

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
M.A. IN ARMED CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES**

**INTERNALLY DISPLACED CHILDREN, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND PEACE
BUILDING IN MAAI MAHIU, 2007-2012.**

BY: NANCY M GICHOHI

REG NO: C50/61447/2010

**A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
ARMED CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

© 2015

DECLARATION

I certify that this is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature _____ Date _____

Nancy Muthoni Gichohi

I confirm that this work was written by the candidate under our supervision:

Signature _____ Date _____

Prof. Godfrey Muriuki

Dedication

This project report is dedicated to the IDC of Maai Mahiu, who enabled this study to accomplish its purpose by boldly allowing their voices to be heard.

Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge and appreciate my supervisor, Prof. Godfrey Muriuki, for his guidance, technical and moral support. Acknowledgement is made to the research assistant, Rueben Mulwa, who tirelessly supported the researcher with the field coordination. Also, acknowledgement is made to the entire IDP family that gave their time and a wide range of data that gave meaning to this study. Last, but not least, I wish to acknowledge my family for the enormous support they provided.

Glory and honour to God who provided wisdom, strength and all that was required to make this study a success.

Abstract

This study examines the importance and nature of ethnic identity in peace building. It emphasizes on the need of involving children in peace building and allowing their voices to be heard. Whereas previously children in conflict-affected areas have been viewed as “victims” needing help, this study suggests a paradigm shift whereby children are included in peace building mechanisms. Children are recognized as persons who can make their own decisions towards peace building.

The study is significant because it introduces a paradigm shift from the previous one, which assumed that children must be represented by adults in order to have their issues heard and addressed. Most of the children’s issues have been addressed by adults on their behalf. But this study emphasizes that children need to participate in peace building. This is because of their large numbers in the population of Kenya. Also, children in the recent past have been involved in conflicts, sometimes as child soldiers and, on many occasions, their needs and views are different from those of the adults. Therefore they, too, need to be included in any peace building mechanisms, if peace is to be realized.

In order to understand ethnic identity, constructivism theory was used. This theory holds the view that ethnic identities are fluid and can be socially constructed and reconstructed. This is the same with the concept of peace. Ethnic identity is a social radar which helps one make sense of the myriad constellations of the social relationships they encounter. For example, the IDC viewed themselves as IDPs, a people of a different category from other ethnic groups, a phenomenon referred to as “emergent ethnic identity.”

Since ethnic identities are highly malleable, this study has discussed ethnic identities in a context. It was done amongst the IDC in Maai

Mahiu, after 2007 PEV to 2012, during the Grand Coalition Government.

Qualitative methodology was used to collect data, since this phenomenon of ethnic identity could not be quantified numerically. Purposive and snowball sampling methods were applied. Primary data was collected through oral interviews, focus group discussions and observation, while secondary data was collected from relevant books, journals, articles and newspapers.

The study focused on how ethnic identity can be useful in peace building in Kenya, especially after the PEV of 2007-2008. It also looked into the disadvantages of using ethnic identities in peace building.

The study concluded that the IDC understood peace and peace building differently from the adult respondents. Though IDC played some roles in peace building, they were largely unaware of this. Equally, ethnic identity had an influence on both the IDC and adults in peace building, though in different ways. It also shows that ethnic identity is important in restoring relationships at intra-personal, inter-personal and inter-group levels and can not be easily washed away.

Finally, the study recommends that children should be actively involved in peace building in this country, if we are to bring up a generation that upholds a culture of peace. Secondly, extensive researches need to be done on ethnic identity and how it can enhance sustainable peace even among different ethnic groups, and more so the children.

Table of Content

Declaration.....	<i>i</i>
Dedication.....	<i>ii</i>
Acknowledgements.....	<i>iii</i>
Abstract.....	<i>iv</i>
Table of Content.....	<i>vi</i>
List of Acronyms.....	<i>viii</i>
Operational Definitions.....	<i>ix</i>
Map of Kenya Showing Maai Mahiu IDP Camps.....	<i>xi</i>
Map of Naivasha Showing Maai Mahiu.....	<i>xii</i>

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the Ethnic Identity and IDP Problem in Kenya.....	4
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	14
1.3 Objectives.....	16
1.4 Justification of the Study.....	16
1.5 Scope and Limitations.....	18
1.6 Review of the Literature.....	20
1.7 Theoretical Framework.....	34
1.8 Research Hypotheses.....	39
1.9 Research Design and Methods.....	39

Chapter Two: IDC and Peace Building after Post-Election Violence of 2007-2008

2.0 Introduction.....	47
2.1 IDC Understanding of Peace and Peace-building.....	47
2.1.1 Peace-Building and Power.....	47
2.1.2 Peace Building and Justice.....	50
2.1.3 Peace Building and Security.....	51
2.1.4 Peace Building and Socio-economic Development.....	53
2.2 Peace Building after PEV (2007-2008).....	54
2.2.1 Personal Transformation.....	54

2.2.2 Relational Transformation.....	57
2.2.3 Empowerment and Recognition.....	59
2.2.4 Reconciliation.....	61
2.2.5 Reparations.....	62
2.3 Conclusion.....	64

Chapter Three: Ethnic Identity and its Influence on Peace Building after 2007-2008 PEV

3.0 Introduction.....	66
3.1 Familial Ethnic Socialization.....	66
3.2 Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviour.....	70
3.3 Coexistence and Peace Building.....	73
3.4 Acculturation in Peace Building.....	76
3.5 Conclusion.....	80

Chapter Four: Advantages and Challenges of Ethnic Identity

4.0 Introduction.....	83
4.1 Ways in which the IDC can Use Ethnic Identity in Peace Building...83	
4.2 Challenges of Using Ethnic Identity in Peace Building.....	91
4.3 Conclusion.....	94

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Conclusion.....	96
---------------------	----

Bibliography

Appendices

Appendix 1: Focus Group Interview Guide.....	1
Appendix 2: Oral Interview Guide for Parents.....	2
Appendix 3: Oral Interview Guide for Teachers.....	3

List of Acronyms

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence
CRC	Convention of the Rights of the Child
GEMA	Gikuyu Embu Meru Association
IC/GLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region Protocol
IDC	Internally Displaced Children
IDPS	Internally Displaced Persons
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAIC	National Accord Implementation Committee
NAK	National Alliance of Kenya
NARC	National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
ORN	Operation <i>Rudi Nyumbani</i>
PEV	Post-Election Violence
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UNGPID	United Nations Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced

Operational Definitions

Child

A child is anybody below the age of 18 years.¹

Ethnic Identity

That part of an individual's or group's self concept that derives from knowledge of membership in an ethnic group combined with their values and any emotional significance attached to their membership. While ethnicity refers to a membership that can be objectively established, ethnic identity refers to the person's subjective relation to his /her ethnicity.²

Ethnic Group

A group of people who believe they have a common ancestry and share at least a similar culture, race, religion, language, kinship or place of origin. Usually the group is not a fixed categorization.³

Internally Displaced Persons

Persons including children who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid, the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence of human rights or natural or human made disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.⁴

¹ Children Act 2001 and United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Nairobi, Kenya Alliance of Children (KAACR), 2007, p. 2.

² Jean Phinney, "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults," *Review of Research, Psychological Bulletin* (108)1990, pp .499-500.

³ Jean Phinney, "Ethnic Identity and Acculturation," in Chun P.B, Organiste and G. Martin (eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement and Applied Research*, Washington: American Psychological Association, 2003, pp. 63-81.

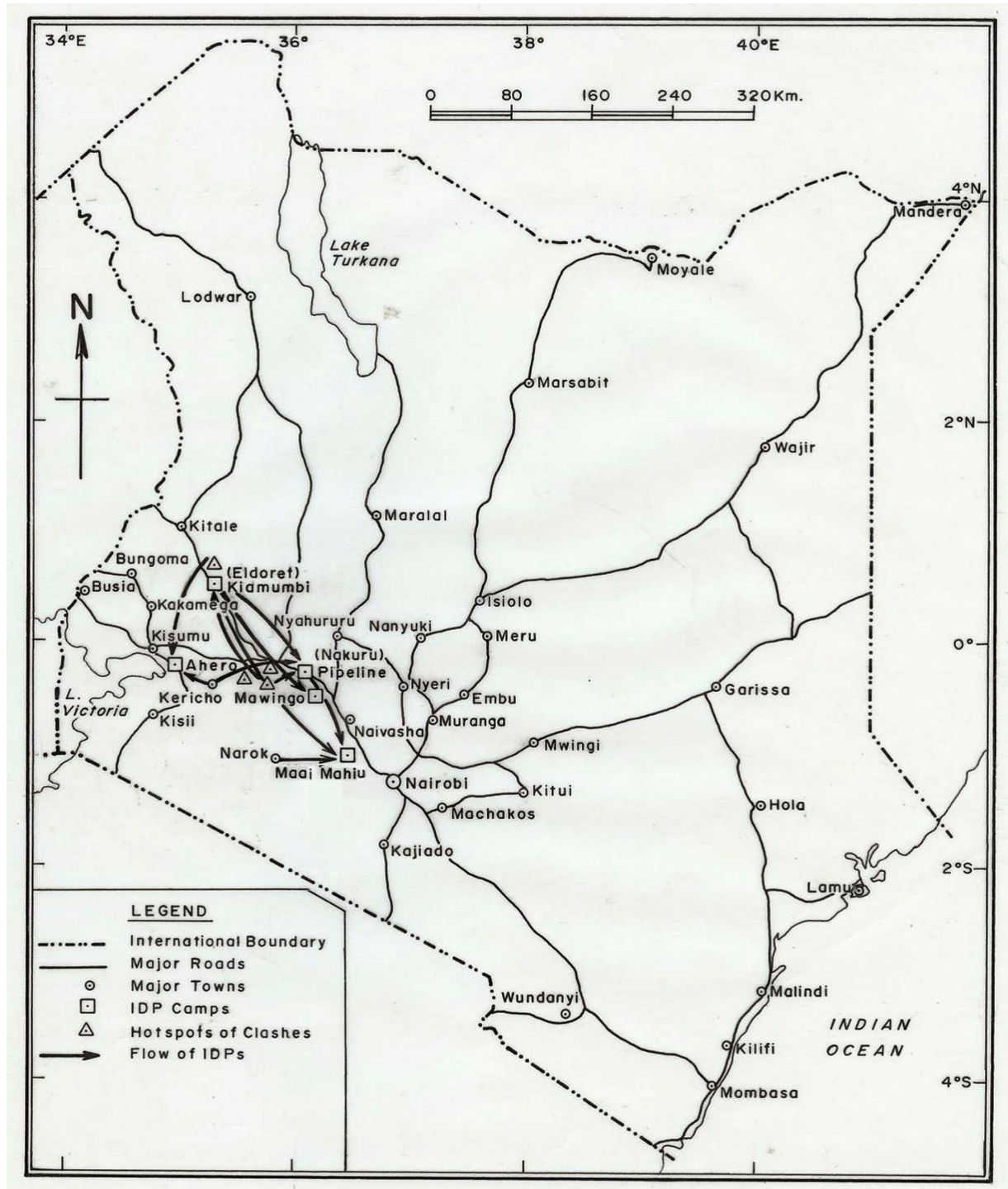
⁴ United Nation, *Guiding Principles on International Displacement* (2004), p.1 A copy of this document can be accessed from <[http:// www.unhcr.org/43ce/cff2.html](http://www.unhcr.org/43ce/cff2.html)>

Peace Building

A process that addresses the root or structural causes of conflict and the long term relationships between warring parties or opponents in order to change behaviour and transform identities and institutions.⁵

