", in Society for International Development, Readings on Inequality in Kenya, (Nairobi: Society for International Development, (2006), pp. 374-394

[121] See Ndegwa, "Citizenship and Ethnicity, p

3.3 Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution

The respondents were equally aware that the attempt to manage the conflict was only introduced after the ethnic conflict had occurred and when people had already been displaced from, and dispossessed their land. Most of the respondents, when asked whether the ethnic conflict had affected them in any way answered in the affirmative. A good number had lost their relatives as a result of ethnic conflicts and dispossessed their land. To date, they have never been given back their land or allowed safe access to their former property, which according to them has been occupied by people they know. For those whose relatives were killed, no attempt has ever been made to bring the killers to justice. A similar view was expressed through telephone interviews with three people, two of whom had lost their fathers in one who was evicted from, and dispossessed of his land. The three interviewees noted further that some politicians and local leaders were involved either in inciting ethnic conflict or being involved in not only killing people but also evicting those they did not kill from their farms. Those who were evicted consequently lost their farms and all that was in them since they were considered as not belonging to that community.[122] The focussed group discussions noted that while several mechanisms have been put in place to resolve ethnic conflicts, this comes a little too late when things had gone to a point of almost no repair. They agreed that the almost all conflict resolution mechanisms never expedited the much needed peacebuilding and reconciliation, as it will be demonstrated in the sub-sections below.

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[122] Telephone interview with two Senior Lectures at St. Paul's University and a bishop from the Rift Valley between between 28th June and 7th July. One of the senior lectures lost his land and property during the 1997 ethnic conflict and the other senior lecture's father and the bishop's father were killed during the 1992 ethnic clashes. The three wished to remain anonymous because the issue has remained sensitive and emotive to them and their families to date.

3.3.1 Commissions of Inquiry

The primary and secondary data was also in agreement that the commissions of inquiry were not fully successful, even though they were preferred mechanism of conflict resolution in post-colonial Kenya regimes. An AfriCOG document notes that commission-making, which has been a well-established practice with a long and troubled history, was a preferred model for both Moi and Kibaki regimes.[123] Some print media report indicates that Kibaki regime particularly excelled in using commissions and taskforces. These amounted to over twenty between 2002 and 2007, but which were merely investments in 'hot air'.[124]

3.3.2 Formal Judicial System

Concerning the formal judicial system, all the people interviewed and spoken to in focused group discussions were aware that this was perpetuated through courts as a conflict resolution mechanism but which they said was compromised by betrayals and political interferences.[125] The majority of the people interviewed and the focussed group discussions faulted the formal judicial system as a conflict resolution mechanism. A focused group discussion which had a lawyer and a biblical scholar among its members observed that due to the fact that Kenya was a British colony, the Kenya justice system was built on the British common, but which was actually an imposition to the country.[126] Also, the focused group discussion as well as the information gathered through interviews faulted the Kofi-Annan led mediation, which in chapter three was noted as

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[123] Africa Centre for Open Governance (AfriCOG) *A Study of Commissions of Inquiries in Kenya,* Nairobi: AfriCOG, (2007), p. 2, downloaded from, http://www.africog.org/reports/Commissionsofinquirypaper.pdf. accessed 2 July2012]

[124] D. Kahura and A. Savula, 'Playing Politics With the Truth', *The Standard,* 12 February, 2007 downloaded from, http://allafrica.com/stories/200702120521.html, accessed on 2nd July 2012

[125] Focused group discussion and personal telephone communication with various people from Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisii, Eldoret, Naivasha, Nakuru and Limuru between 7th and 21st June 2013

[126] Focused group discussion held at Limuru on 13th July 2013

having brought some hope, but these hopes were latter dashed because of the failure to implement some of its critical recommendation. The participants of a focussed group discussion also criticised the commissions of inquiries, which they noted that rather than bringing peacebuilding and reconciliation, they were a waste of the country's human and financial resources. They felt that the commissions of inquiry which have been established in Kenyan history have never helped in bringing peace and reconciliation because their findings in most cases are never made public and which are made public there are no action taken to implement the recommendations made.

3.3.3 The Kofi-Annan Led Mediation

The majority of the people interviewed and the discussants of the focussed group discussions agreed that the Kofi Annan-led mediation process saw the dawn of a power-sharing arrangement and a national accord was agreed upon. They appreciated the accord's four key agenda areas, which provided a road map for necessary short and longer term changes to prevent future violence. The secondary data has documented this point in clear and certain terms. The four key agenda area's main point was to come up with ways and methods of dealing with immediate humanitarian issues, puncture impunity and to promote broader institutional change.[127] To a certain extent, the results of the mediation are clear seeing that there was no occurrence of ethnic conflict after the 2012 election, though voting along ethnic lines was evidence that negative ethnicity, as observed above, is still at work in Kenya. Yet the national accord signified the official consensus on a national strategy for peacebuilding and reconciliation. Also, the Kofi

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[127] See Jacqueline M. Klopp, Patrick Githinji and Keffa Karuoya Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding in Kenya: Challenges and Innovation in *Special Report* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace), pp. 1-2 downloaded from http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/SR251%20-%20Peace%20building%20in%20Kenya.pdf. accessed on 20.06.2013

Annan-led Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) process successfully negotiated an end to the political crisis through the formation of a Grand Coalition Government. However, it is an open secret that the national accord has not been completely implemented to enhance the so much need peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. The logical conclusion is that the Kofi Annan-led mediation has not fully succeeded as to peacebuilding, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence in Kenya.

3.3.4 Formal Judicial System

The interviewees and focussed group discussions generally agreed that he formal judicial has not been a successful conflict resolution mechanism in Kenya. They recalled the complaints that have been heard all through the history of Kenya as to how courts not only undermine justice but also on how they cannot bring about any meaningful peacebuilding and reconciliation. The secondary data has also expressed similar sentiments in noting that the common citizen's perception is that the court is a highly technical and sophisticated place that a person should avoid as much as possible. As such, most citizens would rather let their disputes go unresolved than resort to courts. The data also notes the disadvantages associated with courts, which range from expense and technicalities to delays.[128] The common observation was that courts, especially electoral courts are by their very nature highly formal.

The interviewees and focussed group discussions agree that the major problem with the judicial system is that while they listen to both parties, they resolve the issue by delivering a judgment, but which must ultimately be enforced. As such, disobeying a court judgment leads to the punishment of the person who has disobeyed and being accused of contempt of court. The interviewees and discussants of focused group

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[128] See Adan and Pkalya, *Conflict Management in Kenya*, pp. 6-7.

discussions generally agreed that the formal judicial system is a rigid way of management and which cannot lead to satisfactory conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation. The court saga with regard to the recent June/July 2013 teachers strike was still lingering in their mind at this time. They recalled that the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) went to Court, which ruled that the teachers should call of the strike but the Kenya National Union of Teachers refused to comply with the court ruling. The KNUT leaders were accused of contempt of court and were liable to pay a fine and face a civil jail for six months. This implies that the courts are not effective in resolving conflict and to enhance peacebuilding and reconciliation.

3.3.5 Individual Approaches

The majority of the interviewees and focussed group discussions from the rural areas expressed unfamiliarity with the Concerned Citizens for peace as an individual approach conflict resolution mechanism. However, those from cities like Nairobi, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldolet praised the CCP as a conflict resolution mechanism that gave much hope to the people, especially in providing basic needs such as food and clothing and in organising meetings between the aggressors and the victims. Focussed group discussions held in these cities lauded CCP, which was an individual approach as a successful conflict resolution mechanism. On this, the primary data agreed with secondary data to a larger extent. Since much of the CCP's success has been captured in the secondary data, it is critical therefore to present the secondary data as it has been received from secondary sources.

The secondary data shows that CCP was effective since it provided space and opportunity for people to came together to reflect, analyse, strategize and act jointly in

conflict resolution peacebuilding and reconciliation.[129] It enabled people to acquire space and time to think and act together in conditions of chaos and crisis. It was also CCP successful because the mechanism it applied was directly linked to African indigenous wisdom of peace building and conflict resolution. This, in particularly, is in line with Ubuntu philosophy of communal participation and consensus building where all members of the community including council of elders, traditional chiefs, spiritual leaders, and the young generation participate as a team in situation of conflict or emerging threats.[130] as the political situation began to stabilize, CCP established peace activists in each of the regions in Kenya where grievances remained strong. Their actions were to get reliable information on potential violence and expose it before its manifestation to avoid the cycle of violence. On the whole, CCP's involvement in the peace initiative was intended not only to defuse an outbreak of violence, but also to uncover and begin to address the underlying conflict issues.

The first strategy CCP established was dubbed as 'citizens in action' and it aimed at maintaining an open and inclusive public forum for presentation, discussion of the lessons, experiences and the possible implication for peace activist facing the outbreak of violence.[131] This was a direct intervention in the violent conflict that had been going on, which was based on the strength of its mobilization and the establishment of an open forum where people could share experiences. CCP came out with appropriate actions to violent ethnic conflict, which attracted different stakeholders in the attempt to coordinate

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[129] See Georgw Wachira, et al, *Citizens in Action Making Peace in the Post-Election Crisis in Kenya–2008*, (Nairobi: Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa, 2010), p.1-65, p. xv
[130] See Okot Francis Odwong, "The Evolution of Peace and Conflict Studies", July 2011, downloaded from http://www.upeace.org/system/pdf/Okot%20Francis%20Odwong%20%20The%20Evolution%20of%20Pea ce%20and%20Conflict%20Studies1.pdf, accessed on 17.06.2013
[131] Wachira, 2008

a fruitful response to the situation. Fisher's and Zimina's field findings were that Concerned Citizens for Peace (CCP) had demonstrated what should be done to ensure effectiveness in the reduction of violent conflict. This is because CCP mobilized and formed small groups to work with the existing traditional structures, such as elders and chiefs throughout all of the regions in Kenya. These self-help grassroots initiatives dedicated their efforts to preventing violence and reconciling the conflicting parties.[132] However, some people interviewed through the telephone between 28th June and 7th July suggested that some local initiatives could not work. This is because some of the local leaders were involved either in inciting ethnic conflict or being involved in evicting and killing people considered not belonging to that community from their farms and consequently possessing the farms and all that was in them.[133]

3.4 African Christians and the Role of the Bible in Conflict Resolution

The third section sought to establish the role of the bible in conflict resolution and its teaching on peacebuilding and reconciliation. All the respondents, who were Christians from different denominations, agreed that the bible was very central to their denominations and almost all Christians acknowledged its authority in matters of faith and practice. They said that the bible was read in homes, churches, schools, hospitals in work place as well as in the streets and in buses (by street and bus preachers). The respondents were also aware of the biblical teachings with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation. They cited several biblical passages that speaks of peacebuilding and reconciliation and gave fundamental biblical reasons as to why peacebuilding and

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[132] Fisher and Zima *Just Wasting Our Time?*, p. 15
[133] Telephone interview with two Senior Lectures at St. Paul's University and a bishop from the Rift Valley. One of the senior lectures lost his land and property and the other senior lectures father and also the bishop's father whose father were killed during the 1992 ethnic clashes. The three wished to remain anonymous because the issue has remained sensitive and emotive to them and their families to date.

reconciliation were necessary for peaceful coexistence. Majority stated that peacebuilding and reconciliations are God's initiative and so human beings, who accept God's sovereignty have the responsibility to foster peacebuilding and reconciliation among God's people as well as to extend the same to the rest of God's creation. Despite this, all respondents were unanimous that Christians did not practice and apply biblical teachings on peacebuilding and reconciliation during and after the ethnic conflict in Kenya between 1992 and 2008. The majority observed that in times of crisis, such as ethnic conflict, Christians no longer follow the teachings of the bible on peacebuilding and reconciliation. They turn back to the ethnic and culture cocoons, ultimately shelving Christian morality and adopting behaviours and actions that promote ethnicity brotherhood rather than Christian brotherhood.

The majority of those interviewed and discussants in focused group discussions identified peacemaking as a vital Christian character. However, they were sceptical whether the majority of Kenyan Christians have been exhibiting this character during the ethnic conflicts that have been happening in Kenya between 1992 and 2008. Asked whether Christians have managed to stand above ethnocentrism and the tension it generate, many felt that Kenyan Christians are far behind and that they are part of the problem.[134] The respondents were equally convinced that the bible has a role to play in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation. The majority of the respondent, especially those who had biblical and theological training, cited the Paul's epistle to the Romans as a biblical example as to the ways in which people who had been torn apart by

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[134] Personal communication with three theologians and four church leaders whose name have been withheld because of the position they hold in the institutions they work since they have no authority to speak on behalf of their churches on 17.07.2013. Similar data was collected from a focused group discussion the researcher had with about 30 victims of ethnic conflict at Naivasha on 24.07.2013.

ethnicity can be brought at one. They also gave the epistle to the Romans as an example of how the bible could be made and used as a useful tool for peacebuilding and a manual for reconciling different ethnic groups in Kenya. However, when noting that the bible has much to say on forgiveness, peacebuilding and reconciliation, the respondents and also participants in the focused group discussions and interviewees categorically reject the idea that the bible undermines social justice in asking for forgiveness, peacebuilding and reconciliation.

The most cited texts in support of the above point were the Levitical codes in the book of Leviticus that demanded not only retributive justice but also distributive justice. The majority of respondents, interviewees and discussant during focused group discussion maintained that restitution is not a necessary element in the reconciliation process, but it is a fitting response to forgiveness and repentance. Discussants in a focused group discussion cited the story of Zacchaeus the tax collector in Luke 19:1-10 as instructive. When Zacchaeus recognised Jesus as Lord, he realised that his past practice of cheating taxpayers was wrong and he wanted his lifestyle to change. He therefore gave back the money that he had gained by cheating as a response to the forgiveness that he had received from Jesus. They pointed out that the bible does not teach that forgiveness means sacrificing justice and restitution of the wrongs done to the victims but its implication is that forgiveness leads to reconciliation if the victim and offender come face to face to talk about how they feel.[135] However, some of the interviewed victims of ethnic violence were scared by the prospect of forgiveness and reconciliation. They feared to lose their rightful claim as victims of injustice, or being asked to forget the act that caused them pain. Their fears seemed to resonate with the

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[135] Focused group discussion held at St. Paul's University, Nakuru campus on 3rd August 2013

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findings of the secondary data that people often get caught up in the discrete or separate moments of the process of reconciliation and lose sight of the whole.[136]

During the process of collecting data, it emerged that in conflict situations, victims and survivors do not forget what happened to them. If their experiences remain unaddressed and are allowed to worsen, they will have catastrophic consequences in future. The attempt to evade the reality of those who have suffered hideously in the past sets the stage for those memories to boil over in violent response to the immediate present. To make it worse, the memories of these vile realities are passed on to succeeding generations and they ultimately develop into a tradition, which yearns to support equally ugly reaction in future. Kenya, especially between 1992 and 2008 as a result of ethnic conflicts, has not been exception to the above phenomenon.[137] It also emerged that focussed group discussions and interviews to a large extent validated the data collected through questionnaires, as it will be shown in the following section on data analysis. Also, the findings of the secondary research and the findings of primary research did not have any major deviation as the data analysis will show.

The respondents of the questionnaire, the interviewees and focussed group discussions agreed that Kenyan people are indeed religious and most religions abhor conflict. They were in agreement that the majority of Kenyan people are Christians and the bible is among the widely read book in the country and many people would want to know what the bible has to say in situations they find themselves. However, all the primary sources were cynical if what the bible teaches about conflict resolution was taken into consideration during and after ethnic conflicts that have occurred in Kenya from

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[136] See Neufeldt (et al) *Peacebuilding*, pp. 29–33
[137] Focused group discussion held on 1st June 2013 at Naivasha and interviews with internally displaced persons (IDP) that were conducted between 20th May and 5th July 2013

1992 to 2008. Data from all sources agreed that biblical principles on peacebuilding and reconciliation were never applied or implement as to conflict resolution mechanism.[138] The data also vilified the high pedestal on which the bible was placed. As noted above, the respondent of the questionnaire were of the opinion that Christians were unable to practice and apply biblical teachings and principles that are essential for peacebuilding and reconciliation. The reasons, which they gave and which agreed with the sentiments of focused group discussion and the views of interviewees was that there was a sharp disconnect between what Christians postulate as their belief and what they put into practise into in day-to-day real life experiences. The reason possible reason for this is due to the fact that negative ethnicity had found a place to feel at home and that church leaders had taken an example from political leaders who had been taking refuge in their ethnic backyard for political gains and survivor. This view to a large extent confirmed the findings of the secondary research, in which several scholars attest presence of negative ethnicity in the African church, wherein the Kenyan church belongs.

The primary and secondary data agreed that the Kenyan church openly moved along ethnic lines. Focussed group discussion held in Rift Valley indicated that church leaders used civic education, prayer meetings and other occasions to openly campaign for their preferred parties and candidates. Secondary data cites an unnamed political analyst who when asked to comment on the role of the Church famously quipped, "We have seen the Church of PNU and we have seen the Church of ODM but, pray tell, where is the Church of Jesus Christ?" The secondary data also shows that while Christian values are expected to foster national cohesion and identity, more often than not, Christianity has

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[138] This information was collected from the field between 28th June to 31st July 2013 through questionnaires, focused group discussions and interviews with theologians and church leaders from the Rift Valley, Coast and Nairobi.

provided a convenient and effective rallying point around which ethnic conflicts are mobilized.[139]

Data from a focussed group discussion (in which the majority of discussants were biblical scholars) confirmed that there are lessons for Kenyans to learn from the bible with regard to peacebuilding and conflict resolution. They identified the Pauline writings in the bible as the main source for the Christian doctrine of reconciliation. It was noted that all but three[140] of the occurrences of the word "reconciliation" in any of its forms are to be found in the Pauline corpus.[141] They gave concrete examples of the biblical principle of unity and identity discussed in chapter three and the way in which it calls for peacebuilding and reconciliation using the epistle to the Romans. Relying heavily on an article they all agreed to have read, they unanimously agreed with the author of the article (who was also part of the focused group discussion) that Paul was dealing the principle of unity and identity focussing on the unity and identity of Jews and Gentile Christians in his epistle to the Romans.[142] They were in agreement that the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians as well as other writings outside the New Testament clearly show that Jewish and Hellenistic Christians harboured negative ethnicity and bias against each other and this threatened their unity in Christ.[143]

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[139] Eunice Kamaara Towards Christian National Identity in Africa: A Historical Perspective to the Challenge of Ethnicity to the Church in Kenya downloaded from http://www.eunpublishing.com/doi/pdfplus/10.3366/swc.2010.0002 on 16.07.2013; Njonjo Mue, "Regaining Our Saltiness: "The Role of the Church in Post Election Kenya" downloaded from http://kenyananalyst.wordpress.com/2008/06/05/regaining-our-saltiness-the-role-of-the-church-in-post-election-kenya/, on 16.07.2013

[140] See 1 Sam. 29: 4; Matthew 5: 24 and Acts 7: 26

[141] See Romans 5: 10, 11; 1 Corinthians 7: 11, 2 Corinthians 5: 18, 19, 20 and Colossians 1: 20, 22, Ephesians 2: 13–16. See also Philemon, which has an implication of reconciliation especially verse 16.

[142] Kabiro wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity and a Tool for Ethnic Reconciliation in Kenya" in D. C. Chemorion, C. B. Peter and Esther Mombo (eds.) *Contested Space: Religion and Ethnicity yin Kenya* (Limuru: Zapf Chancery, 2013)

[143] Focused group discussion held at St. Paul's University Limuru Campus on 13th July 2013

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented in the raw form it was collected using the primary research method and secondary research method. To a larger extent, the primary and secondary data agreed that the most dominant factor that influenced the triggers of ethnic conflict was the real or anticipated political change and the political manipulation of historical memories. The primary and secondary data also validated conceptual framework's explanation that conflict resolution was only started after the genesis of the ethnic conflict and its destructive consequences, for instance, displacement of people from their land and the dispossession of their property. The agreement between the primary data and the secondary data with regard to the character of African Christianity and the Christian's use of the bible had a-one-to-one similarity. Both data agreed the Kenyan situation and others in the world testify on the unfortunate situation as to the many cruel conflicts in which Christians have been caught up. The primary and secondary data also agreed on the existing disconnect between the proclamation of faith and real life practice as to the use of the bible in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation. The chapter also did not stray from the conceptual framework on conflict resolution mechanisms explained in chapter two. The next chapter analyses the raw data that has been presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSING THE TRIGGERS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE ROLE OF THE BIBLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter basically deals with data analysis, with regard to the triggers of ethnic conflict, conflict resolution and the role of the bible in conflict resolution. The data, which this chapter analyses, was presented in the previous chapter. The analysis of this data required a flexible data analysis technique given the fact that several factors interacted with each other. As such, a combination of several data analysis techniques was used. These included case study data analysis technique, factor analysis technique, field experiment techniques and group feedback technique. Case study data analysis technique was useful as it involves intense examination of small number of entities without manipulating independent variables or controlling baffling variables. It was also useful because it utilizes questionnaires, coded interviews, or systematic observation as its preferred techniques for gathering data. Factor analysis technique was used because it analyses interrelationships among a large number of variables and explains them in terms of their common underlying dimensions or factors. Field experiments technique was used because it involves the experimental manipulation of one or more variables within a naturally occurring system and subsequent measurement of the impact of the manipulation on one or more dependent variables. Factor analysis technique was used

due to its efficacy in analysing inter-relationships among large number of variables and to explain them in terms of their common underlying dimensions or factors.[144]

The chapter begins with the analysis of the personal information of the respondents of the questionnaire. It then analysis data on what influences the triggers of ethnic conflict, which will be followed by an analysis of data on when and how conflict resolution mechanism are introduced in ethnic conflicts that have happened in Kenya. This will be followed by a data analysis with regard to the nature of Kenyan Christianity, biblical teaching on, and its principles of peacebuilding and reconciliation. Finally, the chapter offers a conclusion. The chapter also provides the grounds of testing and proving its penultimate and ultimate purposes as well as its main argument. One of the penultimate purpose was to provide a clear understanding of the triggers of ethnic conflict and to identify the main factor that motivates these triggers to cause a full-brown ethnic conflict. The second was to provide a clear understanding of the conflict resolution mechanisms that have been used to manage ethnic conflict and when the mechanism have been used. The ultimate purpose was to ascertain the role of the bible in the management of ethnic conflict with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya.

The main argument for this research was that while the bible has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, it has not been adequately used to resolve ethnic conflict, to build peace and to reconcile diverse Kenyan ethnic groups. Chapter two provided conceptual a framework on the triggers of ethnic conflict and a conceptual framework on conflict resolution. Research methodology, as discussed in chapter one, included both primary and secondary research methods. The qualitative

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[144] For a more detailed discussions and sources of the data analysis techniques used in this study see "Quantitative, Positivist Research Methods in Information Systems" downloaded from http://dstraub.cis.gsu.edu/quant/5dataanal.asp on 16.07.2013

research method was also used since it was found useful for this research because of its appropriateness in analyzing the "why", "how" and to some extent the "what" questions.

4.1 Personal Information

The demographical information or the personal information of the respondent suggests that the respondent were not only mature people but also those who may have witnessed the 1992 ethnic conflict. The data reveals that they were thirty-five years of age during the time of collecting data and were not less than fourteen (14) years during the 1992 ethnic conflict. Those who may have been sixty-five years (65) during the time of correcting data were forty-four (44) years old during the 1992 ethnic conflict. This means that they were people of sound mind and could recall from their own memories what had happened. All of them were people who knew how to read and write and they may have read newspapers and other literature on ethnic conflicts in Kenya. This would certainly imply that while they may have a living memory of what had happened; their responses could equally have been influenced by what they had read or heard through radio and television news cast. Given that the data gathered through questionnaires, interviews and focused group discussions as well as the results of the secondary data did not have a major deviation, implies that the data is credible.