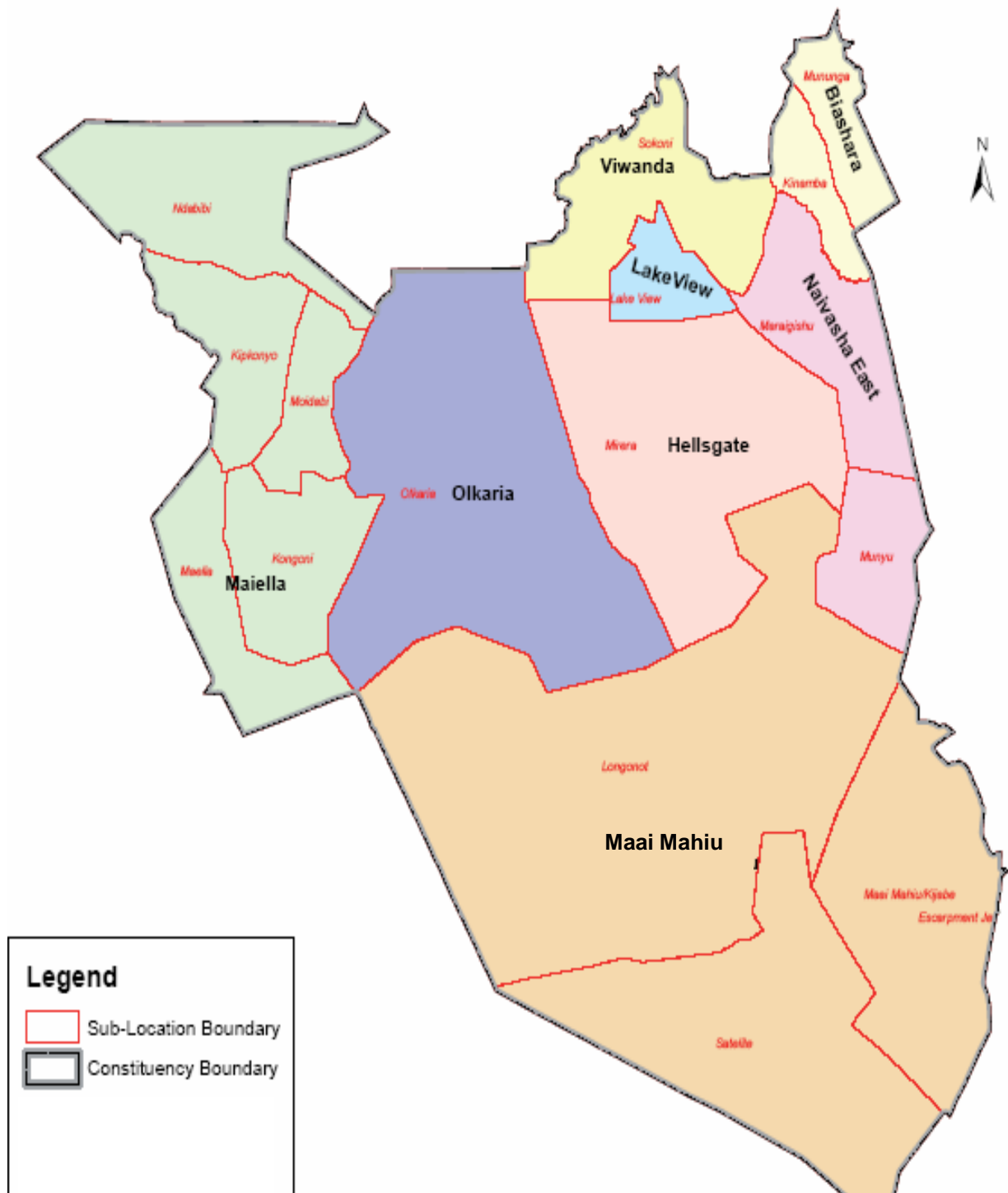
⁵ Oliver, Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, T., & Miail, H, (eds.), *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*, (2nd Ed), London: Cambridge Polity Press, 2005, pp.28-29.

MAP OF KENYA SHOWING THE FLOW OF IDP TO MAAI MAHIU⁶



⁶ Hassan Mwakimako and Gona George, *IDPs' Narratives as Political Discourse of Identity: Interviews with IDPs in Kenya Resulting from the Post Election Violence of 2007-2008*, Netherlands: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR), 2011, p.7.

MAP OF NAIVASHA SHOWING MAAI MAHIU⁷



⁷ Goggle Maps [www.zoover.com/Kenya/Kenya/naivasha map/](http://www.zoover.com/Kenya/Kenya/naivasha%20map/)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The research seeks to help in understanding the nature and the importance of ethnic identity in peace building among the Internally Displaced Children in Maai Mahiu camps for the Internally Displaced Persons. These are children based in *Jikaze*, *Vumilia* Eldoret and *Fumilia* Narok camps from the time the post-election violence (hereafter PEV) broke out in late December 2007 to its conclusion in early 2008. The study however, stretched its focus up to 2012, the period during which, the Grand Coalition Government reigned. This is the government which was mandated to carry out the agendas of the National Peace Accord which was signed to end the PEV. However, the tenure of the Grand Coalition Government officially ended on 9th April 2013, when Kibaki handed over the presidential position to President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta as the fourth president of Kenya. Therefore, 2012 marked the end of a complete year of this government. The next two months was a period of campaigns which preceded the 4th march, general election.

The post-election violence in Kenya escalated with the announcement of presidential election results on the 30th December 2007. However, even before Mwai Kibaki was officially declared the winner of the presidential vote, some parts of Kenya's Rift Valley had already begun to experience inter- ethnic violence. The delays in the counting of the votes and rampant rumours about the imminent rigging of the election increased the escalation of the violence. Eventually, the results were disputed and the ensuing violence led to the displacement of more than 600,000 persons, loss of lives and disruption of livelihoods, among other damages in the country.⁸

⁸ *Kenya Humanitarian Update*, Vol. 6, 2008; Kenya; *Waki Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 2008, p.273.

A compromise was reached after the international community sent in various eminent personalities to seek a way out of the impasse between the two top presidential aspirants, Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga. Notable among those sent were John Kufour, a former President of Ghana and Koffi Annan, former Secretary General of United Nations Organization, among others. On the 28th February 2008 a National Peace Accord was signed. The signing of the National Accord put in place a coalition government which was referred to as the Grand Coalition Government. Among the issues agreed upon was the appointment of a National Accord Implementation Committee. The committee was mandated to identify short, medium and long term policies for implementation by the government.

The policies were to cover five key areas; namely, security, peace building, reconciliation and resettlement of IDPs, revitalization of produce sectors and restoration of damaged infrastructure and positive engagement of the youth.⁹

According to the National Accord Implementation Committee strategy, the resettlement and reintegration of IDPs was meant to enhance development, alleviate suffering, improve Kenya's negative image, ensure security and enhance enjoyment of human rights. At the same time, the Kenya Commission of Inquiry into Post- Election Violence was formed. It was mandated to investigate the facts and the circumstances surrounding the violence, and the conduct of the state agencies in their handling of the violence. It was then to make recommendations concerning security matters.¹⁰

⁹Republic of Kenya, Report of the National Accord Implemented Committee on National Reconciliation and Emergency, Social and Economic Recovery Strategy, Nairobi, Government Printer, March, 2008.

¹⁰ Republic of Kenya, Report of the National Accord Implemented Committee on National Reconciliation and Emergency, Social and Economic Recovery Strategy, Nairobi, Government Printer, March, 2008.

On 5th May 2008 a resettlement programme called “Operation *Rudi Nyumbani*” was launched. This was aimed at encouraging a voluntary return to the areas the IDPs had fled from. For example, the IDPs were given one month food ration as a token to encourage them return to their farms or their former places of habitual residence. Only a few IDPs chose to leave camps, most of them citing inadequate security and social cohesion in the “return areas”. According to Human Rights Watch, this resettlement programme approach failed mostly because it was not well thought out and was prematurely implemented.¹¹

In the hasty implementation of “Operation *Rudi Nyumbani*”, two main international instruments that guide the resettlement process of people were not observed. One of these key instruments is the 1998 United Nations Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons. Though not legally binding, it has 30 principles which oblige state parties to ensure protection and assistance of IDPs in all phases of displacement. This includes ensuring their well-being and creating conditions for durable solutions to enable their return, resettlement, relocation or reintegration.¹² The second instrument is the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region Protocol which reinforces the “regionalization”. The protocol aims to ensure protection, assistance and the search for durable solution for IDPs and communities that host them. It also provides guidelines on the restitution of/or adequate compensation for the lost property. In the programme this was not successfully done.¹³

By July 2008 only about 200 persons had attempted to return to Ngirimoli, Kunyak and Kipkelion Districts in the Rift Valley. Some of

¹¹ *Human Rights Watch*, *Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya*, New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997.

¹² *Human Rights Watch*, *Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya*, New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997.

¹³ *Human Rights Watch*, *Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya*, New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997.

these returnees were not allowed to resettle in their homes in these areas. This marked the failure of “Operation *Rudi Nyumbani*”.¹⁴ After this, some of the IDPs in the Rift Valley Province formed self-help groups which collected money from its members and purchased a piece of land at Maai Mahiu where the IDP camps are currently situated.

Maai Mahiu Division is situated in Nakuru County (see map on p. vi). Its name is derived from the Kikuyu term for “hot water.” It is 90 kilometres, North West of Nairobi and borders Kiambu County to the East, Naivasha Central to the North, Narok and Kajiado County to the West and South, respectively. It occupies an area of approximately 534 square kilometres.

This study is focused on the three composite villages of the IDP camps in this area. These camps are: *Jikaze* with a population of about 821, *Vumilia* Eldoret with a population of about 1313 and *Fumilia* Narok with a population of about 265. The settlement is located adjacent to Maai Mahiu Township.

The use of “*vumilia*” or “*fumilia*” is dependent on where the IPDs were displaced from. ‘*Vumilia*’ and/or ‘*fumilia*’ means do not lose heart. The IDPs who came from Narok preferred to use the alphabet “F” for *Fumilia* while those who came from Eldoret chose “V” for *Vumilia*. “*Jikaze*” means persevere and a majority of the IPDs there came from all parts of Rift Valley.

1.1 Background to the Ethnic Identity and IDP Problem in Kenya

This section briefly highlights the circumstances which have led the country to be faced with the issues and challenges of addressing IDPs. It starts off with a review of President Moi’s tenure. Thereafter, it goes

¹⁴ Office of the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator in Kenya, *Humanitarian Update*, Vol. 29, July 17th–July 23rd, 2008.

on to highlight what the presidency of Kibaki did, or contributed, to the problem of IDPs.

The Moi Era

The situation of IDPs is not a new phenomenon in Kenya. It can in fact be traced back to the colonial period when many indigenous land owners were evicted from their land and forced to resettle as squatters in the European settlements. With the end of European rule, the problem continued. Some of the land that the European left behind was administered by the new Kenyatta government. He sought for loans from Britain to buy off the European settlers from the previously alienated lands. He remained with large acreages of land with the rest being later distributed to his allies or people with political influence. This meant that some of the citizens continued to be landless.¹⁵

After the death of Kenyatta, Daniel arap Moi adopted the “*Fuata Nyayo*” philosophy or slogan. This meant that he was to follow in the footsteps of the former president Kenyatta. In practice he continued to safeguard the interests of the elites of the country in complete disregard of the poor citizens. The disgruntlement with Moi’s rule led to an attempted *coup d’etat* in 1982 which was unsuccessful. This led Moi to tighten his grip against dissidents. In order to solidify Moi’s power, a constitutional amendment was done to make Kenya *a de jure* one party state with KANU as the sole political party¹⁶ and the president as the chairman of the party.

Citing the need for national unity, Moi discouraged public ethnic identification and close association in the political arena. After 1982, he banned economic and social organizations that articulated ethnic interests, for example, welfare organizations, like Gikuyu Embu Meru

¹⁵ John, Galaty, “Double-voiced violence in Kenya,” in Vigdis Broch-Due (eds.), “*Violence and Belonging: The Quest for Belonging in Post-Colonial Africa*, London: Routledge, 2005, p. 181.

¹⁶ F, Stewart, and O’Sullivan Meghan, (eds.), “Democracy, Conflict and Development, Three Cases,” *QEH Working Paper Series*, No. 15, Oxford: University of Oxford, 1998, p.11.

Association, or sports clubs like the Abaluhya and Luo Unions. By doing so, he hoped to reduce the ethnic basis of political mobilization. This alone did not address issues that led to ethnic grievances, for example, distributive injustices. It only curtailed opportunities for independent ethnic based mobilization and protests.¹⁷

However, as Moi was doing this, his government was seen to lean more on the former Kenya African Democratic Union clique. This was a party that had a grouping of mainly the “small tribes”. This led to the propagation of the minority discourses once again. It was alleged that the time had come for the minority ethnic groups to get a “bite” of the national “cake”. This was after the years of exclusion by the colonial and Kenyatta administration.¹⁸ This was evidenced by Moi making a significant reduction of Kikuyu influence by reducing their number in the senior positions of the civil service in favour of the Kalenjin. From 1979, Moi started to develop the Kalenjin alliance more earnestly.¹⁹ For instance, in 1978 there were 35 Kikuyu District Commissioners out of 41. There were 5 Kikuyu Provincial Commissioners out of 8 and 13 Permanent Secretaries out of 19 available. But in 1991 there were 17 Kalenjin PSs out of 28, 45 Kalenjin DCs out of 66 available positions and 4 Kalenjin out of 8 PCs.²⁰

In 1992, multiparty democracy was re-introduced in Kenya. In the multiparty competition, ethnic coalition became important in accessing state power. The multiparty electoral competition in Kenya

¹⁷ Norman Miller, and Rodger Yeager (eds.), *Kenya: The Quest for Prosperity*, San Francisco and Oxford: West View Press, 1994, p. 77.