4.2 Political Manipulation of Triggers of Ethnic Conflict

The previous chapter on data presentation revealed that a major trigger of ethnic conflict in Kenya was historical land grievances. However, the conceptual framework on triggers of ethnic violence explained in chapter two identified political manipulation of historical grievances as the major influence that stimulated historical land grievances as one among other triggers of ethnic violence. This means that while the ethnic conflict and

the violence that have been witnessed in Kenya were largely viewed by some quarters as stemming from land disputes, the real issue that stimulated the triggers of ethnic conflict was politicization of land issues, which consequently aroused negative ethnicity. This was enhanced by ethnic politics and ethnic nepotism as well as the politicization of ethnicity and struggle for scarce resources, which led to memories of fear, resentment and hate. The consequence was violent ethnic conflict that led to the displacement of people and the dispossession of their land. This therefore implies that several triggers of violent ethnic conflicts have been working together, the common factor being political manipulation of historical memories. This however does not only occur in Kenya but also in other places, though the common denominator may differ.[145] Yet it is critical to evaluate how each of the identified trigger of ethnic conflict resonated with the manipulation of historical grievances.

4.2.1 Negative Ethnicity

Negative ethnicity, which has been traced from the colonial era, has been identified as the most intractable problem in Kenya since the country became independent in 1963.[146] The primary and secondary data have a remarkable agreement that provided evidence that election related violence, negative ethnicity and multiparty politics were inseparably linked as to ethnic conflict that have befallen the country between 1992 and 2008.[147] This is not surprising seeing that Kenya has been rated second in the ladder of countries involved in ethnic conflicts owing to negative ethnicity.[148]

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[145] See Robert Nalbandov "Living with Security Dilemmas: Triggers of Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Georgia" in *Transience Journal* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010), pp. 51–52, 60
[146] John Harrington Ndeta "It's time for actors to rethink peace building in Kenya" downloaded from http://www.peacenetkenya.or.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=220:its-time-for-actors-to-rethink-peace-building-in-kenya&catid=3:newsflash, on 17.08.2013
[147] Njogu (ed.) *Healing the Wound*, p. 5
[148] wa Wamwere, *Negative Ethnicity*, p. 91

Negative ethnicity both in colonial and post-colonial Kenya has always been swelled through the divide and rule tactic. The problem is that negative ethnicity has never been exposed as a destructive mania within any given community. In Kenya, it has been slyly publicized as a solution to political supremacy, despite the millions of life it has killed or ruined. Negative ethnicity has constantly made Kenya a country under the threat even after the county has experienced its brutal consequences.

4.2.2 Ethnic Nepotism and the Struggle for Scarce Resources

Both primary and secondary data revealed that Kenyan political leaders have been unable to synchronize ethnicity and nationhood. While they publicly eulogise national unity and cohesion, they have steadily put in place structures and institutions that have enhanced nepotism, tribalism, ethnic solidarity.[149] As such, the negative consequences of ethnic politics have more to do with ethnic nepotism[150], which has culminated with the competition for scarce resources. Competition of scarce resources has been identified as a contributing trigger in almost all ethnic conflicts in Africa.[151] However, ethnic nepotism and competition of scarce resources only required some political manipulation to cause a full-brown violent ethnic conflict. For instance, the violent ethnic conflict after the disputed 2007 elections in Kenya is didactic to the point we are making. Kenyans who came from different ethnic communities went into a political competition for scarce

[149] See Makokha Kibaba, "Ethnicity, Nationhood and Civil Society in Kenya", downloaded from http://www.crvp.org/book/Series07/VII-17/chapter-9.htm, accessed on 05.06.2013
[150] Evan S. Lieberman and Gwyneth C. H. McClendon "The Ethnicity Policy Preference Link in Sub-Saharan Africa", p. 2 downloaded from http://www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/methods/papers/Lieberman.pdf, accessed on 05.06.2013
[151] See Michael Bollig, Ethnic conflicts in North-West Kenya: Pokot-Turkana Raiding 1969—1984 in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (1990), pp. 77–79; Donald S Rothchild, Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), p. 75; Abiodun Alao and Funmi Olonisakin, "Post Cold War Africa: Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflict and Security" in Adebayo O.. Oyebade and Abiodun Alao (eds.) Africa After the Cold War: The Changing Perspectives on Security (Trenton, New Jersey : Africa World Press, 1998), p. 126

resources and opportunities much more than they were against those who were "different".[152] Members from an ethnic group, who claimed to have been fighting to get back their stolen election victory, forcibly occupied houses that belonged to members of the perceived antagonist ethnic group, especially in Mathare and Kibera slums. So it seems that ethnic conflicts often emerge in multiethnic underdeveloped societies when the state is perceived to be dominated by a particular group or community. In such a situation, some communities feel threatened with marginalization especially when no recourse for redressing grievances exists. For that reason, ethnic thinking and mobilization generally emerge from the resulting inequitable of resources and not from intrinsic hatred.[153]

4.3   Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

As shown in the previous chapter on data presentation, conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya were only initiated after ethnic conflict had already occurred and people had been displaced and dispossessed their property. Secondly, it was shown that the conflict resolution mechanisms have not yet reached the level of implementing social justice. It is critical to evaluate the identified conflict resolution mechanism in order to establish whey they have not succeeded.

4.3.1   The Kofi-Annan Led Mediation

The secondary sources have documented enough evidence to show why the Kofi Annan led mediation has not succeeded. The reason is that the internally displaced persons have not been settled and compensated for the loss they incurred. This is also because the hope that the hope that the Kofi Annan-led Kenya National Dialogue and

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[152] See Robert I. Rotberg:"Is ethnic strife inevitable in Africa?" November 7, 2010 08, downloaded from http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/africa/101105/ethnic-strife-inevitable-africa, accessed on 05.06.2013
[153] Aapengnuo, "Misinterpreting Ethnic Conflicts"

Reconciliation (KNDR) gave to Kenyans is diminishing. The secondary data has clearly documented that KNDR's agenda 2, which called for "immediate measures to address the massive humanitarian crisis of traumatized victims and the displaced and to promote reconciliation, healing and restoration",[154] has not been fully implemented. The data demonstrate that justice for the victims of ethnic conflict has not been realized, since they are still languishing in the internally displaced person's (IDP's) camps,[155] despite the Government of Kenya's formal closure of these camps in 2010.[156] Evidence dated 2012 points to the fact that IDPs are still living at Mumoi farm in Subukia Township in Nakuru, four years after the 2007/2008 post-election violence and that they are yet to be allocated their one-hectare piece of land that the government promised to all IDPs.[157] Evidence dated 2013 also shows that IDPs are still in camp after the 2013 general election, at least by 31st March 2013. Still there are other internally displaced persons who are living in a few officially recognized IDP camps or have been integrated among communities and who could be living with friends, relatives or in rented

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[154] See Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation, annotated agenda and time table, February 1, 2008. Downloaded from http://www.irinnews.org/pdf/annotated%20agenda%20ver%202.pdf (accessed June 19, 2010)

[155] See "KENYA: Official Camps Closed but IDPs Still Struggling" downloaded from http://www.irinnews.org/report/82869/kenya-official-camps-closed-but-idps-still-struggling, accessed on 02.07.2013; Peter Kahare, KENYA: Fours Years On IDPs Remain in Camps January 24, 2012, downloaded from http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/01/kenya-four-years-on-idps-remain-in-camps/ accessed on 02.07.2012

[156] See Prisca Kamungi, "Municipal Authorities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated Displaced Persons'", (The Brookings Institution –London School of Economics, Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013), pp. i, downloaded from http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/05/kenya-displacement-kamungi# ftnref2, accessed on 02.07. 2013

[157] See Kahare, KENYA: Fours Years On"

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accommodation.[158] However, this does not mean that the so-called IDPs have necessarily found durable solutions to their problems.[159]

The focus on internal displacement (which has been define as actions and approaches to "prevent, reduce, transform and help people recover from violence in all its forms including structural violence"),[160] is a key lens to critically analyse peacebuilding and reconciliation process in Kenya. This is because how IDPs are treated, whether they return to their homes, and if so, how successful their rehabilitation is, speaks volume on the progress in a peacebuilding process. It is obvious that effective resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and peacebuilding are key indicators of successful conflict resolution, which in turn requires appropriate monitoring and evaluation of resettlement, reconciliation and compensation efforts. Besides the broader reforms stipulated in the national accord, the legislature and judiciary should be encouraged to more systematically address the grievances around internal displacement. This means that peacebuilding in Kenya is inextricably linked to the challenges of dealing with the hundreds of thousands of people that the violence internally displaced—a problem recognized in the national accord drawn up after the violence occurred.[161] The main problem is that the government has been slow to settle the IDPs and to compensate them for the loose they incurred. Indeed justice has been delayed and as the maxim goes, justice delayed is justice denied.

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[158] See Kamungi, "Municipal Authorities and IDPs Outside of Camps", pp. i–ii
[159] This was the view of several integrated IDPs living in Nairobi and Nakuru who were interviewed between 10th and 28th June 2013. See also Kamungi, "Municipal Authorities and IDPs Outside of Camps", pp.: i–ii
[160] Statement by Antonio Guterres, UNHCR, to the UN Security Council, New York, January 8, 2009.
[161] See Jacqueline M. Klopp, Patrick Githinji and Keffa Karuoya Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding in Kenya: Challenges and Innovation in *Special Report* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace), pp. 1-2 downloaded from http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/SR251%20-%20Peace%20building%20in%20Kenya.pdf, accessed on 20.06.2013

A case study conducted at Kuresoi indicates that nothing much that has been done to heal the country from all the ethnic conflicts that have occurred in Kenya.[162] The report from the victims and also the perpetrators seems to suggest that based on the issue of the IDP's, Kenya is not yet compliant to the concept of conflict resolution discussed in chapter two. In view of this, peacebuilding and reconciliation falls short of what Kofi Annan (former UN secretary-general) noted in a 2005 speech read to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In this speech Anna said, "the return of refugees and internally displaced persons is a major part of any post-conflict scenario ... it is often a critical factor in sustaining a peace process and in revitalizing economic activity."[163] The situation in Kenya also falls short of the UNHCR observation in January 2009 that "the scale of return and success of integration are two of the most tangible indicators of progress in any peacebuilding process."[164] The situation in Kenya with regard to conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation is therefore in a pathetic situation. This is because peacebuilding after conflict must always put the "reintegration of returnees" as well as their economic empowerment as a key area on which more significant progress must be made.[165]

So while the Kofi Anan led mediation gave hope to many Kenyans and while it made some progress on the political level, some of its recommendations have not been fulfilled. For this reason, the conclusion that mediation, as a mechanism of conflict resolution has not worked satisfactorily, seems justified. This means that the government

[162] Personal informal conversation with victims of ethnic conflict between 7th and 21st June 2013. See also Klopp, Githinji and Karuoya "Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding", p. 2
[163] UN secretary-general's address to UNHCR Executive Committee, Geneva, October 6, 2006, cited in Brookings-Bern Project, Addressing Internal Displacement in Peace Processes, Peace Agreements and Peacebuilding (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2007), p. 15
[164] Statement by Guterres to Security Council. Cited in Khalid Koser, "Integrating Displacement in Peace Processes and Peacebuilding," Refugee Survey Quarterly,vol. 28, no. 1 (2009), 6.
[165] See Klopp, Githinji and Karuoya "Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding", p. 3

must work very hard not only to facilitate the settlement of the IDPs but also to unite Kenyans and to compensate those who may have lost life or property. Also, the opinion of victims of the ethnic conflict that very little has been achieved, especially in punishing the perpetrators and compensating them for their loss, is justified. Little effort has been made to return them back to their original land and to empower them economically. In fact, economic empowerment of victims of ethnic conflict is critical in peacebuilding since it can foster inter-ethnic cooperation. The point is that in peacebuilding work where ethnic violence was widespread must be linked to economic empowerment and must also reinforce interethnic cooperation.[166] The problem is that current economic development goes on as if the violence did not occur because there is no deliberate attempt to advocate for social justice, without which economic development may hit a snag.