¹⁸ Githu Muigai, “Ethnicity and Renewal of Competitive Politics in Kenya”, In Harvey Glickman (eds.), *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa*, Atlanta Georgia: The African Studies Association Press, 1995, p.174.

¹⁹ Contrary to popular belief, the Kalenjin appeared as an ethnic group in official records in the 1989 census, although in 1955, Daniel Moi, Henry Cheboiwo and Taitta Towelt had created the Kalenjin Political Alliance. This means the Kalenjin Alliance is not as recent as the Moi’s era. In the 1979 Population Census the Kalenjin appear as Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Marakwet, Pokot, Tugen and Sabaot.

²⁰ Maurice Amutabi, *Ethnicity and Kenya’s Civil Service: a Retrospection*, Kenya, Department of Development Studies, Moi University, 1999, pp.7-9.

reinvigorated regional ethnic voting reminiscent of the ethnic alliances during multiparty elections in the mid 1960's.²¹

In 1992 general elections in Kenya, over 3,000 persons were killed in what was called ethnic skirmishes and thousands displaced from Rift Valley, and thus could not vote in the elections. The ethnic “cleansing” was seen as a pre-emptive move by Kenya African National Union operatives to disenfranchise some ethnic groups (for example, the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya) in the vast Rift Valley.²² In the same year, Moi was elected for a fourth term as the President of Kenya. He was leading with 36.3% of the vote followed by Kenneth Matiba with 26.0%, Mwai Kibaki with 19.5% and Raila Odinga with 17.5% of the votes.²³

In 1997 elections, Moi and KANU “hardliners” put in place strategies aimed at dividing the Kikuyu votes. These devised strategies were seen as “rigging” strategies.²⁴ The first strategy was to perpetuate the Kikuyu division using “mavericks” like Joseph Kamotho, Kuria Kanyingi, among others. Secondly, KANU came up with the idea of “zoning”. This meant declaring “non-Kikuyu” areas as KANU zones rendering them to be out of bounds for the opposition. This was aimed at preventing the opposition from campaigning in these areas or zones. Thirdly, there was the creation of more constituencies in areas perceived to be dominated by KANU supporters. This resulted in the

²¹ Daniel Posner, *Institution and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 266.

²² Daniel Posner, *Institution and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 266.

²³ Joel, D. Barkan, “Kenya: Lessons from a Flawed Elections,” *Journal of Democracy*, July, 4, 1993, pp. 85-99.

²⁴ Maurice Amutabi, *Ethnicity and Kenya's Civil Service: a Retrospection*, Kenya: Department of Development Studies, Moi University, 1999, pp.7-9.

addition of 24 constituencies bringing the total number of areas of majority KANU representation (constituencies) to 210.²⁵

As in 1992, with the 1997 general elections approaching violence broke out, but this time in the Coast Province. The clashes mainly concentrated on the Likoni division in Mombasa.²⁶ The clashes pitted the indigenous people and the “outsiders.” The indigenous people of the coast region of Kenya are a conglomeration of ethnic groups known as the Mijikenda. There are also other groups, such as the Swahili. Likoni area, where the clashes were concentrated, is mainly inhabited by two Mijikenda subgroups; namely, the Duruma and the Digo with the Digo people in the majority. The rest of the inhabitants are the Kamba, Luo, Luhya and Kikuyu, commonly known as “upcountry” people.²⁷

In terms of collective identity, Likoni consists of two major groups: the “indigenous majority” and the “upcountry minority”. Further categorization puts the two into two religious groups; namely, Muslims and Christians.²⁸ The violence targeted those who were suspected to oppose KANU, especially the “upcountry” people. The Mijikenda wanted the non-locals or the people from upcountry to leave “their” land and return to wherever they had originated from. The “locals” who were attacking, took oaths in the shrines of “*Kaya Mbombo*” before the attacks. They were made to believe that they could not be harmed by bullets, for they supposedly turn into water once they were fired at them. This empowered these “locals” who started burning houses belonging to “non- locals” by using petrol bombs. The local police station at Likoni was not spared, but raided,

²⁵ Many constituencies were created in KANU strongholds and where KANU was expected to win. In Nandi though it was not large was divided into two, creating Mosop and Emngwen constituencies. In Kakamega, Butere was divided into 2 constituencies, Butere and Khwisero; and Mumias into Mumias and Matungo. Opposition stronghold, such as Murang’a, received Mathioya hived from Kiharu to create a constituency for Joseph Kamotho.

²⁶ “Akiwumi Report-Coast Province”, 1999, p.2.

²⁷ “Akiwumi Report-Coast Province”, 1999, p.2.

²⁸ “Akiwumi Report-Coast Province”, 1999, p.2.

too, in the process. Estimates place the number of deaths from those clashes at more than 100 people. More than 100,000 were displaced, children also included.²⁹

In the Likoni clashes, children were also included among the combatants. Young men (some of them younger than seventeen years of age), mainly from the Digo community were recruited to join the Coast raiders. Some of them went through a rigorous training in the forest for about two weeks, while others were used as porters. Their main objective was to repossess their ancestral lands and property and obtain jobs. However, after the clashes, the government failed to establish mechanisms which could reintegrate these children into the society.³⁰ In addition, there are no formal records showing the roles that they played to build peace after the clashes were over.

Just as it had been expected, the ethnic nature of Kenyan politics was apparent after the 1997 elections results were announced. The incumbent president Moi won through votes from his Kalenjin community and other minority ethnic groups that had no presidential candidates. The Kikuyu voted overwhelmingly for Kibaki, most of the Luo for Raila Odinga, the Abaluhya voted overwhelmingly for Michael Kijana Wamalwa, while most of the Kamba voted for Charity Ngilu. Even minor party candidates, such as George Anyona and Katana Mkangi, received most of their votes from the members of their own ethnic groups compared to the rest of the candidates.³¹ The idea of creating ethnic alliances as an important beacon in politics in Kenya seems to have had its genesis after the 1997 elections.

In the mid 1980's, Moi's government introduced quota system in the education system, which mainly influenced form one intake in the

²⁹ Jacqueline Klopp, "Ethnic Clashes and Winning Elections. The Case of Kenya's Electoral Despotism", Canada, *Canadian Journal of African Studies* Vol 35(2), pp. 15-17.

³⁰ *Human Rights Watch*, Interview with Raider, A, Ukunda, April, 22, 1999.

³¹ The Daily Nation and East African Standard newspapers, Nairobi, January, 1, 1998, pp. 1-3.

country. According to Amutabi this system was precipitated by a number of factors, key amongst them being strategic ethno- political permutations. He notes that quality of education depends largely on the quality of teachers. It is important to ensure that qualified teachers are equally distributed throughout the country.³²

However, Amutabi noted that the critics of Moi had observed that equal distribution of qualified teachers and admission of students in form one in national schools was not being observed. For example, Moi was said to transfer “good” teachers from Central Kenya and Nyanza to Rift valley schools, such as Sacho, Baringo, Kabarak and Kapsabet girls. This is because some of them became “academic giants.” In most of the other provinces, the schools remained understaffed. However, Amutabi highlights that the Teachers Service Commission is authorized to transfer teachers to work anywhere in Kenya. Also in the quota system, selection of children to major national schools was encumbered with ethnicity, whereby students from the Kalenjin community, mostly from Nandi ethnic group, seemed to benefit by being admitted to national schools even with poor primary school results.³³

The Kibaki’s Era

Mwai Kibaki had previously served as Vice President of Kenya for ten years, from 1978-1988. He also held important cabinet ministerial positions. After resigning as a cabinet minister in 1991, Kibaki served as an opposition Member of Parliament. He was elected with overwhelmingly majority as the Kenya’s third president in 2002 after

³² Maurice Amutabi, “ Political Interference in the running of education in Post- independence Kenya: A Critical Retrospection ,” *International Journal of Educational Development*, 2003, 23 (2), pp. 127-144.

³³ Maurice Amutabi, “ Political Interference in the running of education in Post- independence Kenya: A Critical Retrospection ,” *International Journal of Educational Development*, 2003, 23 (2), pp. 127-144.

two unsuccessful bids for Kenya's presidency in 1992 and 1997.³⁴ He was elected through NARC which was a coalition between National Alliance of Kenya members and Liberal Democratic Party members. The members included Charity Ngilu, Wamalwa Kijana, Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, among others. The alliance was built around elite consensus rather than democratic principles, a factor that later haunted the alliance.³⁵

President Mwai Kibaki started his presidency in 2002 on a rather shaky ground. This was by disregarding other members of the coalition. For instance, in 2003 almost one half of the cabinet slots and the prestigious ones were given to GEMA-related ethnic groups. Some of the people appointed to the prestigious cabinet positions were John Michuki, Christopher Murungaru, Martha Karua, Amos Kimunya, Kiraitu Murungi, and David Mwiraria, among others. This was in complete disregard of the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the leaders of NARC. The unfilled MoU remained a contentious aspect in the alliance and preoccupied the first term of Kibaki's presidency.³⁶

Just like his predecessors, President Kibaki did not do well on the ethnic question. Kibaki's defeat in the 2005 referendum on the revised constitution is one of the indicators of ethnic political divisions. The contest was greatly influenced by ethnic politics. Kimenyi and Shughart, using a constituency-level data set, observed that the voting decisions in the referendum were primarily influenced by ethnic

³⁴ Maurice Amutabi, *Beyond Imperial Presidency in Kenya; Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki Regimes and Implication for Democracy and Development*, Nairobi: Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), 2009, pp. 17-19.

³⁵ Maurice Amutabi, *Beyond Imperial Presidency in Kenya; Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki Regimes and Implication for Democracy and Development*, Nairobi: Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), 2009, pp. 17-19.

³⁶ Maurice Amutabi, *Beyond Imperial Presidency in Kenya; Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki Regimes and Implication for Democracy and Development*, Nairobi: Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), 2009, pp. 17-19.

identity. Ethnic groups were literally disagreeing with how resources and power were being shared.³⁷

The failed referendum also ended the NARC coalition and split the cabinet. Immediately, the roads Minister Raila Odinga and the then Minister of Environment, Kalonzo Musyoka, formed a new opposition political party, called ODM. The fact that political parties re-arranged according to ethnic alliances was a confirmation of political divisions among the electorates. This seemed a repetition of 1990's elections which were characterized by "identity politics."³⁸

The other issue that revealed Kibaki's failure in addressing ethnic question was the appointments of top government officials. In 2006 there were 19 Permanent Secretaries from GEMA-related ethnic groups out of 34 in the country. Members of GEMA –related ethnic groups headed 23 of the 34 public corporations' positions. There were 47 District Commissioners from GEMA out of 82 positions in Kenya.³⁹ In 2006 there were 2 Kikuyu Vice Chancellors of public universities for the first time in the history of Kenya.⁴⁰

Kibaki's administration, like his predecessors, followed their footsteps that led to poor governance, marginalization of communities, economic disparities, and rise in poverty levels, inequitable distribution of national resources and services. This was seen to aggravate the problem of militia groups in Kenya. KANU used Mungiki in 2002 to ensure that the "Uhuru Project" was successful, but

³⁷ Mwangi Kimenyi and William Shughart, "The Political Economy of Constitutional Change: A Study of the 2005 Kenyan Constitutional Referendum", *Constitutional Political Economy*, Springer, vol.21 (1), 2010 March, pp.1-27.

³⁸ Mwangi Kimenyi and William Shughart, "The Political Economy of Constitutional Change: A Study of the 2005 Kenyan Constitutional Referendum", *Constitutional Political Economy*, Springer, vol.21 (1), 2010 March, pp.1-27.

³⁹ Maurice Amutabi, "The Kikuyu Factor in Politics in Kenya," Paper Presented at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting (ASA), New York: 2007.

⁴⁰ Maurice Amutabi, "Beyond Imperial Presidency in Kenya: Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki Regimes and Implication for Development," *Kenya Studies Review*, Vol.1 (1), 2009, pp.32-54.

unfortunately, this did not happen. Instead, Kibaki won the 2002 election. As Kenya crossed the post –Moi era, Mungiki entered a new phase of becoming a fully- fledged criminal group. In less than a month after the elections, violence erupted in different estates of Nairobi leading to several deaths. This triggered the ban of Mungiki by the new Kibaki’s government in 2002. However, the group continued to carry out its ruthless activities in Kenya’s Central Province, the Rift Valley and Nairobi, long after it was banned.⁴¹

The membership of Mungiki is thought to have about two million members who are largely from Kikuyu ethnic group. It is mainly composed of youth aged between 15-35 years. According to education officials, schools have not been spared by Mungiki sect onslaught. Lack of immediate economic gains from schooling was seen as one of the factors which led to the devaluation of schooling and children became an easy target because of promises of immediate financial returns. Among the many other activities that they are involved in is to instigate political violence especially during campaign periods. The sect is said to be “heavily armed” and many of them carry weapons such as swords, machetes, knives, AK-47 and other types of guns.⁴²

In 2002, the Kibaki government established a special police unit, which had instructions to “shoot to kill” in order to deal with the banned militia groups. However, despite the police crackdowns on Mungiki, killings by its members have continued to be reported across their strongholds. The fact that Mungiki enrolled children in their membership and armed them with weapons remained a great challenge in the Kibaki era. Firstly, it was seen to adversely affect the free education programme mostly in Central Province, because members of Mungiki never valued education. Secondly, they were

⁴¹ Adams Oloo, *Marginalization and the Rise of Militia Groups in Kenya*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2010, pp. 147-181.

⁴² Paul Achola and Vijayan Pillai, *Challenges of Primary Education in Developing Countries. Insight From Kenya*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000, pp. 1-10.

easily incited by the politicians to cause violence against other ethnic groups and their large numbers remained a threat to the security of this nation.⁴³ Even more, there were no mechanisms put in place to try and rehabilitate the children who are members of the sect.

In summary, there were many instances and events during the first term of Kibaki presidency that rapidly changed the way Moi's government had been constituted. Members of GEMA-related ethnic groups replaced the members of Kalenjin in key positions in the government. Some of these events in the NARC and how President Kibaki handled his colleagues in the alliance made some of the other ethnic groups view the Kikuyu suspiciously. This suspicion seemed to manifest itself after the 2007 general elections. True to the suspicion, President Kibaki was sworn in at night on the 30th December 2007. The election results were disputed by the opposition, especially by ODM headed by Raila Odinga. The party argued that the elections were marked with fraud and widespread irregularities which made them call for mass action. This was the beginning of civil unrest in Kenya that lasted for two months. ⁴⁴

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A focus on internally displaced people is one of the key lenses to critically analyze Kenya's current peace building efforts. Without the healing and reconstitution of local social fabrics that are linked to successful return and reintegration of the IDPs, a country often moves towards more polarization and ethnic separation.

A look at the current peace building process in Kenya reveals some key problems. For instance, at the local levels the government

⁴³ Peter Kagwanja, "Power to Uhuru Youth Identity and Generational Politics in Kenya's 2002 Election", *African Affairs*, 105(418), pp. 51-75.

⁴⁴ Maurice Amutabi, "Beyond Imperial Presidency in Kenya: Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki Regimes and Implication for Development," *Kenya Studies Review*, Vol.1 (1), 2009, pp. 20-22.

response to displacement remains largely within the pre-election security paradigm. This is construction of more police posts and security apparatus in resettlement areas.⁴⁵ Despite these efforts being made, children have not featured in any of the peace building measures. Also ethnic identity has not received as much attention as it ought to.

Peace building efforts, including monitoring, rarely tap into the informal or formal networks of local people and institutions, such as IDPs networks or schools. In addition, peace building processes rarely address cultural practices and narratives and this can aggravate tensions and inter-ethnic relations.⁴⁶ Ethnic identity should not in itself form the basis of modern social organization. However, its potential in shaping social cohesion cannot be ignored.

In the current peace building efforts, children have completely been marginalized and have become invisible in social policy formulations. Their lack of participation is rarely noticed. Moreover, there are limited studies that have focused on children. Very little is known on what abilities they have in making their own policies. More often children are recognized in social policies like peace building, but as dependants of adult family members rather than persons in their own rights.⁴⁷

This study seeks to focus on an alternative paradigm that considers children as having a conceptual autonomy, being subjects rather than objects. Since little is known about children, especially the displaced, and how much they have contributed towards peace building, then this study is appropriate.

⁴⁵ See the “Commission of Inquiry into Ethnic Clashes” Known as Akiwumi Commission, Nairobi, Government Printers, 2001 and The Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (CIPEV), Nairobi, Government Printers, 2008.

⁴⁶ Paula Pickering, *Peacebuilding in the Balkans: The View from the Grand Floor*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, pp. 20-22.

⁴⁷ V, Morrow, “Invisible Children? Towards a Reconceptualization of Childhood Dependency and Responsibility,” *Sociological Studies of Children*, 1995, p.7.

1.3 Objectives

The main objectives of this study were:-

- 1) To examine the role played by IDC of Maai Mahiu camps in peace building after the post- election violence of 2008 to 2012.
- 2) To examine how ethnic identities have influenced the IDC of Maai Mahiu camps in peace building from 2008 to 2012.
- 3) To investigate if ethnic identity can be used to build peace amongst the IDC.
- 4) To find out what challenges are faced in the use of ethnic identity in peace building efforts amongst the IDC of Maai Mahiu.

1.4 Justification of the Study

Children must play a key role in peace building process not because peace and security are basic ingredients for realization of children's rights, but because children are a large proportion of the world's population. Most countries, especially in Africa, have more than half of the population under the age of 25 and often under 18 years.⁴⁸

In January 2009, UNCHR emphasized that the scale of return of IDPs and success of their integration are two of the most tangible progress indicators of any peace building process.⁴⁹ However, very few studies have been done in Kenya to ascertain how much the two indicators have been achieved. In addition, no study has been done that has targeted children.

Peace building as a process requires a concept of "inclusion" based on ethnic identities as well as other factors like equal distribution of resources. To develop such a paradigm does not mean to suppress

⁴⁸ P. Collier, L. Chauvet and H. Hegre, "The Security Challenge in Conflict –Prone Countries," *Copenhagen Consensus, Conflict Challenge Paper*, 2008.

⁴⁹ Statement by Guterres to Security Council cited in Khalid Kaser, "Intergration Displacement in Peace Process and Peace building ," *Refuge Survey Quarterly*, Vol.28 No.1,2009, p. 6.

ethnic differences. It means developing a profound unity that cherishes participation and creativity in the interest of building a culture of peace. For this process to succeed, all members of a group, including children, are required to be brought on board.

Children always pose a great challenge to adults and policy makers. This is from the way they are variously viewed. Children from war-torn areas are often viewed as “war-survivors” and as traumatized individuals, only victims in need of remedial care. But there is a great urgency for a paradigm shift that would involve thinking about children as agents of their own development.

For this to happen, understanding children’s experiences, their impacts on their ethnic identity and their abilities is of paramount importance. This idea is supported by Abbinik who emphasizes the need for active involvement of children in finding their own answers to the problems or challenges they face. This enables them to shape their own destiny and identity.⁵⁰ For instance, some of the children in the IDP camps have been displaced more than once in the few years of their lives. No study has ever been done on how this has impacted on their ethnic identity and the peaceful measures they have undertaken to mitigate violence. This study was done to enable adults to understand the needs of children, and their abilities, among others. This is mainly by allowing the children to explain and interpret issues of ethnic identity and peace from their own perspective.

The prospects of peace, the maintenance of national unity and the enjoyment of fundamental human rights in Kenya depend highly on an adequate solution to ethnic tensions. To ignore the “problem” is to neglect an important aspect of the contemporary reality. For Kenya to salvage herself and bring back the social fabric and build a culture of

⁵⁰ Jon Abbinik, “Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal,” in *Vanguard or Scandal; Youth Politics and Conflict in Africa*, London: Brill Press, 2005, p. 8.

the peace it enjoyed earlier, then her citizens need to refocus on ethnic identities. It might begin by realizing and appreciating positive gains of ethnic identities. Instead of ethnic identity being used as a tool of mobilizing people to violence, it must be used for peace building. This is a process that can not just be implemented without having carried out studies that explore the influence of ethnic identity in peace building.

While ethnic identity has a role to play in peace building and may be used as building blocks towards the entrenchment of peace with the ultimate aim of comprehensive conflict resolution approach, the fact is that few studies exist. More so, nothing much has been studied as far as the internally displaced children are concerned and therefore the justification for the study.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

The study was done in three IDP camps of Maai Mahiu; namely *Jikaze*, *Vumilia* Eldoret and *Fumilia* Narok. The time frame of the study was from 2008 to 2012, a period in which the Grand Coalition Government reigned. Though, this government officially handed over to the current Jubilee government on the 9th April, 2013, 2012 marked an end of completed year of the Grand Coalition Government regime. This study focused on the IDC, but more data was collected from adults too. The reason was to enable this study to gather as much information as possible about the IDC and to provide a platform of comparison between the IDC and the adults around them.

Quite a number of limitations were experienced. Most of the respondents were not well conversant in English language nor were they conversant with written Swahili. The researcher had initially included questionnaires as a tool of data collection. Due to the above problem, questionnaires were not used which made the researcher choose to do oral interviews with all the respondents. This resulted in

incurring more time loss and more expenses than had earlier been expected. However, it was a benefit in disguise because a lot of information was collected, perhaps more than would have been written in the questionnaires.

For the IDC, some of the issues of the PEV were still raw in their emotions. The researcher and the assistant are trained psychologists and were able to calm them down and offer psychological support when emotions ran raw. Some information which might have been quite crucial was abandoned for the sake of the psychological care of the IDC.

The results of the study cannot be generalized in the other internally displaced situations. This is partially because the study on ethnic identity is extremely subjective, products of self-definition and ascription by others, rather than concrete traits. Individuals' ethnic identities are usually defined in a context. The problem is that "context" is also defined by the micro-environment in which the study is being carried, the events of the moment and even other people around. This means the study might be quite limited, despite the great need of the information concerning children's participation in peace building. It is only through an extensive study that one can acquire adequate information. This means spending more time and finances which the researcher was not in a position to afford. However, the researcher was in a position to carry out a more purposive study which targeted the IDC in Maai Mahiu in a specific period of time, i.e. the tenure of the Grand Coalition government.

The IDPs in most parts of the country are known to live in very harsh environments. In most cases, they are unable to meet their basic needs, thus any group or individuals visiting them are expected to give them some financial support. This poses a challenge, especially, when such a study is not supported by any donor. To remove this kind of

expectation, the researcher used the leaders of the camps and elders to explain the researcher's circumstances to the respondents, that the study was not funded and was also not a profit-making study. They understood this so well because one of my lecturers, Dr. Gona, had earlier done a study in the camps.

The study relied on self-reported scales which can easily be affected by social desirability and errors or bias within the environment. Children are likely to respond from what they have known from the adults around them. To reduce the effects of these possible challenges, the researcher used research methodologies which helped the children to participate without fear or intimidation. The researcher also gathered more information from some of the adults in the camps, in order to acquire a more comprehensive data.

The study was looking into a very malleable topic on ethnic identity. However, the researcher was aware of this and the tools used to collect data were in a position to capture this scenario. The most recent general elections in the country, on 4th of March, 2013 could be seen as one of the factors which could have had an influence in the ethnic identities amongst the IDC. Also, the issues and proceedings of the International Criminal Court could perhaps have had an influence on this study.

1.6 Review of the Literature

Introduction

This section presents the relevant literature on peace, children and ethnicity in an attempt to understand the nature of ethnic identity and how it affects children in peace building. The major concern is the relationship between efforts done or carried out and the lack of the recognition of people who have identities, like the children.

In this study it is acknowledged that the process of peace building is multifaceted. It involves re-establishing security, law and order, reconstruction and economic rehabilitation. It also involves reconciliation, social rehabilitation and political transition in order to create much more accountable governance structures and institutions. The way in which IDPs benefit from these processes, may affect the success of country-wide peace-building initiatives. Also, the way in which these issues are resolved is likely to have a major impact on the sustainability of peace in a country.⁵¹

Mckee looks at peace-building process in a generational lens. He observes that war and all its components usually follow a cyclical process that is passed from parents/guardians to the children. These children then become either fighters or peace-builders.⁵²

Strategies for Conflict Resolution

According to some scholars, like Baldwin, numerous resolution or management strategies have been attempted in Africa, Kenya included.⁵³ However, none of them seems sustainable in creating an atmosphere for peace, security and inter-ethnic co-existence in Africa. For instance, before the post- election violence of 2007, there were a number of “hot spots” in Kenya, especially in Rift Valley. In these areas, like Kuresoi and Mt. Elgon, residents were already experiencing high levels of violence and displacement and peace building initiatives did not seem to be very effective.⁵⁴ Perhaps, this could mean that the peace building strategies were no longer useful and new ones needed to be adopted in order to curb ethnic violence in Kenya.

⁵¹ P. Mckee, “Re-education, Adolescence and Conflict Resolution”: *Lesson from Northern Ireland*, Vol. 43, 2000, pp.83-84.

⁵² P. Mckee, “Re-education, Adolescence and Conflict Resolution”: *Lesson from Northern Ireland*, Vol. 43, 2000, pp.83-84.

⁵³ James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*, London: Penguin Books, 1962, p. 195.