4.3.2 Judicial Commissions of Inquiry

Both primary and secondary data revealed that the many judicial commissions of inquiry into historical crimes never had an impact beyond the duration of their mandate as their reports were never released or acted upon and so they were 'just a public relations exercise to hoodwink the public'.[167] The doubtful credibility and duplication of mandates of the commissions as well as the failure to release their findings to the public point to double standards towards impunity and the culture of inaction amongst the country's policy makers.[168] Such double standards, according to a lawyer who sought anonymity

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[166] Klopp, Githinji and Karuoya "Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding", p. 2
[167] Kahura and Savula, 'Playing Politics"
[168] . Asaala, 'Exploring transitional justice as a vehicle for social and political transformation in Kenya', in African Human Rights Journal (2010), pp. 377–406, esp. p. 449; T. Kagwe, "The Unfinished Reform Agenda and the 2007 General Elections in Kenya," in Kanyinga, K. and Okello, D., (eds.) Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 Elections, (Nairobi: Society for International Development and Institute for Development Studies, 2010), p. 23; Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) Gains and Gaps: A Status Report on IDPs in Kenya, 2008-2010, Nairobi: KHRC (2011),

because of having been involved in court matters pertaining to post election violence in 2007/2008, undermines peacebuilding and reconciliation, which are enhanced by the rule of the law to end impunity and implementing social justice to the letter.[169]

4.3.2.1 The Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence

Some commissions, for instance The Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) the (also known as Waki Commission), had a level of success, especially in its recommendations to prosecute the suspected inciters of the 2007-2008 and the anticipated police reforms. These provided opportunities for communities, individuals and institutions to take stock and conduct an audit geared towards finding ways of dealing with the thorny issues plaguing the country. At the local level, traditional conflict resolution mechanisms were being revitalized and retransformed to deal with the emerging trends and scenarios of conflict. Religious institutions seized the opportunity to seek peace actively learning from the experience of the post-election violence. For instance, the St. Paul's University Centre for Translation and Contextual Bible Study (CETCOBS) facilitated two Contextual Bible Study workshops in Eldoret (27th to 29th of August 2012) and Naivasha (25th to 27th October 2012) where ethnic conflict was widespread during the 2007/2008 post-election violence. The theme for the two workshops was "peaceful co-existence and Healthy living". The momentum for grass-root activism and people to people peacebuilding processes was encouraging in many quarters.

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downloaded from, http://www.khrc.or.ke/component/docman/doc_details/17-gains-and-gaps-a-status-report-on-idps-in-kenya-2008-2010.html, accessed on 27 June 2013
[169] Telephone interview conducted on 1st July 2013

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The problem however is that most of the Waki Commission's recommendations, like those of Kiliku Parliamentary Select Committee and Akiwumi Commission, have not been acted upon. It is worth mentioning that when the Akiwumi Commission's report and recommendations were released to the public two years after it was given to the then President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, the then Attorney General criticized it publicly. Afterwards, nothing much was heard of the report and its recommendations. Little or no effort was made to clear the names of individual persons the report mentioned and to whom further investigation was recommended due to their suspected roles in the violence.[170] Also, the Waki Commission's reform agenda is still unfinished. There is no doubt that the commission incorporated a mechanism in its report that triggered an external criminal justice prosecution if the local political initiatives failed, which resulted in the ongoing high-profile ICC trials. However, it is not absolutely clear at the moment whether the ICC will promote reconciliation and an inclusive political community through retributive justice. Some observers posit that, despite the ICC being considered as a legitimate and necessary institution to fight impunity, it falls short of realizing its full potential to progressively promote reconciliation, peace and stability in the country. This is seen as a result of local and international politics engulfing the court, its structural make-up, and its emphasis on retributive justice which pays little regard to the national healing and reconciliation.[171]

[170] See Tom Maliti, "Did Moreno-Ocampo rely only on Waki and KNCHR reports for Kenya cases? Part IV" downloaded from http://www.icckenya.org/2011/11/did-moreno-ocampo-rely-only-on-waki-and-knchr-reports-for-kenya-cases-part-iv/, accessed on 26.06.2013

[171] See Erastus Kyania Musyimi "The Impact of the International Criminal Court on the Reconciliation Process. A Case Study of the Post Election Violence in Kenya"(Unpublished Master's Thesis submitted at Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Department of International Environment and Development Studies, December 2012), pp. v, 2, 6,37 - 55

4.3.2.2 The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

The primary and secondary data also faulted The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) as conflict resolution mechanism. Perhaps this emerged from some reservations as to whether the findings of the TJRC will speed peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. Its report has met with brutal hostility even before it has been discussed. People have gone to court arguing that it must not be received for discussion in parliament since "the report is unlawful, incomplete and if adopted in its current form will impact negatively on the promotion of peace, justice, national unity, healing and reconciliation".[172] This indeed is not by the least unexpected given that even before TJRC began its work, many observers had agreed that its mandate was vast and that it would have some difficulty in meeting all its objectives and in fulfilling its functions within the set time.[173] This is justified by the fact that the commission was granted several extensions from the time it started functioning. The first was to finish all the hearings and the second was to complete the final report whose publication date was extended until after the March 2012 elections. Criticism was also levelled at its focus, which was very broad and included a wider spectrum of initiatives. It embraced three different aspects, namely, truth, justice and reconciliation. It seems that the TJRC was designed as an 'all-in-one bargain' but the lack of narrow focus raised

[172] Paul Ogemba, "Two lose bid to block truth team's report" in *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, June 11 2013, p. 6
[173] See S. Brown 'The National Accord, Impunity and the Fragile Peace in Kenya', in: C. L. Sriram, J. García-Godos, O. Martin-Ortega, J. Herman, (eds). *Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding on the Ground: Victims and Ex-Combatants*, (London: Routledge 2012); Gona, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Lessons for Kenya",; J. W. Harbeson, 'Land and the Quest for a Democratic State in Kenya: Bringing Citizens Back" in', *African Studies Review* (2012), 55, 1, pp. 15–30, esp. p. 27; G. Lynch, (2009) 'Kenya Post-2008: The Calm before a Storm?' In: P. Engstrom, R. Beaton, J. Paulson, L. K. Bosire, P. Clark and J. Winter (eds. *Debating International Justice in Africa*, (Oxford: The Foundation for Law, Justice and Society in collaboration with The Centre for Socio-Legal Studies 2008-2010), p. 95; G. M. Musila, 'Options for Transitional Justice in Kenya: Autonomy and the Challenge of External Prescriptions', in *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 3, (2009) 445–464, esp. p. 453

queries on its viability to undertake such a task. The Kenyan political elite are suspected to have had deliberately overloaded TJRC so as to make it less effective and delay justice and accountability.[174] As observed, Kenya with her ailing economy and a poor record of political good will could not have maintained a commission with such an elaborate mandate. Gona observes that commissions with a strong mandate, equipped by material and human resources and political support are 'rarely the case in low-income post-conflict countries[175].

Criticism has also been levelled on its duration from 1963 to 2008, which was too long and not specific enough.[176]. The problem with the time span is that many of the past single-event incidents had already been investigated but were never acted upon. Other observers are unhappy with the fact that the inquiry did not include the pre-independence era during which the seed of systemic abuses and injustices was sown.[177] In fact, the TJRC could have been a waste of the country resources and nothing good will come out of it. Perhaps the most prominent as for now is the let-us-wait-and-see attitude.

The TJRC's mandate to look the issue of economic crimes such as grand corruption and illegal acquisition of land was equally questionable. There was no good reason why this task was allocated to the TJRC considering that the Ndung'u Commission had already done this and the National Land Commission was at that time in

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[174] Amnesty International, Kenya Concerns about the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission Bill, (London: Amnesty International, (2008) downloaded from, http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/topic.4565c22532.459bb0432.4847a485d.0...KEN.html, accessed 26 June 2013; Musila, 'Options for Transitional Justice in Kenya, p. 453
[175] Gona, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Lessons for Kenya", p. 231
[176] See S. K. Karanja, "Land Restitution in the Emerging Kenyan Transitional Justice Process", Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 2, (2010) 177–201, esp. 191
[177] Kenyans Against Impunity (KAI) (2009) "Why we reject the TJRC as formed and composed", Pambazuka News, 17 September, 448, [online] downloaded from, http://pambazuka.org/en/category/advocacy/58796, accessed 26 June 2013; Rutto, B. (2009) 'Kenya's Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission', Pambazuka News ,30 July, 444, [online] downloaded from<http://pambazuka.org/en/category/letters/58096, accessed 26 June 2013

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charge of resolving land issues in Kenya. The Anti-Corruption Commission was at that time charged with pursuing economic crimes. Also, a task force recognised commission's broad mandate and suggested the creation of two chambers, one to deal with the past human right abuses and the other with economic crimes.[178] The recommendation of the Ndung'u commission and of the task force have been ignored to date and this created doubt on the ability and effectiveness of the TJRC in carrying out its mission and whether its recommendations will be implemented.[179] The issue here is on the TJRC's credibility and competence to adequately handle the task for which it was mandated. It remains to be seen if its massive recommendations will see the light of the day or they will be acceptable to the majority of the Kenya. For that reason, the success of the TJRC as a mechanism of conflict resolution may not be guaranteed.

4.3.3 Formal Judicial System

Both primary and secondary data faulted formal judicial system as a conflict resolution mechanism. The problem is that under any judicial system, only half-hearted measures are made as to genuine peacebuilding and reconciliation. There is no doubt that courts have been arbiters and deciders of disputes either between the citizen and the state and/or between citizens since time immemorial. They have been authorized with an endorsed force to accomplish and conclude the officially recognized conflict

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[178] See Republic of Kenya (2003) *Report of the Task Force on the Establishment of a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission,* downloaded from, http://marsgroupkenya.org/pdfs/2008/march_2008/Kenya_Report_of_the_Task_Force_on_the_Establishme nt_of_a_Truth_Justice_and_Reconciliation_Commission_August_26th_2003.pdf, accessed on 26 June 2013; Carranza, R. 'Plunder and Pain: Should Transitional Justice Engage with Corruption and Economic Crimes?' in *The International Journal of Transitional Justice,* 2, (2008), pp. 310–330, esp. 322.
[179] See G. M. Musila 'A Preliminary Assessment of the Kenyan Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission Bill, 2008', in *African Renaissance,* 5: 1, (2008) pp. 40–46, esp. p. 43

resolution.[180] As such, courts have been called upon to resolve disputes in Kenya as the recognized primary state sponsored institution for dispute resolution mechanisms. Anybody who follows Kenya politics is aware that after the disputed elections of 2007, the party that claimed had won asked the party that had lost the elections to go to court if it was dissatisfied with the election results. The perceived losers refused to go to court for arbitration claiming that it would be a waste of time because the judiciary was not free from the executive. Perhaps this was because of the past experience when those who lost in the 1993 and 1997 elections petitioned to the court but their petitions were thrown out on legal technicalities, which to all intents and purposes, were flimsy and political motivated.

The experience of many people is that conflicts that involve communities, for instance, ethnic conflicts, are very hard to be successfully determined by formal judicial system. They can only be dealt with through the criminal justice system, but they are not always successful.[181] The only thing that the court can do is to put on trial those individual who may have incited his or her community to attack the other community. This cannot remove negative ethnicity and animosity between the disputing communities. The most likely thing to happen is that the judicial system's verdict will only enhance negative ethnicity between the two communities. As observed,

The formal justice institutions have proved to be inadequate in responding not only to the outbreak of violence but in addressing the underlying causes and facilitating peace building and reconciliation of communities. The result has been in the growth of mistrust by communities of these

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[180] See Mohamud Adan and Ruto Pkalya, *Conflict Management in Kenya: Towards Policy and Strategy Formulation* (Nairobi: Practical Action, 2006), p. 6
[181] See Adan and Pkalya, *Conflict Management in Kenya*, p. 7

structures and their rejection of their application, which further escalates instability in conflict situations.[182]

This means that formal judicial system has setbacks, which has attracted other mechanisms of conflict resolutions, such as mediation, arbitration and negotiation. But while these mechanisms have the potential to provide satisfactory conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya, their potential, as noted above, has not been fully utilized probably because of the lack of political good will and the unrelenting culture of impunity.[183] The point is that the judicial system cannot and will never foster peacebuilding and reconciliation.