⁵⁴ IDP Network of Kenya, “Internal Displacement Alert and Analysis: Kuresoi Constituency,” Unpublished Manuscript, December, 2007.

Emerging studies in armed conflict and peace in Africa, and indeed elsewhere, recognize the ‘domestic refugees’ referred to as IDPs. However, most of these studies do little to explore some of the reasons that make reintegration, reconciliation and embracing of “right of return” of these IDPs very difficult. This study, on the other hand, appreciates that there is a relationship between ethnic identity and peace building. But the extent to which ethnic identity impacts on IDC is the basis of this study.

Mwakimako and Gona in their study on “IDPs’ narratives” are close in addressing the issue of ethnic identity amongst the IDPs living in the three camps. Their respondents were youths aged above 18 years and adults.⁵⁵ Their selection of the respondents reveals that children were not featured and their voices were obviously omitted. They describe *Jikaze* and *Vumilia* IDP camps as transition camps, in other words camps that were set up by the IDPs themselves after they left the main camps. After the IDPs realized that they could not return to their homes of origin, they bought land and settled there. According to Mwakimako and Gona, these camps stimulated acts of remembrance amongst the IDPs. They gave their members a newly valued position from which they could now speak from. On the same platform, the IDPs were able to address their togetherness and identity.⁵⁶ According to their study of the IDPs, generally the adults had acquired new residences and were not willing to return to their former abodes. This opened an avenue of another study that would ascertain if the IDC held similar views.

⁵⁵ Hassan Mwakimako and Gona George, *IDPs’ Narratives as Political Discourse of Identity: Interviews with IDPS in Kenya Resulting from the Post Election Violence of 2007-2008*, Netherlands: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR), 2011, p.1.

⁵⁶ Hassan Mwakimako and Gona George, *IDPs’ Narratives as Political Discourse of Identity: Interviews with IDPS in Kenya Resulting from the Post Election Violence of 2007-2008*, Netherlands: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR), 2011, pp. 18-20.

According to the two scholars, living in the IDP camps gave these Kenyans an opportunity to speak about their communal identities in the face of loss and cultural degradation. The study acknowledges that the IDPs had acquired a different way of making sense of their relationships with the “others.” From the narratives, the study inferred that IDPs had constructed a different “ethnic identity” from the previous one. The researchers also found out that *Jikaze* and *Vumilia* were spaces of an emerging local “discursive threshold.” This is where the IDPs narrated, discussed and examined their present status, their social boundaries and ethnic categories. This led to the IDPs giving another meaning to their ethnic identities.⁵⁷

Mwakimako and Gona elucidate the phenomenon called ethnic identity which can be constructed or reconstructed. Mbiti corroborates the work of Mwakimako and Gona, when he says that ethnic identity stands as a symbol of communal solidarity and security. He further adds that ethnic identity remains a powerful force to reckon with, although it varies like “temperature” and can change from time to time. He concludes by stating that ethnic identity depends on the prevailing political circumstances.⁵⁸

Mbiti opines that ethnic identity is a fluid concept, meaning different things at different times and contexts. The nature and meaning of ethnic identity are difficult to grasp unless one relates them to the changing conditions of life.⁵⁹ Bayart affirms that while dealing with a phenomenon like ethnic identity one needs to consider cultural, socio-

⁵⁷ Hassan Mwakimako and Gona George, *IDPs' Narratives as Political Discourse of Identity: Interviews with IDPS in Kenya Resulting from the Post Election Violence of 2007-2008*, Netherlands: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR), 2011, pp. 18-20.

⁵⁸ John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publisher, 1969 pp. 100-102.

⁵⁹ John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publisher, 1969 pp. 100-102.

economic and political changes that have taken place and how they have continued to fashion ethnic identities.⁶⁰

Muriuki affirms Mbiti's work on the issues of ethnic identity and how variable and contingent they are. Muriuki studied the relationship between the Kikuyu and the Maasai in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The Kikuyu and Maasai were constantly at war with each other; they often raided each. This notwithstanding, they had widespread intermarriages and trade. Muriuki observed that at the close of the nineteenth century, in Mathira, Nyeri District, nearly half of the population had almost evolved into a "sub-tribe" as a result of these intermarriages. The "sub-tribe" had acquired singular characteristics, such as a distinctive dialect, which set them apart from the rest of their kinsmen with whom they coexisted in mutual understanding. Their emergence as a "a major renown tribe" was only arrested by the arrival of the British.⁶¹

Mwakimako and Gona raised with the respondents the issue of returning to their former abodes. Some of the IDPs saw the "right of return" as a solution to their predicaments, while others felt it was quite difficult to reconcile with their "attackers". Others felt that their "offenders" had on many occasions attacked them, but the justice system had never played its role. ⁶²

From their comprehensive study on issues facing the IDPs in the camps, the study lays an elaborate picture on how the IDPs are viewing themselves; as a people with different identities, including ethnic identity. Their study also highlights processes of coexistence and acculturation among the IDPs. This creates a zest for another

⁶⁰ Jean-Francois Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, London: Longman, 1993, p.50.

⁶¹ Godfrey Muriuki, *A History of the Kikuyu 1500-1900*, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 66-68.

⁶² Godfrey Muriuki, *A History of the Kikuyu 1500-1900*, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 66-68.

study which would look into the “reconstructed” ethnic identity and how it is influencing peace building in the area among the IDC. Also the work by Mwakimako and Gona provides this study with a base to explore the unaddressed issues of IDC.

Rayner observes that children are usually a muted group of people. In many cases, children are denied participation in major political, legal systems and security issues. According to Rayner, they do not access the means of exerting power or protecting their own vulnerability. They are restricted in the extent to which they can make decisions or give ideas about their lives. Also in many cases, they do not play a part in the processes which determine the policies which affect them. She concludes that children are usually seen as subjects of discrimination and peculiarly unable to organize themselves politically.⁶³

In her paper, “Kids Talk,” Wanduragala notes that the participation rights of a child represent the coming together of a number of different rights. This includes the right to information, the right to be heard and rights to hold opinions. She adds that enabling children to participate is an important component of giving them political space. It also enables them take a possessive role in their own societies. She observes that this can be done even at national and local levels.⁶⁴ She emphasizes that children’s own voices against violence can be an inspiration for the adults. She quotes an old adage, “children hold the future in their hands, and have fresh impact in the context of the community’s conflicts or peace.” She stresses that the right of children to participate actively is the foundation of peace making.⁶⁵ Her views

⁶³ Moira Rayner, “Taking Serious the Child’s Right to Be Heard,” in, Alston, P and Brennan, G (eds.), *The UN Children’s Convention and Australia, The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission*, Sydney: Falmer Press, 1991, p. 36.

⁶⁴ Randini. Wanduragala, “Kids Talk; Freedom of Expression and The UN Convention on The Rights of The Child,” *Challenges of empowerment*, No. 9, 2000, pp. 7-15.

⁶⁵ Randini. Wanduragala, “Kids Talk; Freedom of Expression and The UN Convention on The Rights of The Child,” *Challenges of empowerment*, No. 9, 2000, pp. 7-15.

support this study, in that children need to be given a chance to participate on issues that are affecting them.

Wanduragala's views are supported by Elliot. He observed that children have often achieved remarkable results in the most difficult and challenging environments. He adds that what is needed in order to achieve this is that children are given space. This can be done by supporting them and respecting their efforts in building peace around them.⁶⁶

He opines that to ignore children's potentials and achievements towards peace is to negate their human rights. It also curtails the possibility of lasting peace that seeks to break the traditional and cyclical nature of conflicts.⁶⁷ Elliott elucidates the importance of another study which is able to investigate on capabilities of children in peace building. This study on ethnic identity among IDC seems to reveal what they are capable of doing in the future to enhance peace.

After the PEV of 2007-2008, the then President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila signed the Grand Peace Accord. They agreed to tackle four main agenda items. The agenda item one was an immediate action to stop the violence and restore fundamental rights. Agenda item two was to address the humanitarian crisis and to promote healing and reconciliation. Agenda item three was to put a mechanism to overcome the political crisis. Finally, agenda item four was on laying structures for tackling long-term issues.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Heather Elliott, *Children and Peace Building: Experiences and Perspectives*, London: World Vision, September, 2002.

⁶⁷ Heather Elliott, *Children and Peace Building: Experiences and Perspectives*, London: World Vision, September, 2002.

⁶⁸ Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Parties, Longer-Term Issues and Solutions," *Constitutional Review*, March, 4,2008, pp.1-6.

As part of agenda four and its accountability, TJRC was established. Among many other objectives, the TJRC was mandated to give victims and perpetrators an equal hearing of their voices. Children were given opportunities to be heard. One of their testimonies was entitled “why should children suffer?”⁶⁹ However, some of these testimonies were seen as an unfortunate process by TJRC because the children just poured out their experiences. Nothing much is mentioned about what was done with the information. This provides an open avenue for this study to investigate further on their issues and how they have addressed them.

Derick, in examining the history of childhood literature, concludes that childhood emerges as a cultural construct. This examination indicates that while childhood as a concept may be defined and bounded by age, it is otherwise changing.⁷⁰ However, studies that have attempted to provide a more advanced and contextualized analyses of children in conflict and peace building fall back on an implicit victim-villain dichotomy. For instance, Alenda and De Boeck, illustrated this phenomenon of “victim-villain” by analyzing the paradox in juxtaposition of the term “child soldier.” They acknowledge that, in many studies, children are seen as victims who are in need of protection and need to be defended. However, they wonder whether a soldier needs to be defended while it is his mandate to offer protection. Their emphasis here is on the great need to re-conceptualize childhood. They also emphasize on the autonomy of children and their involvement in their development and activities, for example, in peace building.⁷¹

⁶⁹ “Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Parties, Longer-Term Issues and Solutions,” *Constitutional Review*, March, 4,2008, pp.1-6.

⁷⁰ L, Derick, “Growing Up in the Post-Modern Age; On Child’s Situation in the Modern Family in the Modern Welfare State,” *Acta Sociological* (32), 1989, p.2.

⁷¹ Honwana Alenda and Filip De Boeck, *Introduction : Children and Youth in African Agency, Identity and Place*, In, *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Post Colonial Africa*, Oxford:James Currey, 2005, p. 32.

A study done by Adan and Pkalyo exploring the “concept of peace committees” amongst pastoralists like Borana, Samburu, among others in Kenya, found that the youth and children were increasingly being incorporated into membership of these peace committees, but their significance was yet to be recognized.⁷² They found that children and youth were of little significance partly because of various factors. Most of the traditional structures of these pastoralist communities in which peace committees had been structured, are based on the basis of “marginalization.” Children and youth did not seem significant especially in decision making forum. ⁷³

These two scholars drew the conclusion that some of these communities had seen it as a threat to some of the traditions and a challenge to the status quo of the traditional decision making structures. Though these peace committees have constitutions/by-laws and procedures that provide for equal and engendered peace building processes, little is observed. For instance, the membership of the committees, the cultural expectations and norms seem to occupy a major space in the peace building process other than the committees’ constitutions. The researchers acknowledge that “marginalization” of important stakeholders, for example, children in peace building is a reality.⁷⁴ This conclusion reveals an urgent need for a study of children in peace building especially after the post-election violence of 2007-2008.

⁷² Mohamud Adan and Ruto Pkalyo, *The Concept of Peace Committee: A Snapshot Analysis of the Concept Peace Committee in Relation to Peace Building Initiatives in Kenya*, Nairobi Practical Action, 2006, pp.28-29.

⁷³ Mohamud Adan and Ruto Pkalyo, *The Concept of Peace Committee: A Snapshot Analysis of the Concept Peace Committee in Relation to Peace Building Initiatives in Kenya*, Nairobi Practical Action, 2006, pp.28-29.

⁷⁴ Mohamud Adan and Ruto Pkalyo, *The Concept of Peace Committee: A Snapshot Analysis of the Concept Peace Committee in Relation to Peace Building Initiatives in Kenya*, Nairobi Practical Action, 2006, pp.28-29.

A study by Murithi on ethnic co-existence reveals the importance of ethnic identity.⁷⁵ He acknowledges that ethnic identity did not suddenly emerge; rather it had been festering behind the Kenyan political and social scenes since independence.⁷⁶ He opines that there are reports of some children and youth in Kenya who have upheld negative ethnicity. For example, some children and youth have used derogatory and insulting terms against members of “other” ethnic groups. Murithi regards this issue as an indication of seeds of future ethnic division. These are seeds that are sown in the minds of young people.⁷⁷

Murithi suggests that, in order to avoid ethnic division and build a peaceful co-existence, various measures need to be put in place. Peace education and programmes on ethnic co-existence need to be streamlined in Kenya’s education curriculum. Also, in order to entrench ethnic reconciliation, he suggests that it would be necessary for the government, civil society and grass root organizations to establish community forums and communal peace committees. These would enable those communities that were affected by the PEV of 2007-2008 to engage in reconciliatory processes.⁷⁸

Murithi’s work dwells much on measures that enhance peace building in Kenya. This work points out the need of elaborating some critical issues, for example, to explore the type of school curriculum that would enhance the culture of peace and how children would implement the skills learnt. Also, grassroots programmes on peace building are crucial and the stakeholders in these programmes need

⁷⁵ Tim Murithi, “Post-Accord Kenya: Between a Fragile Peace and a Constitutional Revival Inter African Group,” 2008, p 6. <http://www.interafricagroup.org/Archieve.aspx>.

⁷⁶ Tim Murithi, “Post-Accord Kenya: Between a Fragile Peace and a Constitutional Revival Inter African Group,” 2008, p 6. <http://www.interafricagroup.org/Archieve.aspx>.

⁷⁷ Tim Murithi, “Post-Accord Kenya: Between a Fragile Peace and a Constitutional Revival Inter African Group,” 2008, p 6. <http://www.interafricagroup.org/Archieve.aspx>.

⁷⁸ Tim Murithi, “Post-Accord Kenya: Between a Fragile Peace and a Constitutional Revival Inter African Group,” 2008, p 6. <http://www.interafricagroup.org/Archieve.aspx>.

to be clearly defined. These points show the need of another study which will help fill in some of these gaps.

Fountain defines peace education as the process of promoting knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that are needed to bring about behaviour change. She adds that this change will enable children, youth and adults to prevent both overt and structural violence and resolve conflicts non-violently. Peace education also helps to create conditions which are conducive to peace, whether at an intra-personal, inter-personal, inter-group or international level.⁷⁹ She emphasizes the need of empowering children to participate in processes that promote peace. Children need to be supported to build peace through peace education and active participation on peace building.⁸⁰

Miguel illustrates a type of a school curriculum which can enhance peace, “ethnic peace.” He conducted a study that compared school curriculum in Kenya and Tanzania.⁸¹

Tanzania is surrounded by countries that have recently experienced political disorganization, instability and ethnic conflicts. In contrast, Tanzania has had a relatively peaceful and stable existence following independence. Tanzania is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in Africa, with an extra ordinary high number of ethnic groups. The 1967 census revealed there were 130 different ethnic groups.⁸² Miguel associates this “ethnic peace” in Tanzania with many factors. According to him, the two main factors are: - the school curriculum

⁷⁹ Susan Fountain, “Peace Building in UNICEF,” UNICEF Staff Working Paper, Programme Division, New York, June 1999; See, http://www.unicef.org/pdedu/education/peace_ed.htm.

⁸⁰ Susan Fountain, “Peace Building in UNICEF,” UNICEF Staff Working Paper, Programme Division, New York, June 1999; See, http://www.unicef.org/pdedu/education/peace_ed.htm.

⁸¹ Edward Miguel, “Tribe or Nation? National Building and Public Goods in Kenya and Tanzania,” *World Politics*, (56), (3), April, 2004, pp.331-338.

⁸² Edward Miguel, “Tribe or Nation? National Building and Public Goods in Kenya and Tanzania,” *World Politics*, (56), (3), April, 2004, pp.331-338.

they adapted after their independence in 1961 and the use of a common language, “*Kiswahili*.” Tanzania is thought to be the only multi-ethnic country in Africa with an indigenous lingua franca. According to Miguel “*Kiswahili*” was a vitally important building block in the construction of an effective and truly nationalist movement. “*Kiswahili*” is seen as a common people’s language of communication among the Tanzanians and not a socially divisive colonial language of a “small, educated elite” group.⁸³

Miguel explains dramatic steps that the Tanzanian Government under President Nyerere took, in order to build a culture of peace in Tanzania. Initially, Tanzania eliminated schools that were purely religious and racially designed. For example, some were European or Asian private schools and catered for particular religious sub-groups. All these schools were made into public schools and opened to all members of the public. In all these schools “*Kiswahili*” became the language of instruction. Most of the secondary schools were made boarding schools, so that it was possible to achieve a high degree of ethnic and religious mixing. In the classrooms, playing fields, etc, Tanzanian secondary schools students mixed with each other forming enduring friendships with one another across ethnic/racial lines. Due to these strong bonds across ethnic boundaries, the salience of ethnicity as a potential source of political strain was diminished.

A similar policy was implemented with respect to teachers who were assigned to various regions of the country. This was done to ensure that the teaching staff was ethnically mixed. To build further upon the socialization experience of secondary education, the government developed a system of National Service. The purpose was to break down incipient tendencies toward ethnic mistrust. Tanzanian government included a major emphasis on national values as part of

⁸³ Edward Miguel, “Tribe or Nation? National Building and Public Goods in Kenya and Tanzania,” *World Politics*, (56), (3), April, 2004, pp.331-338.

the curriculum, attaching utmost importance to such themes as national pride, loyalty to their parties (not their ethnic groups) and the fact that unity and cooperation were the keys to the success of the country's development. The political leaders were profoundly aware of the importance of education as a vehicle for political socialization. Thus, they were determined to use the educational curriculum as a vehicle for acculturating Tanzanians into the ethos of ethnic peace.⁸⁴

Chirot and Seligman explain the symbolic role of leadership in relation to "ethnic peace" in Tanzania. They observed that political leaders had the ability to influence the course of events including building a culture of peace in a nation. They held the view that Nyerere was one of the leaders who stood out in ensuring a united state of Tanzania. Nyerere served as principal leader of the nationalist movement, head of governing party and head of state for nearly thirty years.

Under the influence of Nyerere, much of the energy of the Tanzanian nationalist movement and subsequently of the Tanzanian government was devoted to minimizing the presence and role of ethnically based organization and associations. Tanzanian political leaders had created an environment in which an individual's best prospects for upward mobility did not depend upon support from one's ethnic constituency. Upward mobility was dependant on being a member of the governing party. These leaders ensured that their leadership principles were enshrined in the national curriculum. Through school curriculum, these policies were passed on to the younger generations, thus building a culture of "ethnic peace" all through many generations. It helped to minimize the tendency for Tanzanians to think of themselves as members of discrete ethnic groups.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Edward Miguel, "Tribe or Nation? National Building and Public Goods in Kenya and Tanzania," *World Politics*, (56), (3), April, 2004, pp.331-338.

⁸⁵ Daniel Chirot and Martin Seligman (eds.), *"Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solution,"* Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 2001, pp. 3-5.

Chirot and Seligman's work exposes the importance of a school curriculum in influencing or rather creating peaceful environment even in a multi-ethnic nation. Their work gives this study an open avenue to investigate further on how the Kenyan school curriculum has facilitated the IDC in building a culture of peace.

While Miguel, Chirot and Seligman seem to put emphases on nation-building and belittling ethnic identities, Sharkey has a different outlook on ethnic identity. Sharkey deplores the fact that many studies on ethnicity concentrate on justifying the claim that any political organization based on ethnic identity is a primitive model.⁸⁶ Sharkey is opposed to the approaches that suggest that, if Africa wants to make progress and reduce ethnic wars, it must first of all eradicate ethnicity. The African political leadership puts an accent on "assimilation", rather than pluralistic inclusion and acceptance of differences as the only approach of national unity.⁸⁷

He argues that ethnic identity provides meaning and content of nation-state and whatever point of view is adapted, the issue of ethnic identity must be approached in a constructive way. However, he holds the opinion that ethnic identities can not be suppressed by the state. Nevertheless, ethnic identity on one hand when manipulated can be a root cause of "internal problems" connected with disrespect of human rights and social justice. He adds that if appropriated properly, ethnic identities could be ingredients that are required for the realization of a "peaceful society", political integration and participation.⁸⁸ He points out that ethnic identity in itself can not form the basis of modern social organization, but has the potential in shaping social cohesion. He concludes that the failure to recognize the power of ethnic identity

⁸⁶ Heather, J. Sharkey, "Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: The Politics of Language, Ethnicity and Race," *African Affairs*, (107), 426, December, 2004, pp. 21-43.

⁸⁷ Heather, J. Sharkey, "Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: The Politics of Language, Ethnicity and Race," *African Affairs*, (107), 426, December, 2004, pp. 21-43.

⁸⁸ Heather, J. Sharkey, "Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: The Politics of Language, Ethnicity and Race," *African Affairs*, (107), 426, December, 2004, pp. 21-43.

in peace building is likely to continue to forment political instability. This is also likely to exacerbate the civil unrest found in many countries.⁸⁹ This view provided useful pointers for this study in investigating this phenomenon, “ethnic identity,” especially among the IDC.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study is best understood under the constructivism theory. Constructivists have a notion of ethnic identities as a set of points of personal reference, which people rely on, to navigate their social world. Ethnic identities help to make sense of the myriad constellations of social relationships people encounter. They also help one to discern one’s place in these constellations and understand the opportunities for actions in this context. Constructivists say that ethnic identity in a certain sense, is a kind of social radar, a perceptual device through which people come to see where they stand in relation to their outside world.⁹⁰

In the constructivists’ approach, ethnic identities are highly variable and are moreover contingent products of an on-going interaction between the circumstances groups encounter (including the conception and actions of outsiders) and the actions the groups take. It means ethnic groups are active agents in the making and remaking their own ethnic identities. Ethnic identities have little influence on group members’ action, until the security or stability of their member(s) is threatened. There are bonds that may link group members to one another and create a more substantial and patent solidarity. Three of such bonds are shared interests, shared institutions and shared culture. Shared interests are rooted largely in shared political, economic or status interests. In many cases what makes an ethnic boundary important to group members is the interest

⁸⁹ Heather, J. Sharkey, “Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: The Politics of Language, Ethnicity and Race,” *African Affairs*, (107), 426, December, 2004, pp. 21-43.

⁹⁰ Joane Nagel, “Constructing Ethnicity,” *Social Problems*, V.41, No. 1 February, 1994, pp.152-176.

that it serves, for example, the pursuit of jobs, protection of rights and privileges. ⁹¹

Groups whose members have common interests often organize themselves in various ways to pursue those interests. They create more or less exclusive institutions. These are sets of social relations organized specifically to solve the problems the group members face or to achieve their objectives. Such institutions include extended families, etc. The group members are bound together partly by their dependence on common participation in these institutions.⁹² Group members may also be bound to one another by their participation in a common culture. These are sets of shared understandings and interpretations that include ideas of what are important, real and strategic guides to action. Such ideas and guides may be embedded in stories, myths, etc.

These shared interests, institutions and culture that bind people together are bound to change. The bonds of interests tend to be more volatile than the others. Therefore, when there is a need to mobilize persons on behalf of their interests, invocation of the ethnic bond becomes a powerful call to unity.⁹³

Ethnic identity is usually contextual and situational. It is derived from social negotiation where one declares an ethnic identity and then demonstrates acceptable and acknowledged ethnic group markers to “others”.⁹⁴ According to Smith, ethnic identities are socially constructed. In most cases, it is done by intellectuals and other elites who develop an ideology of identifying as a group, its membership and

⁹¹ Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996, pp. 2-7.

⁹² Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996, pp. 2-7.

⁹³ Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996, pp. 2-7.

⁹⁴ Hassan Mwakimako and George Gona, op. cit, pp. 21-22.

the meaning it gives to its members. He adds that the core of this social construction is a “myth-symbol” complex. This is a combination of myths, memories, values and symbols that define the identity.⁹⁵ Thus ethnic identity is not permanent, but rather fluid and highly malleable. The Kenyan situation, especially after the re-introduction of multi-party system (1991), can explain the malleability of ethnic identity. This is when “tribal” identity shifted from individual “tribes” to “regional” identity. According to Horowitz, ethnicity in the words of a cynic is not the “collective will to exist,” but the “existing will to collect”.⁹⁶

Constructivism as an approach is a useful theoretical lens in understanding the true nature of things, such as ethnic identity. In order to achieve sustainable peace and human security, after brutal ethnic conflict, peace builders are required to understand some phenomena, like ethnic identity. Peace builders need also to delve into the normative, ideational and inter-subjective beliefs that constructed the interests and identify the key actors during the conflicts.

Constructivism operates on the ontological assumption that actors are shaped by social-cultural milieu in which they live.⁹⁷ It acknowledges that ethnic identities can change, sometimes on a very large scale. For instance, in Sri-Lanka many of those who had hitherto called themselves “Kandyman” and “low- Country” abandoned these regional identities to unite into a cohesive “Sinhala” identity. The result was the transformation of Sri-Lanka’s multi-polar ethnic demography into a bipolar ethnic demography.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Anthony Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, London: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 5-10.

⁹⁶ D. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflicts*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, p.104.

⁹⁷ Finnermore, Martha and Kathrya Sikkink, “Taking Stock? The Constructivist Research Program,” in “International Relations and Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, (4), 2001, pp. 391-416.