4.3.4 Individual Approaches: The Concerned Citizens for Peace

The secondary data presented in chapter three suggested that the CCP as an individual approach to conflict resolution was somewhat successful in urban settings. This was because it created space and opportunity in which dialogue could take place. The importance of creating space and time in the midst of violent conflict cannot be underrated. The space for community initiative and leadership CCP created, made available and recognized, synergistic networks and unexpected contributions to the peace effort become possible. In ensuring that peace facilitation initiatives had their roots in local initiatives, CCP was making the point that no matter how peace initiatives may want to use that which is modern; the local initiatives in peace facilitation must be inclusively appreciated.[184] CCP's initiative was a success because it was based on the grounds that were locally owned, easily appreciated and adopted by the local population,

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[182] Adan and Pkalya, *Conflict Management in Kenya*, p. 7
[183] Personal informal conversation with internally displace persons in Gilgil and Naivasha camps who did not wish to be named on 10th to 14th June 2013.
[184] See S. Fisher and L. Zimina, *Just Wasting Our Time? An Open Letter to Peace Builders*, (United Kingdom: Berghof Research Center, 2008. p.6

who definitely felt a true sense of ownership. The success was also because CCP targeted the participation of the local leaders, women, youth and inter-religious groups who were incorporated within the core group to form a technical committee for tracking the network's activities, which ranged from reconciliation and mediation to setting up peace zones for peace campaigns and ways to follow-up on responses.

CCP aimed at peacemaking, which involves radical social and personal transformation, deep personal commitment and a high level of self-awareness. However, it is not straightforward if this was successfully. The problem with CCP is that it was not widely known in the rural areas, especially where ethnic conflict was persistent. Perhaps this is because of its perception that most of the severe violence was concentrated in urban areas[185] and as such, never concentrated with the rural areas. It also appears that CCP concentrated much of its efforts in cities such as Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru and Nairobi and in posh hotels such as Serena in Nairobi in an attempt to find ways through which to reach the leadership of the major political parties that were involved in 2007 elections.[186].

4.4 The Role of the Bible in Conflict Resolution

The presentation of data in the previous chapter revealed that the bible has manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution mechanism. The same was revealed in chapter two on the section on biblical teachings and principles on peacebuilding and reconciliation. Yet before establishing the role of the bible in conflict resolution, it was imperative for this study to first understand the ways in which Kenyan

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[185] George Wachira, et al, *Citizens in Action Making Peace in the Post-Election Crisis in Kenya–2008*, (Nairobi: Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa, 2010), p 47
[186] George Wachira, et al, *Citizens in Action Making Peace in the Post-Election Crisis in Kenya–2008*, (Nairobi: Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa, 2010), p.43 -47

Christians used the bible during the time ethnic conflict that threatened to tear the country apart. This necessitated understanding aspects of African Christianity with particular reference to Kenya.

4.4.1 The Place of the Bible in Kenyan Christianity

Both primary and secondary data agreed that the bible was the most widely read book among Christians and that it provided Christians the authority on which to gauge their actions and behaviour. The bible therefore, even though in theory, is supposed to be the moral guide to all what Christians aspires to do and also the foundation of their faith. The primary data corroborated a major assumption of the secondary data that Christians take the bible as their uppermost source of authority and moral guide.[187] The primary data also validate the view that many African Christians would want to know what the bible explicitly or implicitly say about every dimension of human life[188] and that the bible has played central role in the life of African Christians as the supreme pillar of their faith.[189]

Yet scorn was poured on the high pedestal on which the bible was placed. Both primary and secondary data did not hesitate to highlight that Christians were unable to practice and apply biblical teachings and principles that are essential for peacebuilding and reconciliation. The data agreed that there was a sharp disconnect between what Christians postulate as their belief and what they put into practise in their daily real life

[187] Sammy Githuku, *Inculturation Biblical Hermeneutics: A Christian Integration of the Old Testament and Agĩkũyũ Concept of Sin* (Nairobi: Nairobi Academic Press, 2012), p. xi

[188] Kabiro wa Gatumu "The Bible and HIV/AIDS", p. 1

[189] M. Sibeko and B. Haddad, "Reading the Bible "with" Women in the Poor and the Marginalized Communities in South Africa" in *Semeia*, 78 (1997), p. 85; M. Masenya, "Proverb 31: 10–31 in a South African Context: A Reading for the Liberation of African (Northern Sotho) Woman" in *Semeia* 78 (1997), p 55; Zablon Nthamburi and Douglas Waruta "Biblical Hermeneutics in African Instituted Churches" in H. Kinoti and J. Waliggo (eds.), *The Bible in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Acton Press, 1997), p. 51 Emanuel Obeng, "The Use of Biblical Critical Methods in Rooting the Scriptures in Africa" in H. Kinoti and J. Waliggo (eds.), *The Bible in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Acton press, 1997), p 8; J. S. Mbiti, "The Bible in African Culture" in Rosino Gibellini (ed.), *Paths of African Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1994), p. 38.

experiences. The possible reason for this was that negative ethnicity had found a place to feel at home in the church and church leaders had taken an example from political leaders who had been taking refuge in their ethnic backyard for political gains and survivor. The point is that the African Church has lost the gospel and has built systems and institutions on ethnic bedrocks. Widespread nepotism and ethnicity are a general hallmark of most Churches in Africa today. Many African Christians are entrenched in their distinct cultures where individual identities are chiefly determined by ethnic membership, family ties and cultural backgrounds. The loyalty of an African Christian is always primarily to the tribe through the extended network of families, relatives and clans and only partially to the Christian family. This makes Christianity's potential to unify people from across cultural, ethnic and social divides, and which attracted some African people into Christianity, unworkable.[190]

4.4.2 The Impact of Negative Ethnicity in Kenyan Christianity

Negative ethnicity has impacted negatively on Kenyan Christians such that they did not practically live the faith they professed during the time of ethnic conflicts brought the country down to its lowest downward spiral. It is unfortunate that negative ethnicity persists even with the understanding that God is the God of all people despite their ethnic differences (cf. Romans 3: 29-30). Kenyan Christians were involved in massacring each other rather than making the benefits of God's grace known to the combatant ethnic groups.[191] The failure of Christians to apply biblical teaching on peacebuilding and

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[190] Joseph Galgalo, *African Christianity: The Stranger Within* (Limuru, Kenya: Zapf Chancery, 2012), 1–24. See also Kabiro wa Gatumu, "Authentic Biblical Christian Community", p. 65; Jemima A. Oluoch, *The Christian Political Theology of Dr. John Henry Okullu* (Nairobi: Uzima, 2006), p. 128; Waruta "Tribalism as a Moral Problem" p. 128; Shorter, "The Curse of Ethnocentrism", pp. 28-29

[191] Kabiro wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity and a Tool for Ethnic Reconciliation in Kenya" in D. C. Chemorion, C. B. Peter and Esther Mombo (eds.) *Contested Space: Religion and Ethnicity yin Kenya* (Limuru: Zapf Chancery, 2013)

reconciliation is a big let-down to the entire nation. This poses grave and fundamental questions especially on the relevance of Christian faith in public life, especially on peacebuilding and reconciliation.

The Christian faith, with its elevated claims of breaking ethnic and cultural barriers between the people, made little difference in the way Kenyans lived with each other when ethnic conflicts have happened in Kenya. The professed unity in different churches and denominations has been more false because it never created honest and representative communities of faith that were free from negative ethnicity and ethnic hostility. Several Christians did not stand above ethnic gangs and some Christians were inciters of the ethnic conflict.[192] Equally, several Kenyans church leaders resigned into ethnic cocoons for personal and ethnic advantages. Their pursuit of narrow and myopic ethnic interests ingratiated them to their ethnic communities, but detached them from Christian identity and national interest. They became ethnic leaders and lost credibility in society on the national platform such that they could not speak to the nation with a coherent, prophetic voice. The 2005 referendum debate in which they advised their Christians to vote according to their conscience, which was interpreted to mean vote according to your ethnic group is a pointer to the way in which church leaders had lost their prophetic voice because they supported the divide to which political leaders from their ethnic groups were affiliated. They indeed trampled upon Christian identity and loyalty, as they lifted up the banner of ethnic identity.[193]

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[192] Barasa Kundu Nyukuri "The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development", downloaded from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACH211.pdf on 16.07.2013
[193] Nguchie Gathogo "Ethnicity, Peace, and Violence: The Voices of Kenyan Church Leaders" downloaded from http://udini.proquest.com/view/ethnicity-peace-and-violence-the-pqid:2429692111/ on 16.072013

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4.4.3 The Impact of Christian Faith in Kenya

It is instantly recognisable that the Christian faith had little impact on the way Kenyans lived with each other, despite the popular notion that 80% of the population are Christians. The ethnic conflicts that have happened in Kenya justify the view that many Christians preached water and drank wine, they were hypocrites and that many did not practice what they preached to the congregations. They also justify the view that Christian leaders had brought Christian faith and identity into disrepute when they left their sacred calling and could not live according to the demands of Christian fidelity. This is unfortunate seeing that people can still live in peace especially when they actively put biblical teachings and principles on peacebuilding and reconciliation into practice. But the kind of Kenyan Christianity expressed during the time of ethnic conflicts implies that complete realization of peace is practically impossible in this life. This is because Christians and their leaders do not seem to walk the talk. They are often caught between their understanding and knowledge of the gospel of reconciliation and their ethnic ties and duties.[194] As such, Kenyan church leaders were unable to stand for the gospel which is above ethnic ties and to work for peace in their communities during the time of ethnic clashes.

Kenyan Christians like their Rwandese counterparts during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda could not appeal to the Christian conscience in order to address the situation. Even those in positions of authority could not raise their conscience above the criterion of ethnicity. Christianity therefore was like a coat that could be put on only when it was needed; when it was not, it was forgotten in the wardrobe. This is the sign that

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[194] See 'Report on the Consultation on Ethnicity and Nationalism', November 1994, hosted by the Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue in Colombo and the Christian Council of Sri Lanka, in *The Ecumenical Review* April 1995 47(2): 229.

Christianity is still on the periphery of the African way of life. It therefore requires scarce elaboration that church leaders haves shown their loyalty often lies more with ethnic groupings rather than with Christianity. So, in time of problems, they take refuge in their ethnic groups like political leaders. This state of affairs sadly justifies the view that the blood of ethnicity is thicker than the water of baptism.[195]

4.4.4 Implementation of Biblical Principles on Peacebuilding and Reconciliation

From the aforesaid, it can be concluded that Kenyan Christians did not put into practice biblical principles discussed in chapter three and which explain why people must crave for peacebuilding and reconciliation. This is shocking if God's intention, as demonstrated in the bible, is for people to be reconciled with each other both, individuals and communities. There are many places in the bible where Christian unity is emphasized and guidelines about how to live at peace with one another are given. The bible also calls upon Christians not only to be reconciled with God but also to reconcile other people with God since reconciliation with others accompanies reconciliation with God. Yet many Kenyans have expressed their frustrations with regard to the failure of Kenyan Christians to observe biblical teachings on peacebuilding and reconciliation, it is critical to note that Kenyan Christians belong to the fallen human race and for that reason the dependence on God's grace is imperative. Yet even though this view is biblical and theologically justifiable, it could be seen as an attempt of avoiding being judgemental but frustration is clearly identifiable because of the existing disconnect between theory and practice.

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[195] See A Tarimo, "Ethnicity, Common Good and the Church in Contemporary Africa", downloaded from http://sedosmission.org/old/eng/Tarimo.html, accessed on 16.07.2012.