⁹⁸ P, Joanna, Rajasingham, D, Terence, E, *Ethnic Futures: The states and Identity Politics in Asia*, United Kingdom: Sage Publication, 1999, pp. 112-114.

Constructivists agree on three propositions as far as ethnic identity is concerned. They acknowledge that individuals have multiple ethnic identities and not a single ethnic identity as many other theorists argue. These ethnic identities can change although in most cases they do not. Finally, the constructivists argue that, if such changes occur, it is as a result of some human processes. However, there are constraints on ethnic identities which hinder the changes. Even those constructivists who go further in emphasizing the instability of ethnic identities, describing identity as an “unsettled space,” nevertheless, they maintain that there are always conditions to ethnic identity, which have subjects that can not be constructed.⁹⁹

Constructivism theory states that children learn through adaptation. Children are not passive in knowledge, but they are active at making meaning, testing out theories and trying to make sense out of the world they are living in. Constructivists argue that children learn very little when they are given the answers without allowing them go through the whole process of understanding. Children learn best by developing their existing ideas and experiences through hands-on practical experiences. Constructivism is founded on the premise that, by reflecting on their own experiences, children construct their own understanding of the world they live in. They generate their own “rules” and “mental models” which make sense of their experiences and enable them to accomplish new tasks. However, they successfully accomplish the new tasks while they do them in collaboration with the adults. This does not mean that the adults are teaching them how to solve their problems, but rather, the adults are engaging with the children in their learning experiences as partners. The role of the adults in the constructivist’s environment is to support and guide the children and not to control them. ¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Kancha Chandra, *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*, London: Oxford Press, Forth-coming 2012, pp.17-19.

¹⁰⁰ Diane Levin and Carisson- Paige, Making Peace in Violence Times. A Constructivist Approach to Conflict Resolution. *Young Children*, 48(1), pp. 3-6.

In Kenyan politics, ethnic identities have been manipulated to enhance ethnic cohesion on many occasions. For example, in the 2002 general elections, NARC comprised of several political parties, but from different ethnic groups. The level of ethnic cooperation that came with the NARC euphoria can not be gainsaid. It suggested that ethnic identity of various ethnic groups could be manipulated resulting to multi-ethnic harmony. However, various processes that produce rationalities to make certain practices in societies “acceptable” are required.¹⁰¹

In the formation of NARC, the political objectives involved made a coalition imperative. Through these political processes the multi-ethnic cooperation was rendered “acceptable”. Coalition parties are, however, normally a compromise to achieve a mutual objective and do not necessarily imply agreement on issues that existed before. More so when parties have been formed based on ethnicity, the coalition party does not suggest that politics are no longer based on ethnic considerations. Instead, it reflects a compromise between ethnic groups towards a common goal.¹⁰²

Ethnic identities and ethnic tolerance are socially constructed and need not be viewed as inevitable outcomes of ethnic relations. Instead, strategies to ameliorate ethnic tensions should be sought.¹⁰³ Constructivism agrees on the basic idea that individuals have multiple ethnic identities. It can also change endogenously to political and economic processes and enhance peace. However, questions arise; for

¹⁰¹ Sarah Kinyanjui, “Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: An Analysis of the Politicalization of Ethnicity and Impact of Free Markets on Ethnic Relations,” in *Ethnicity, Human Rights and Constitutionalism in Africa*, Nairobi: Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists, 2008, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰² Sarah Kinyanjui, “Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: An Analysis of the Politicalization of Ethnicity and Impact of Free Markets on Ethnic Relations,” in *Ethnicity, Human Rights and Constitutionalism in Africa*, Nairobi: Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists, 2008, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰³ Sarah Kinyanjui, “Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: An Analysis of the Politicalization of Ethnicity and Impact of Free Markets on Ethnic Relations,” in *Ethnicity, Human Rights and Constitutionalism in Africa*, Nairobi: Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists, 2008, pp. 86-87.

instance, how fast do ethnic identities change? What are the variables that drive these changes? What are motivations of individuals who change identities? ¹⁰⁴ This study investigated some of these questions especially among the IDC.

1.8 Research Hypotheses

The study tested four hypotheses.

- 1) Internally displaced children at Maai Mahiu camps have played minimal role in peace building since the post- election violence of 2007-2008.
- 2) Peace building among the IDC have been influenced by ethnic identities since the post-election violence of 2007-2008.
- 3) There are ways in which ethnic identity can be used to promote peace building amongst the IDC of Maai Mahiu.
- 4) There are challenges in the use of ethnic identities in peace building mechanisms among the IDC of Maai Mahiu.

1.9 Research Design and Methods

Introduction

This section deals with the methodology and procedures for carrying out the study. First, the section describes inter alia, the study site, the research paradigms, description of the sample and the sampling techniques used. Second, sources of data and techniques of data collection are discussed. Lastly, data analysis procedures are discussed.

Study Site

Maai Mahiu Division which is situated in Nakuru County was purposively selected as the research site because of a number of reasons. First, Maai Mahiu Division is one of the divisions with a high number of “known” IDPs and thereby providing ready availability of respondents. Also, the researcher found it easier to access these

¹⁰⁴ Kancha Chandra, op.cit, p 7.

camps because she had an overview of the area, after a visit during a methodology class.

In addition to this reason, a cursory look will reveal that the camps in the division have people who have lived there over five years after their displacement. Further, the IDPs were from different communities and ethnic groups, who are staying together in harmony. This therefore calls for an understanding of how the children from these communities were able to identify themselves and build peace.

Research Paradigms

This section elaborates on the reasons for choosing to use qualitative methodology for this study and justifies the need for approach. It is the choice of paradigm that sets down the intent, motivation and expectations for the research. Qualitative research, broadly defined, is any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification.¹⁰⁵

Strauss and Corbin claim that qualitative methods can be used to better understand any phenomenon about which little is yet known. Additionally, they can also be used to gain new perspectives on things about which much is already known, or to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey quantitatively.¹⁰⁶

Therefore the use of qualitative methods in this study was considered appropriate as compared to quantitative methods which could not adequately describe or interpret the situation in relation to ethnic identity and how it affects the children. In this study, an interpretive approach was used since the researcher believes that the reality

¹⁰⁵ Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc, 1990, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Inc, 1990, p. 17.

studied, ethnic identity and the relationships thereof, are important to be understood from the perspective of the actors/respondents.

The study utilized various tools and techniques in the process of collecting primary and secondary data required for the research. Secondary data was acquired from relevant books and scholarly journals from the University of Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library and other libraries. Newspapers, magazines, and NGO reports were used to gather pertinent data for the study. Gaps found within the secondary data were filled in by the primary data collected. Primary data was collected through oral interviews, focus group discussions and observation.

Open-ended interviews were done to gather in-depth information concerning ethnic identity and the relations that exist among the various children in the camps. The ability of qualitative data is to fully describe the current trend of ethnic identification which is an important consideration from the researchers' perspective. According to Stake, data gathered through qualitative research is rich in details and insights into participants' experiences of their world, and therefore more meaningful.¹⁰⁷ Oral interviews were done mainly among the adult respondents. Twenty adults were interviewed. The number of the adult respondents was twenty because the researcher realized that no more new information was being collected.

This study used the natural settings as a source of data. The researcher observed, described and interpreted settings as they were, while maintaining what Patton calls "empathic neutrality".¹⁰⁸ The

¹⁰⁷ Stake, R. "The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry," *Educational Research*, Vol. 7(2), 1978, pp. 5-8.

¹⁰⁸ Patton, M, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods, (2nd Edition)*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc, 1990, p. 55.

researcher aimed at discovering the meaning of the events the individuals experienced and how they interpreted them.

Focus group discussion was another method used. This was used for the IDC. Each IDP camp had one focus group of 8-10 members and the members were below the age of eighteen, with the youngest child being five years old. The total number of IDC interviewed was 28. Focus group discussions are formal methods of interviewing a group of participants on a topic of interest. Open-ended questions for discussions were used. The researcher's role was basically to moderate the group to the topic of interest, listen carefully and learn from the participants about their views, attitudes and opinions on the topic of interest. The researcher observed keenly and asked questions to ensure the group remained on track. Focus group discussions method was quite helpful on IDC. It provided valuable information, insights, memories and experiences of the IDC without fear or intimidation. The researcher had less control in terms of manipulating the groups' views. However, the members had the opportunity of hearing from one another and in some occasions responding.

This primary data was stored in Dictaphone, field notes and in pictures taken (not of the respondents, but of the surroundings). The data is confidentially stored by the researcher.

Description of the Sample

The research design was a case study of IDC living in Maai Mahiu camps. Yin describes a case study as an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context, using a variety of data sources. He says that this ensures the issues are not explored through one's lens, rather a variety of lenses. This allows

room for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood.¹⁰⁹

The IDC and the adult respondents were recruited by purposive and snowballing sampling methods. Purposive sampling was selected because the study required “information rich” respondents; this included the IDC and the adults. The “information rich” respondents were participants who had illuminative insight about ethnic identity and peace building.

To enable the researcher to do a purposive sampling, the researcher used snowballing sampling. Yin describes this sampling as a type of purposive sampling. In this method, the participants with whom, contact had already been made, used their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in the study.¹¹⁰

Sampling Procedure

The researcher, together with the research assistant, went physically to the area of the study. The aim of the first visit was to identify the key informants of these IDP camps and some of the community leaders. This was quite helpful because they are entrusted with the security of their environment. These leaders then referred us to people they felt had the information we were looking for. However, this was done after they understood the intentions of the study clearly. The researcher also explained to every individual participant about the study and its purpose. They were allowed to consent or to pull out. Some of them expressed a bit of uncertainty due to the unstable political climate within the area at the time of this study.

¹⁰⁹ R.K Yin, *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*, 3rd edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003.

¹¹⁰ R.K Yin, *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*, 3rd edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003.

These leaders also facilitated in the focus group discussions by explaining to their parents and guardians about the purpose of the study and gathered children together. The researcher's role was to explain again to the parents and guardians the purpose of the study and seek their consents. In all of the focus group discussions, there was an adult who keep watch of the proceedings, but they were not allowed to participate. Not only were these leaders supportive in facilitation, but also had quite enriching data relevant to this study. But some of these leaders did not want their real names used in the study.

Validity and Reliability of the Study

Content validity of the instruments was determined by expert judgments as supported by Fraenkel and Warren.¹¹¹ The instruments were scrutinized by the university supervisors, research assistant and one classmate. The main aim was to judge the items; on the appropriateness of content, and to determine all the possible areas that needed modification so as achieve the objectives of the study. In addition, the researcher ensured validity of the collected data by carrying out the oral interview and facilitating the focus group discussions personally. Though the researcher had an assistant, his main roles were to assist in taking the field notes, ask any relevant questions and clarifications that he felt was necessary. The research assistant was quite familiar with field work and also has had interest in this study.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed qualitatively. Qualitative data was then evaluated, classified into logical thematic categories based on the objectives and then coded. Analysis of qualitative data collected using interviews is

¹¹¹Fraenkel, J. and Wallen, N, *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*, London: McGraw Hill, 2000, p. 169.

an ongoing process where emerging themes are categorized based on the research questions. As the research progressed, some of the questions were refined while new ones were formulated to fill in the research gaps detected. In order to evaluate the data, the researcher transcribed the data that had been recorded and read through all field notes several times. This helped the researcher to make sense of the raw data. The researcher also triangulated the data. The triangulation process was quite helpful in the data analysis. This helped the researcher to strengthen the findings obtained from the qualitative inquiry by cross-checking the information. This was mainly done through the use of secondary data.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were pertinent to this study because of the nature of the problem, the methods of data collection and the kind of persons serving as research participants, i.e. children, parents and teachers from the camps.

In carrying out this study, cognizance was taken of the fact that this study was investigating very sensitive issues that were likely to elicit hostility, insecurity or concealment of the real data required from the participants. In order to deal with this, the participants were informed of the nature of the study and allowed to choose whether to participate or not. Additional permission was sought from the parents or guardians of the children since they could not consent on their own. The researcher ensured that the participants knew that their involvement was voluntary at all levels of the interviews. A thorough explanation was given in advance in relation to benefits, rights and dangers involved in their participation.

Use of pseudo names during the research was employed in order to ensure anonymity. A participant is considered anonymous when the researcher, or other person, cannot identify particular information

with a particular participant. Participants were informed and assured that the information they provide would be treated as confidential.

CHAPTER TWO

Peace Building after Post-Election Violence of 2007-2008

2.0 Introduction

Although, various definitions of peace appear in the literature, there is no consensus on a conceptually clear definition. However, Reardon insists that peace is the absence of violence in its entire forms; physical, social, psychological and structural.¹¹²

This chapter seeks to examine the role the IDC at Maai Mahiu played in peace building during and after the PEV of 2007-2008. It also seeks to examine the IDC's understanding of peace and peace-building.