The secondary data as well as the primary data agreed that rather than using the bible for peacebuilding and reconciliation, some Christian pastors and leaders assisted to intensify ethnic conflict with the same bible. The Waki reports refers to a pastor and politicians who urged people to take up arms in self-defence in Limuru area after the attack of the Kikuyus in Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces.[196] The researcher and some colleagues attended this meeting through an invitation from an acquaintance of the pastor. The pastor preached from Psalms 133: 1 "Behold, how good and pleasant it is when brothers dwell in unity!" He urged the Gĩkũyũ in Central Kenya be united and through this unity, to defend their own people who were suffering as a result of ethnic conflict in the Rift Valley by whatever means. This indeed does not augur very well if people supposed to facilitate peacebuilding and reconciliation are the same people fanning ethnic hatred and ethnic revenge. This means that that the involvement of Christian in peacebuilding and reconciliation, leave alone their use of the bible is really wanting. It also implies that Kenyan Christians are passive bystanders and have refused to become useful agents of reconciliation amidst the divisions and destructions caused by ethnic conflicts. They can therefore be accused of, and probably found guilty of, withholding love to a neighbor.

It could also be justifiable to conclude that the love of God is not manifested in their lives and to their fellow human beings.[197] The data seems to have suggested that Kenyan Christians were a sleeping giant and that it is like they did not understand that they have powerful tool at their disposal, which can be used for peacebuilding and

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[196] See Waki Report, p. 214.
[197] See Chris Rice et al, Reconciliation as the Mission Of God: Christian Witness in a World of Destructive Conflicts" downloaded from Conflicts" downloaded from http://www.weapri.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/reconciliatonasthemissionofgod.pdf on 22.07.2013

reconciliation. The data seems to have been pointing to the fact that there are lessons for Kenyans can learn from the bible and especially from Paul and his epistle to the Romans on how the bible can be used as tool for peacebuilding and a manual for ethnic reconciliation. The data therefore seems to have been hinting on a grave omission, and which begs a question. To what extent were biblical principles discussed in chapter three applied and how do Christians implement them?

4.4.5 The Bible on Forgiveness, Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Social Justice

The biblical view on conflict resolution integrates forgiveness, peacebuilding and reconciliation as shown in the section analysing the concept of conflict resolution inn chapter two. Perhaps an opinion that the bible's, view on conflict resolution may neglect social justice can arise. Yet this should not be the case and such an opinion should be discarded. The point is that, even though forgiveness is a very difficult thing to do, it is needed to break the unforgiving attitude, which compromises the understanding of the grace of God and how it works in human beings to effect peacebuilding and reconciliation. While it may seem as if there is nothing fair about forgiveness, people should forgive each other because grace and forgiveness are part of God's character and God's people should be like God. In the Lord's Prayer, the petition to God to "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us" suggests that Jesus demanded his followers to forgive each other. Forgiveness therefore is critical in peacebuilding and reconciliation since it breaks the cycle of pain and blame. By letting go of resentment, the forgiver finds healing and there is the possibility that the offender might be transformed.[198]

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[198] See Philip Yancey, *What's so Amazing about Grace* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1997) for a detailed discussion on the place of God's grace and forgiveness in peacebuilding and reconciliation.

It is easy however to ask, where does justice fit in the principle of forgiving? This question must be answered taking into consideration that to forgive is to admit that God is a better justice-maker and in forgiving others is to let go ones right to get even and to leave issues of fairness for God to work out.[199] Paul, in his ethical teachings in Romans 12: 5–23, encouraged his initial readers to live in harmony with one another and peaceably with all, not to pay or overcome evil with evil but with good, not to avenge themselves but to leave vengeance to God and to give food and drink to the enemy who is hungry and thirsty. Yet wrong does not disappear because of forgiveness. Paul again in Romans 13: 4 points out that one of the roles of governing authority is to 'bring punishment on the wrongdoer". Therefore, even though a victim may have forgiven an offender for a crime committed against them, there is a mechanism to bring justice. This mechanism can be useful where there is no forgiveness, because it can stop a cycle of revenge. But the problem in Kenya when it comes to seeking justice is the culture of impunity, which is perpetuated mainly by the executive and judicial arms of the government.

4.4.6 Biblical View on Social Justice, Forgiveness, Repentance and Reconciliation

The biblical perspective on social justice is that it not only restores broken relationships but also guarantees reconciliation. This happens where the victims are ready to forgive after the wrongdoers repent and ask for forgiveness. However, the bible does not provide clear evidence whether it is forgiveness or repentance that comes first, though they usually work together and are related to peacebuilding and reconciliation. The concept of forgiveness however demands that the victims must be compensated the loss they incurred. This compensation is therefore an act of social justices, which firmly

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[199] See Yancey, *What's so amazing*, p. 93

fortifies the relationship between forgiveness and repentance. The biblical view is that social justice should restore the broken relationship between the perpetrators and victim of ethnic conflict. What is needed is the so-called 'restorative justice', which personalises the legal process so as to look at the needs of the victims, communities and offenders in order to promote the repair of the harm caused by crime with an aim of bringing reconciliation. This is to call for restitution, which refers to the act of compensating victim for loss, damage or injury, and which occurs during a restorative justice process. However, the culture of impunity in Kenya has hindered social justice from realising its intention. There has been a long-standing culture of impunity in Kenya, which keeps political leaders safe from prosecution. Indeed, the deliberate use of violence by politicians to obtain power since the early 1990s, plus the decision not to punish perpetrators has led to a culture of impunity and a constant escalation of violence. In this culture of impunity, those who maimed and killed for political ends were never brought to justice.[200]

The problem with the culture of impunity is that it makes the victims to abhor forgiveness and makes those responsible for organising and coordinating violence not to repent and ask for forgiveness. This creates a situation where biblical teaching, which can speed peacebuilding and reconciliation, to make little or no sense to the victims and the victimizer. The governing authority, which is supposed to punish the wrongdoer as a way of seeking social justice to the offended, and in so doing restore broken relationships, render itself powerless to perform its God-given duty. But it must be admitted that due to the sinful nature of humanity, there is no perfect governing authority. It is obvious from both the primary and secondary data that in Kenya, especially during the time of ethnic

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[200] See Waki Report, pp. 22, 26

conflicts some leaders abused their power and it was as if Kenya's justice systems did not recognise that people had been hurt in addition to breaking the law of the land. However, there must be forgiveness on the part of the victim and repentance on the part of the offender. The formal judicial system as a mechanism of conflict resolution ought to be aware of this and make sure that justice is given to the victims of ethnic conflict without impunity. This is the only way through which the formal judicial system can support the doctrine of peacebuilding and reconciliation, which does not do away with social justice as discussed in chapter three. The maxim, justice delayed is justice denied, should never be applied to the social justice that the victims of the ethnic conflict need since in giving it to them will communicate to the perpetrators the need for repentance and to the victims the need for forgiveness now that justice has been done. At the end of this, peacebuilding and reconciliation is guaranteed.

4.5   Bible's Lessons for Kenyans on Peacebuilding and Reconciliation

The bible has several lessons that Kenyans can learn with regard to conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation. Paul's epistle to the Romans has been taken as an example from which several lessons can be drawn. But as noted in the chapter data presentation, a focussed group heavily relied on secondary data to discuss the lessons Kenyans can learn from the bible as to peacebuilding and reconciliation. This was credible since there was no any other primary evidence that would have provided a background of the lessons Kenyans would learn from the bible on peacebuilding and reconciliation more than a secondary research that was done using documents that could be dated a few years before and after the wring of the New Testament. This section is

dependent on the same article in laying the background of the presence of negative ethnicity in the epistles and in analysing the lessons Kenyans can learn from the bible.

4.5.1 Countering Negative Ethnicity between Jews and Gentiles

Evidence derived from the time during which the epistle to the Romans was written shows that Jews and Gentile harboured some negative ethnicity towards each other. Jews castigated Gentiles as polytheists since they worship many gods while the Gentiles regarded the Jews as atheist and impious people since they worship one God.[201] The Jews regarded the Gentiles as people of bad relations and as pervert men who live a miserable life throughout their life. The Jews were referred to as the wise and prudent companions, and if the Gentiles mixed with them, they would rise above ignorance and achieve progress in life.[202] The Egyptians were depicted as 'the very foolish people' of bad influence from whom God has prevented the Jews from being perverted by contact or mixing.[203] The Jews considered themselves superior than the Gentiles since they worshipped one God. Some Jewish literature notes this in suggesting, "in return for their foolish and wicked thoughts, which led them astray to worship irrational serpents and worthless animals, thou didst send upon them a multitude of irrational creatures to punish them that they might learn that one is punished by the very things by which he sins".[204]

The Gentiles also reproached the Jews and became angry and sought to destroy them if they sought to overcome their reproach. The Gentiles hated the Jews such that they would have wanted "to wipe out the whole race of the Judeans" and supposed that "the misfortunes and calamities of the Jews would mean prosperity for themselves". A

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[201] See wa Gatumu, *The Pauline Concept of Supernatural Powers*, p. 124

[202] *Letter of Aristeas* 130, see also 2 Macc. 14: 38.

[203] *Letter of Aristeas* 137-142

[204] Several texts that show this Jewish attitude include but not limited to *Sirach* 15: 11-21, *Testament of Asher* 1: 3, Philo's *Hypothetica*, Josephus's *Against Apion*, and the *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*.

Gentile king had even ordered all Jews to be promptly gathered into one place and put to death by the cruellest means. He also ordered that whoever shelters any Jews would be tortured to death with his family using the most hateful torments. Such decrees made the chronic resentment against the Jews, which *ad nauseam* had been in minds of the Gentiles, evident and outspoken.[205]

The above suggests that there were some ethnic tensions in Rome and which Paul addressed in his epistle to the Romans. Paul had two different ethnic groups, which he was trying to bring together under a common identity. Regrettably, the groups had some stereo-type beliefs concerning the other and which led to conflicts between them. As Such, Paul sought to preach the gospel in Rome to a population that exhibited marked demarcation in ethnicity and degrees of education.[206] It is also clear that Paul sought to exercise leadership over the followers of Christ in Rome by stressing the essential common identity Jews and Gentiles shared in God and Christ. So for the Christianity to exist in Rome, it had to include both Jews and Gentiles.[207] The lesson for Kenya and Kenyan here is that if Kenya has to exist as one single and unified country, all Kenyan ethnic groups, whether big or small, must be included and regarded as Kenyans notwithstanding their ethnic background.

It is important to admit here that Paul was not, a social scientist, but he seems to have laid the foundation to what modern social scientist call a common super ordinate identity and at the same time retaining the worth of the subgroup identities. He permitted the benefits of a common in-group identity to operate without arousing any counteracting

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[205] see 1 Maccabees 4: 54; 5: 1, 9-15; 2 Maccabees. 8: 9; 14: 14; 3 Maccabees 3: 1—4: 1, all cited in wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p.
[206] See Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans,* pp. 74-75, 139
[207] See wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p.

motivations in order to achieve positive distinctiveness.[208] Paul's purpose was therefore to create unity between Jew and Gentile ethnic groups that were previously accustomed to mutual hostility and conflict. He was "far more alert to group dynamics than his modern readers" and he had "grasped the necessity of adopting this approach to the mixed Judean/Greek Christ-movement in Rome"[209]. Paul therefore was acting as "an entrepreneur of identity" who sought to give Jews and Gentiles a new identity since they had now become one people of God. This identity was essential as the God of the Jews has always been the God of the Gentiles who justifies the circumcised and the uncircumcised by faith (Rom 3: 29-30). So his aim was to strengthen the social identity his audience were to gain by belonging to the Christ, which was superior over ethnic identities.[210]

4.5.2 Lessons to Learn

From the above analysis, there is no doubt therefore that the Kenyan community has lessons to learn from Paul's way of dealing with negative ethnicity and ethnic tensions between Jews and Gentiles and that the epistle can be used as an instruction manual against negative ethnicity and as a tool for ethnic reconciliation. As it were,

> The presence of negative ethnicity in the Kenyan context clearly shows a need for ethnic reconciliation, without which Kenyans cannot become one people, sharing common social identity. The assumption is that Christians from different Kenyan ethnic groups are familiar with the content of Romans and would probably agree that Romans is not only a pronouncement against negative ethnicity but also an instruction manual for ethnic reconciliation.[211]

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[208] See Gaertner et al, "The Common Ingroup Identity Model for Reducing Intergroup Bias, p. 143
[209] Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*, pp. 12, 144
[210] See wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p.
[211] See wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p.

The lessons could be more than the ones mentioned here below, so this research does not claim to have exhausted all the lessons.

4.5.2.1 Creation of a Common Identity

The first lesson peacebuilders and reconcilers in Kenya can learn is on the importance of ensuring the creation of a common identity but at the same time seeking to strengthen the existing individual group identities. This would make sure that individual group identities are not destroyed albeit the common group identity as Kenyans will take priority hence appreciating that the identity of being Kenyan is superior over ethnic identities. However, the ethnic reconciliation that Paul sought for both Jews and Gentiles is imitable to the Kenyan context because it was not meant to have any of the group swallowed by the other. This would have been dangerous, and it is dangerous for Kenya because "when groups perceive that their original identity to be at risk, they firmly and fervently hold to their distinct identity".[212] So Paul insisted that Jews and Gentiles must remain different in terms of their ethnic demeanour yet united in doing the right thing before God. The point is that during the time Paul was writing his epistle to the Romans, it was through the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles that the grace of God was made visible. Reconciliation therefore is not about the elimination but rather it is about overcoming differences in Christ. Its goal is to eradicate hostility that springs from differences.[213] In view of this, Paul certainly knew his audience but he made sure that his

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[212] See wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p; See also John F. Dovidio, Ana Validzic and Samuel L. Gaertner 1998 "Intergroup Bias: Status, Differentiation, and Common Ingroup Identity in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 75*, (1998), p.117; Gaertner et al, "The Common Ingroup Identity Model for Reducing Intergroup Bias, p. 133

[213] See William S. Campbell, "The rule of Faith in Romans 12: 1—15: 13: The Obligation of Humble Obedience to Christ as the only Adequate Response to the Mercies of God" in David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson (eds.) *Pauline Theology, Vol. III: Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), p. 116

message, through the use of a diplomatic language, did not make any ethnic groups feel excluded.[214]

4.5.2.2 The Use of Diplomatic Language

Several scholars agree that Paul used a diplomatic language to reconcile his Jewish and Hellenistic audiences. Since his audience was multi-ethnic, he used a diplomatic language, but which at first glance may seem as if he was patronising as in Romans 1: 11–12 (*"For I long to see you, that I may impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you"* but which he tones down with the statement, *"that is, that we may be mutually encouraged by each other's faith, both yours and mine"*).[215] Rather patronising, it must be admitted that Paul used a diplomatic language so that he may not insult the freedom of churches in Rome. This is because he not only notes that God had promised the gospel through his Jewish prophets in Jewish Scripture (Rom 1: 2), but also he shows that God's promise included Gentiles in the scope of divine mercy (Rom. 3: 9-30).[216] Pau also refers to Christians as ambassadors for Christ, but who must be reconciled to God.[217] In English, the term ambassador is a synonym of the term diplomat. Diplomats are the recognized officials who are involved in diplomacy and so the bible requires diplomacy in peacebuilding and reconciliation.

It is overwhelmingly probable that diplomacy, peacemaking and reconciliation are central to every attempt at conflict resolution.[218] The essential role of diplomacy in peacebuilding and reconciliation has been emphasized and exemplified by what has come

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[214] See wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p
[215] wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p.
[216] Robert Jewwet, "Roman as an Ambassadorial Letter", in *Interpretation*, 36, 1982, pp. 5–20
[217] 2 Corinthians 5: 20
[218] See Muhammad Abu Nim (ed.) *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001), pp. 142–143

to be known as Track 1 diplomacy and Track 2 diplomacy. Track 1 diplomacy refers to the work done by official and professional diplomats, which involve formal negotiations between nations. Track 2 diplomacy refer to a specific kind of informal diplomacy, in which professional non-governmental conflict resolution practitioners and theorists engage in dialogue, with the aim of conflict resolution, or confidence-building. The purpose of Track 2 is the reduction or resolution of conflict within a country or between countries by lowering the anger or tension or fear that exists through improved communication and a better understanding of each other's point of view.[219] Yet, reasonable and altruistic interaction with foreign countries cannot be an alternative to traditional track 1 diplomacy, with its official posturing and its underlying threat of the use of force. In that case, both tracks are necessary for psychological reasons and both need each other.[220]

The use of diplomacy in peacebuilding and conflict resolution is crucial as it demands the conflicting groups to not only acknowledge the existence and identity of the other, but also to safeguard the identity of each group. This comes out very clearly in Romans seeing that Paul was aware that the experiences of Jews and Greeks were distinct but he equally valued "the so-called equal-status-different dimension condition".[221] As noted above, Paul "not only sought to develop a shared group identity, but also he had to engage the different identities these groups presented by demonstrating the respect he had for them. He first showed acquaintance of their position by concluding that both groups stood on an equal footing with regard to their relationship with God, but which is not

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[219] See John W. McDonald, Jr. and Diane B. Bendahmane, *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy* (Washington, D.C: United States Printing Office, 1987), p, 1

[220] See William D. Davidson and Joseph Montville, "Foreign Policy According to Freud" in *Foreign Policy*, No. 45, (Winter, 1981-1982), p. 155

[221] See Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*, p. 32

based on their ethnic identity.[222] The point to note here is that Paul's view is significant because as modern studies on reducing tension between groups have revealed, positive results on peacebuilding and reconciliation results are open when and if participation occurs between equal participants[223] The theory used for the purpose of bringing groups that have been alienated from one another at one is the social identity theory and which seems to have its basis in Pau's epistle to the Romans.

4.5.2.3 Uniting Kenya's Multi-Ethnic Groups through Social Theories

The lesson for Kenya is on the significance of knowing and appreciating that the country is not homogenous since it is conglomeration of about forty two (42) ethnic groups and none of them should feel excluded from its benefits and liabilities. The lesson is on the magnitude of knowing the Kenyan ethnic groups that have been involved in ethnic conflict. This would mean admitting and appreciating that Kenya is a multi-ethnic society and that her ethnic groups have unfortunately been at odds for a long time. Kenyans should learn from Romans that they now share a group identity as Kenyans.[224] This is critical because when people previously at odds recognize that they share a group membership, they will engage in a more open communication and self-disclosing interaction that will increase the personalized knowledge they have for one another".[225] This recognition is vital as it reduces the old hostility and creates awareness that all ethnic group merit respect. However this recognition, as it were,

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[222] wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p
[223] See Tajfel, Rupert 1996"Contribution to the Reduction of Intergroup Conflict" in Peter Robinson (ed.), *Social Groups and Identity: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel*, (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann), p.
[224] See wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p
[225] See Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*, p. 30

Cannot happen if political and church leaders as well as theological educators fail to create awareness that different Kenyan ethnic groups have been socialized in social worlds that have historically been in isolation from each other. For that reason, what one ethnic community knows about the other is informed by generalisation. Negative generalized ethnic stereotypes have made it difficult to know the best traits of a group, which in most cases other groups share. However, such stereotypes come from groups that have been socialized in worlds that have been isolated from each. Bringing such groups together, as Paul sought to do in Rome, may create awareness that their views are potential barrier with regard to recognizing shared group identity.[226]

The sociology of knowledge, which is theoretical this study adopted from P. L. Berger's and T. Luckmann's [227] could be helpful in this endeavour within the Kenyan context.

The idea for this theory is that when people from social worlds that have been produced in isolation from each begin to relate, a considerable amount of tension is relieved from both individuals. A person's behaviour no longer becomes a source of astonishment and potential danger to the other and as a result, the two individuals successfully construct a background, which serves their separate actions and mutual relations. It then happens that as the institutional world thickens and hardens for them and for their offspring, they institutionalize the way things are done. This means that they construct a world that attains firmness in consciousness, a world which becomes real in a more gigantic way such that it can no longer be changed so readily.[228]

What arises from the sociology of knowledge is the demand to appreciate the fact that "the other" has always existed and will always exist. For that reason, it is critical to learn to live with "them" like they are "us". It appears that Paul embraced this principle completely in turning Jews and Gentile from "them" to "us" in relation to their identity in

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[226] wa Gatumu "The Epistle to the Romans: An Instruction Manual against Negative Ethnicity", p
[227] P. L. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 74–77.
[228] See Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, pp.74–77. See also wa Gatumu *The Pauline Concept of Supernatural Powers*, pp. 43–44

Christ. Yet he made sure that Jews and Gentiles were both acknowledged and respected with regard to their own history and experience. This enabled him to communicate effectively with his audience. His point was that Jews and Gentiles were to be re-categorized and socialized to a group identity of being righteous as Christ and which they should share.[229] So the bible should play the role of bring Kenyans together like Paul did in Romans. Unfortunately, this has not been the case and if anything has been done on this, it is very minimal and not known by the majority of the ordinary Christians who were interviewed. If this has happened at all, it has only been happening in academic papers for publication and in lecture halls and theatres but not at the grassroots.[230]

The social identity theory and the sociology of knowledge can offer high-quality illustrations as to the lessons that Kenyans can learn from the bible. It is important for church leaders and theological educators to learn from the way in which Paul engaged negative ethnicity between Jews and Gentiles Christians. The principle point of contact is his zeal to remind them of their status in relation to God, Christ and the gospel and his effort to restore their shared identity, which was being threatened by their original Jewish and Gentile identities. The other point of contact is his effort to establish an all-embracing shared identity, which encircled the identity of Jews and Gentiles without seeking to extinguish either of them. His goal was to include all within the new in-group identity but without asking the Jews or the Gentiles to drop their original group membership. So asking Kenyan ethnic groups to abandon their original ethnic identity entirely could be a hindrance to the fight against negative ethnicity and to the much needed ethnic reconciliation.

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[229] Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans*, p. 223
[230] Personal communications over the telephone and focused group discussions between 28th June and 25th July 2013.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the analysis of data was the main issue. Data was analysed using several data analyses techniques and whose importance was provided in the introduction of this chapter. In the processes of data analyses the secondary and primary data were compared and there was no cause of alarm as to the degree of deviation. Since the ultimate purpose for this research was to ascertain the role of the bible in the management of ethnic conflict with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya, it was necessary to show the lessons for Kenya from the bible with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation. The chapter enumerated several lessons which Kenyans can learn and which by implication brings out the role the bible can play in conflict resolution. The data analysed in this chapter also confirms the presentation in chapter two as to why the bible motivates Christians to work for peace, peacebuilding and reconciliation. Yet this study would be incomplete without testing its objectives and proving its hypotheses. To this we now turn in the next concluding chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter interpreted and analysed data with regard to the triggers of ethnic conflict, conflict resolution and the role of the bible in conflict resolution. The main issue is to establish whether this study has aptly tested its objectives and confirmed its hypotheses. The chapter seeks to establish whether the data has confirms its theoretical and conceptual frameworks, research method and its theoretical framework.

5.1 Evaluation of Objectives, Hypotheses and Frameworks

The main focus of this research was on the triggers of ethnic conflict, conflict resolution and the role of the bible with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. The ultimate purpose was to identify what the bible teaches on peacebuilding and reconciliation and establish its role in conflict resolution. Yet analysing the role of the bible in conflict resolution in Kenya without understanding the nature of that conflict, for instance what triggered ethnic conflict and how ethnic conflict in Kenya was managed like putting the cart in front the horse. The research therefore had some other subsidiary purpose, namely, to explain the influence behind the triggers of ethnic conflict and when and how conflict resolution mechanisms were introduced in the attempt to manage the ethnic conflict. This was necessary in order to give the research the foundation on which to address and assess its statement of the problem, Does the bible have any role to play in peacebuilding and reconciliation, and if it does, was it ever used adequately for conflict resolution with regard to the ethnic conflict that befell Kenya between 1992 and 2008? The main argument for this research was that while the bible has rich and manifold

resources that can be used in conflict resolution, it has not been adequately used to resolve ethnic conflict, to build peace and to reconcile diverse Kenyan ethnic groups.