2.1 Understanding Peace and Peace-building

The IDC interviewed unanimously mentioned that no one had ever defined for them the term peace. However, they had some ideas. Some said that peace is the absence of war, while others said that peace is forgiving one another.¹¹³ The understanding of the term peace as absence of war and an aspect of forgiving was the basis on which they operated from towards peace building.

2.1.1 Peace-building and Power

Power tends to be associated with competition, at best coercion, or domination at worst. The ways in which one thinks and talks about power influences the ways in which one acts upon it.¹¹⁴

The IDC and also the other respondents (adults) interviewed understood that power was the major cause of the PEV of 2007-2008. One of the respondents said that the conflict was caused by greed and

¹¹² Reardon, B.A, *Comprehensive Peace Education*, New York: Teachers College Press, 1988, p. 16.

¹¹³ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): data given by some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹¹⁴ Paul. H. Nitze, "*Approaches, Peace Building and Conflict Management Toolkit*," Washington DC: School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), March,2012.

politics. He suggested that elections need to be removed from the “common citizen,” but be done in the parliament. He meant that those who were interested in politics and power needed to do their campaigns in parliament and in that way they would not incite the local citizens. ¹¹⁵

Another adult respondent added that PEV was ignited by incitements, negative ethnicity and poor leadership. He emphasized that the leadership style was the main cause.¹¹⁶ Some of the adult respondents related conflicts with issues of power. This is because the conflicts they had witnessed before, including 2007-2008 PEV, were only witnessed during and just after election periods. They understood that, if the conflicts were as a result of politics, then those in need of power, or rather leadership, needed to seek for power away from the local citizens. This was seen as a strategy towards peace building. This is because it would mitigate the influence the elites and politicians have on communities, especially during the campaigns.

Another adult respondent on the same issue of power and peace-building felt that, if the governing power is strong, then the citizens will continue to dwell in peace, even when disagreements arise. She compared the 1997 and the 2007 PEV especially how the leaders handled the other. She said that in 1997, the president then, seemed to be in control of the situation. This is because he commanded the conflict to stop and indeed it stopped. But in the 2007 PEV, the president then did not seem to be in control, a situation which led to many atrocities. She concluded by saying that, if the leadership was powerful during the 2007 PEV, people would not have carried weapons and go ahead to annihilate other ethnic groups.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Oral Interview, John* (not real name), A Trustee at Maai Mahiu IDP Camps, 29th June, 2013.

¹¹⁶ Oral Interview, Dan*(not real name) IDC parent, Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹¹⁷ Oral Interview, Mary* (not real name), IDC parent, Vumilia IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

The IDC themselves had their own understanding of peace-building and power. This is as evidenced by some of the illustrations the IDC used as shown below.

People fought because of power.
When the violence ended the
government helped us to settle
here.¹¹⁸

These IDC were in agreement with the adult respondents that the PEV was as a result of power struggles. The IDC also appreciated that the government of the day helped them to settle down. Perhaps they did not seem to have realized the weaknesses of the government, as some of the adult respondents had expressed. The IDC had different views in reference to power and peace building. Some expressed their displeasure and discomfort in holding positions of leadership and vowed never to seek for any leadership position. One of the IDC said that she preferred to be led by others, and not to lead them.¹¹⁹

The most eminent thing emerging from these narratives is that there is a relationship between peace and power. Some of the adult respondents expressed the view that when there is a powerful leadership, then peace will be realized and vice versa. They understood that an effective and powerful government has a major role in building peace. These respondents understood that the 2007-2008 PEV was due to lack of an effective and powerful government.

Some of the IDC viewed power as a source of peace, while to others power causes conflicts. This made them choose to avoid leadership. To others, leadership was good because it was a sure way of achieving

¹¹⁸ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative from an IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹¹⁹ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative from an IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

security. Competition or positions of power were seen as causes of conflict and hindrance to peace.

2.1.2 Peace Building and Justice

From a human rights' perspective, peace building is seen as a process that can only be achieved by regulating social interactions through the rule of law and preventing certain forms of violations of rights from happening again.¹²⁰

The IDC and the adult respondents viewed the issue of justice differently. The adults viewed it as an elusive phenomenon. They believed that the injustices committed were like a spell sent from the dark world, and thus it is quite difficult to accuse anybody of it. One of the adult respondents gave a brief explanation using the following narrative:

It is a spell that Satan brought. But even if it was brought by a human being, Satan influenced it. We, as citizens, we loved one another, but it got to a point where a person started telling another to start having his/her fare. Why and we were living together and, you never asked me to have my fare and relocate?¹²¹

On the other hand, the IDC looked at the issue of justice from the perspective of injustice. It was a very emotional issue which, perhaps, will take some time to leave their minds. Quite a number of the respondents could not help shedding tears. They did not put into words how justice can lead to peace building, but from their behaviour, they expressed heartfelt pain. They expressed the idea that

¹²⁰ Hamber and Van der Merwe, "What is This Thing Called Reconciliation?" *Reconciliation in Review*, Vol. 1(1), pp. 3-6.

¹²¹ Oral Interview, Jane*(not real name), Informal Teacher, Vumila IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

what the “attackers” did was extremely bad and painful.¹²² Another IDC admitted that he loves some of his colleagues, but did not love all of them.¹²³

The adults seemed to have forgiven the “offenders” on the basis that the violence was mysterious. The IDC did not seem to agree with the idea that the “offenders” were operating under a satanic spell. It is an emotive issue and from their words, expression of injustice was aired. The fact that the IDC have not let go the pain of the atrocities committed during this PEV can lead to two speculations. One, perhaps the atrocities that the IDC witnessed were too painful and healing is taking a process that is seen to be longer than that of the adults. Secondly, they could be expressing a fact that, the atrocities committed were not done under satanic influence but, rather were intentionally instigated. This statement gets support from some of the IDC’s responses like, “I love some of my schoolmates, but not so much,” and “they did bad things to us.”¹²⁴ These narratives seem to suggest that the “offenders” were to blame for the atrocities that befell the “offended.”

2.1.3 Peace Building and Security

The IDC and the adult respondents viewed the issue of security in two phases. The first one was immediately after the violence broke out, while the other phase is months after the violence.

One of the adult respondents described this initial phase as one which was marked with fear and hopelessness as the security machineries seemed to break down. Peace did not seem anywhere near them. This

¹²² Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

¹²³ Words echoed by, Focused Groups Discussions (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Jikaze and Fumilia IDP Camps, 22nd June, 2013.

¹²⁴ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative from an IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

is because the “attackers” threatened to kill them even in a police post where they had sought security.¹²⁵

The other phase was marked with relief, especially after the signing of the National Peace Accord on the 28th February 2008. This marked a beginning of calmness and stability. Consequently, the temporary IDP camps, at the police posts and show grounds, needed to be closed.

On the other hand, it was creating a new challenge to the IDPs who were required to return to their former abodes. These IDPs realized that they needed to come up with strategies that would take care of their security. They knew quite well that they were not ready to return to their former abodes. However, the government was putting some pressure on them by closing down the IDP camps. This is what triggered them to re-think of their security. One of the chairpersons of these camps gave the other IDPs a suggestion. He felt that if they accepted him to be their leader, then he would represent their demands to the government authorities.

Some of the IDPs believed in him, while others remained sceptical about his moves. Those who believed in him were two hundred and thirty five families. He became their “go between” with the government. The government gave them shs. 10,000 each, they collected it and bought a piece of land, where they have settled to date. Later they bought more land through his leadership. A police post was also set up a few kilometres from these camps.

Security is seen as an important component towards peace building. From the respondents of this study security was not merely the government’s responsibility, but the IDPs had their role to play, which

¹²⁵ Oral Interview, Mary*(not real name), IDC parent, Vumilia IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

indeed they performed. It also became easier for the government to assist them, through their representatives.

The IDC in the *Vumilia* expressed their feelings towards safety after they settled in the *Vumilia* camp using various narratives. When the IDC from *Vumilia* were asked if they were ready to be resettled by the government, some of them said not at all. They explained that they were now at peace in their present residents.¹²⁶ The IDC expressed the feeling of safety. This can be explained by the fact that they were settled in an area, which is far from where the atrocities took place. Another reason is that the police post is near the camps. They have also experienced periods of tranquility since they settled in these camps.

2.1.4 Peace Building and Socio-economic Development

Socio-economic development was identified almost interchangeably with peace building by one of the respondents. John, an adult respondent, expressed that economic stability and peace were entwined. He emphasized that if one was lacking, then the other could not exist. Their children who had completed their studies were idling at home. The fact that they were idle meant that they became an easy target for political incitements, especially when they are not economically supported. He observed that, if joblessness amongst the youth was dealt with, it would reduce idleness, reduce poverty and thus enhance peace.¹²⁷

What this respondent was suggesting was that there is a link between peace building and human basic needs. When these needs are addressed, then peace will be realized. If basic human needs are not met, it is difficult to avoid violence. This respondent explained the

¹²⁶ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from *Vumilia*, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

¹²⁷ Oral Interview, John* (not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

challenges that the IDC were facing as far as socio-economic development is concerned. Most of the IDC who had completed their studies remained jobless and the parents/guardians were not able to support them. According to John, this was a challenge to peace building. Though they were still experiencing relative peace, it was not seen as sustainable peace, as long as these IDC remained jobless.¹²⁸

2.2 Peace Building after PEV of 2007-2008

This section of the chapter focuses on the contributions that the IDC have made in peace building. This section highlights some strategies that the IDC have acquired to minimize or prevent recurrence of conflict. However, the researcher observed and understood from the IDC that they have never been formally taught about peace building. The IDC actually were involved in peace building, but without their knowledge. They were engaged in various activities, but they did not know that the intentions were geared towards building peace. This was echoed in almost all the focus group discussions with the IDC. For example, when they were asked what roles they had played in peace building almost all of them said none. They emphasized this by saying that they had never been taught about peace, either at school, or at home or in the church.¹²⁹

Below are some of the ways that the IDC have been involved in peace building.

2.2.1 Personal Transformation

Personal transformation in this study was viewed from a personal healing point of view. Both the IDC and adult respondents discussed the trauma they suffered during the 2007-2008 PEV. Some had even

¹²⁸ Oral Interview, John* (not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

¹²⁹ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

suffered various traumas in previous years. The traumas could be categorized into two; physical and psychological. For example, the IDC attested to the fact that their belongings were destroyed, they were displaced, situations which they described as “bad.”

Some of the adults were involved in helping the IDC to recover from such trauma. James, an adult respondent, illuminated a healing process which was done in three different ways. One is where children were taught by their parents to understand issues of conflicts as events happening in the world. They were helped to understand that these are realities of the world. They were also counselled by some of the adults on how to go through the painful moments. Finally, some youth tried to help others to understand issues affecting them and how to settle any conflicts they faced.

The adults around the IDC played the role of educating them on peace building. For example, by helping them understand life issues, the adults seemed to help the IDC understand that some level of conflict is inevitable. As much as the IDC have been supported by the adults, the issue of 2007-2008 PEV remained very emotive to the IDC.

What is emerging from the above illustration is that IDC could have been helped to understand issues of peace building from the adults’ point of view. For example, when the IDC were made to understand that conflicts were inevitable, this seems a hard reality to be grasped by the IDC. This is likely to interfere with the way the IDC have made sense of the injuries (physical and emotional) caused during the PEV and the processes of dealing with them. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the issues of PEV have remained emotive, even after the teachings and counselling.

The adults seem to have understood the issues of the conflict better and had come into terms with it. This is explained by the fact that the adults could easily narrate their experiences about the PEV without expressing much emotion like shedding tears or wearing sad faces, unlike their IDC counterparts who wore sad faces or even shed tears as they narrated their memories.

There is a process of mourning that was illustrated by one of the poems the IDC used to recite, especially during the initial phase of peace building. The IDC recited this poem and many other poems and sang to visitors who frequented their area and also schools. These poems and songs were composed by their teachers. Below is an example of the poems the IDC recited.

Peace, peace, peace where did you go?
Am a Kenyan, I belong to Kenya, but I do
not have Peace.

Pangas, rungus (machetes, clubs)
and the arrows were set before the
innocent eyes
Peace, peace, peace where did you go?

Houses crops in the farms and churches
full of people were burnt down to ashes.
Peace, peace, peace where did you go?

Opened the doors of all the police stations
For them to give us security
Red Cross, Kenya government and well
wishers

Thank you, for giving us food, clothes,
education and other basic needs.¹³⁰

Such poems initiated a process of mourning and the IDC were engaged in the mourning process. The IDC were helped by their

¹³⁰ Poem recited by IDC in all the camps.

teachers to speak out about some of the events that took place during the