This section is asking whether the hypotheses and objectives were tested and proven and whether the theoretical and conceptual frameworks were appropriate to the study. The findings of each chapter, to the view of the research, are that each research question was answered and so the objectives were met and the hypothesis tested. This means therefore that the study was able to respond to the statement of the problem noted above. However, it is critical to explain how each hypothesis and objective was tested and proven.

The first hypothesis, which was based on research question number one, was that the main influence that stimulated the triggers of ethnic conflict in Kenya was political changes and the political manipulation of historical memories. As explained in the conceptual framework on triggers of ethnic conflict in chapter three, ethnic conflict has occurred in Kenya during a time of a major political change or during a time at which there is an expectation of a major political change. During this time, politicians make several utterances which bring about some negative ethnic feelings. Political manipulation of historical grievances arouse ethnic intolerance and begin to remember some of the injustices they perceive were accorded to them for instance, land issues and the distribution of resources. The political manipulation consequently stimulates the triggers of ethnic conflict and people begin attacking each other, the end result being violent ethnic conflict, which culminates with displacement of people from the ethnic group that is perceived as the oppressor and the dispossession of their property. The explanation given through the conceptual framework on triggers of ethnic evidence was

collaborated both by primary and secondary data presented in chapter there and analysed in chapter four.

The second hypothesis, which was based on research question number two, was that the concept of conflict resolution was introduced to manage ethnic conflict in Kenya after the ethnic conflict had occurred and after people had been displaced from their land and dispossessed their property. As explained in the conceptual framework on the concept of conflict resolution, conflict resolution mechanism was introduced when the ugly consequences of ethnic conflict were felt. Examples drawn from the ethnic conflicts were given that have happened in Kenya, especially in chapter three on data presentation. The examples showed that judicial commissions of inquiry that were established for the purpose of investigating the root cause of the ethnic conflict came after the ethnic conflict had happened and when people had been killed and those who were lucky to escape death having been displaced from, and dispossessed of, their property. It was noted that the conflict mechanisms that were established and used for the purpose of peacebuilding and reconciliation were not successful. The hypothesis was thus tested and proven by both the primary and secondary data, which was presented in chapter three and interpreted and analysed in chapter four. In fact there little or no degree of deviation between the findings of the primary data and secondary data as it emerged from chapter three and four.

The third hypothesis, which was based on research question number three, was that while the bible has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, it did not play any role in conflict resolution and so it was not adequately used for the purpose of peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. In testing and proving this hypothesis, it was necessary to locate the bible within its readers, who are Kenya

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Christians. The findings were that negative ethnicity had found a place to feel at home in Kenyan. This affected the ways in which Kenyan Christians used the bible when it came to the issue of ethnic conflict. Some of the Christians, rather than using the bible to foster peacebuilding and reconciliation, they used to inspire ethnic hatred and revenge. Church leaders and Christians retreated to their ethnic cocoons and what became evident was that the blood of ethnicity was thicker than Christian brotherhood. Both the primary and secondary data attested to this as shown in chapter three on data presentation and chapter four on data interpretation and analysis.

The conceptual framework on conflict resolution in chapter three, having shown the gap created by the conflict mechanism used in Kenya, pointed out that the bible could contribute to conflict resolution if allowed to play its role. The conceptual framework established a basis for a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation where the bible plays a major role in uniting an ethnically divided society like Kenya. This necessitated the investigation as to what the bible has in relation to conflict resolution and why it should be used for that purpose. The study demonstrated in chapter three that the bible has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, but it did not play any role in conflict resolution and so it was not adequately used for the purpose of peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. This was equally collaborated by the primary and secondary data presented in chapter three and interpreted and analysed in chapter four. In chapter four, the lessons that the Kenyans can learn from the bible were enumerated. The lessons also exemplified the role that the bible can play in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Chapter four also showed how Paul, though he was not a social scientist, used what the contemporary social scientist refer to as the social

identity theory and sociology of knowledge to build group identity or shared identity between Jews and Gentiles. The implication is that the theoretical framework adopted by this study, and which was discussed in chapter one was fitting for the research. The theoretical frame work, if used from the perspective of what the bible teaches on peacebuilding and reconciliation and on the perspectives of its principles of peacebuilding and reconciliation, then it can complement other conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya.

The study had three objectives. The first objective was to develop a conceptual frame work that would identify the main influence that stimulated the triggers of ethnic conflict and to understand how the triggers are linked to each other. This objective was definitely achieved as chapter two demonstrates. The second objective was to develop a conceptual frame work that would show when the concept of conflict resolution was introduced in Kenya and also why conflict resolution did not provided the much needed peacebuilding and reconciliation. The conceptual framework in chapter two on ethnic resolution categorical showed that conflict resolution occurred when the damages of ethnic conflict had been felt already and conflict resolution did not provided the much needed peacebuilding and reconciliation because, for example, the recommendations of the judicial commissions of inquiries of the cause and of ethnic clashes and those involved in perpetuating them were never implemented. Other conflict resolution mechanisms, as shown in chapter four had their own shortcomings. This shows that the objective was met.

The third objective was to identify the bible's rich and manifold resources for peacebuilding and reconciliation and to show why and how these resources can be used adequately for the for the purpose. Chapter two identified the bible's manifold resources in peacebuilding and reconciliation. The chapter gave two facts that provide some encouragement as to why peacebuilding and reconciliation should be practiced. The first encouragement was that all peacebuilding and reconciliation processes should be modelled on the call to be reconciled with God through Jesus Christ. This is because the bible is a story of God seeking to reconcile humanity back to himself through Jesus Christ. The second encouragement is based on the call to humanity to be reconciled with one another, which is a God-given mandate. This is because the bible depicts reconciliation as God's initiative, aiming at restoring a broken world back to God through Christ (Col 1:20). For that reason, Christians participate in reconciliation because they have been transformed into ambassadors of reconciliation. The manifold and rich resources of the bible as to peacebuilding and reconciliation were also enumerated in chapter four, especially on the lessons that Kenyans can learn from the bible with regard to peacebuilding and reconciliation. This therefore means that the third objective of the stud was met.

Since the hypotheses that resonate with each objective having been tested and proven as noted above, then, to all intents and purposes, all the objectives of this study were met. The implication is that the study was therefore able to give a satisfactory solution to its statement of the problem noted above. While arguing that the bible has rich and manifold resources that can be used in conflict resolution, but it has not been adequately used to resolve ethnic conflict, to build peace and to reconcile diverse Kenyan

ethnic groups, the study has shown that the bible has manifold resource that can be used in peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya. This therefore is an indicator to the point that the bible's teaching on peacebuilding and reconciliation can augment the existing was widely acknowledged and indeed this would move the elusive conflict resolution to greater heights.

Having shown that the hypotheses and objectives were tested, proven and met, the research method adopted by this study was therefore appropriate. The primary data and secondary data verified the findings of each other. This suggests that both the primary and secondary data were credible hence the primary research method and the secondary research method worked together very well. The qualitative research method was equally useful because it enable this research to describe the life experience of the victims of ethnic clashes. It enable the research to study ethnic clashes in Kenya in their natural setting and since it helped investigating why ethnic conflict were a recurrent phenomenon during electioneering period between 1992 and 2008. The data collecting techniques, that is, questionnaires, face to face and telephone interviews and focussed group discussions provided credible data. Equally, the data analysis techniques were also very useful, as demonstrated in chapter four. Equally the data analysis techniques were very useful for this research as explained in chapter four. The combination of several data analysis techniques enabled the research to interpret and analyse data in chapter four.

5.2   Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has shown that ethnic conflict is a universal phenomenon, which is endemic in human societies but which must be managed effectively. The triggers of ethnic conflict are well-known but political manipulation of historical grievances,

especially during a time of real or anticipated political change stimulates these triggers to cause ethnic conflict. Conflict resolution mechanisms that have been used in Kenya to resolve ethnic conflict are well known but they have not been effective as it would have been desired. This is because there has been no attempt to implement the recommendations of judicial commissions of inquiry and the resettling and compensation of the victims of ethnic conflict has not been accomplished. The bible, which has valuable information that can be used to augment the existing mechanisms of conflict resolution have not been adequately used. Yet ethnic conflict has caused a lot of misery to all human beings notwithstanding their religious affiliation. The challenge therefore is on how to mainstream biblical teachings and its principles on peacebuilding and reconciliation. This is indeed an area that this study would recommend for further research. Yet the study would wish to recommend to all stakeholders in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation to use everything at their disposal for the purpose of bring peace and reconciliation to Kenyan ethnic groups. The stakeholders include Kenyan people, individuals and ethnic groups, Kenyan government, non-governmental organisation, community based organisations and faith based organisations. If the bible is useful manual against negative ethnicity and useful tool for ethnic reconciliation, then there is need for political good will and religious good will that would foster its use. This also should be extended to other religious books and sacred texts that call for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The study would also wish to recommend the mainstreaming on conflict studies to education curriculums from primary school to university level. While this may have not been discussed in the chapters above, it can go well with the concept of preventive

diplomacy that seeks to arrest a conflict before it erupts. This study would therefore recommended a further research on the mainstreaming peace and conflict studies in schools curriculum with an aim of establishing the need to do so and the level of success this can bring to preventing ethnic conflict in future. The study also recommends further research on the challenges that confront the effort to prevent ethnic conflict even when the triggers of ethnic conflict are known and even when signals of ethnic conflict can be noticed before the conflict erupts. Such studies are expected to enhance the minimisation, if not total eradication of ethnic conflict.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

My name is Marian Kerubo Aunda. I am a student at the University of Nairobi, reading for a master degree in international studies at Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. I am doing a research on how the bible was used in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation during and after the ethnic conflicts that have been rampant in Kenya between 1992 and 2008. I need your assistance on this and so I am kindly requesting you to answer the questions in questionnaire for me to the best of your knowledge. I would appreciate if you can provide your name but if you would wish to do this exercise anonymously there is no problem. Please feel free to use an additional paper if your answer for any particular question may be longer than the space provided. I am looking forward to your positive cooperation.

Section A: Demographic Information (Respondent's Personal Information)

1. What is your name? (optional)---
2. What is your age? --
3. What is your Gender? --
4. What is your marital status? --
5. What is your level of education? --
6. What is your church/denomination ---
7. Where do you reside in Kenya---
8. Have you ever resided in an area that has been affected by ethnic conflict? ---------
9. If yes, where? ---

Section B: Assessing Knowledge as to Ethnic Conflict in Kenya

1. What do you know about the ethnic conflict in Kenya between 1992 and 2008?

2. Did any of the ethnic conflicts in Kenya between 1992 and 2008 affect you as a person in any way?

3. What could have been the major cause or causes of ethnic conflict in Kenya?

4. If you have identified more than one major cause, what is the link between the causes you have identified?

5. Can you please identify the mechanisms that were used to manage ethnic conflict in Kenya between 1992 and 2008?

6. To what extent were the mechanisms you have identified successful in relation to conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation?

Section C: Assessing the Role of the Bible in Conflict Management

1. What is the place of the bible in your church/denomination and how do the Christians practice and apply its teachings in their day to day life?

2. Do you know what the bible teaches about conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation? If yes, what does it teach on the same?

3. Did Christians in your church and in your area practice and apply biblical teachings on conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation during and after the ethnic conflict in Kenya between 1992 and 2008?

4. If your answer to question 3 above is a resounding No, what reason or reasons can you give to show why Christians failed to practice and apply the biblical teachings and principles that are essential to peacebuilding and reconciliation?

5. Do you think the bible has a role to play in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation?

6. Does the bible have any examples as to the ways in which people who had been torn apart by ethnicity can be brought at one?

7. Would you consider the bible as a useful tool for peacebuilding and a manual for reconciling different ethnic groups in Kenya? If yes, how can it be done?

8. The bible has much to say on forgiveness, peacebuilding and reconciliation. In opinion does the bible undermine social justice in asking for peacebuilding and reconciliation?

Thank you very much for you--r cooperation. May the Almighty God bless and grant you His peace according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus.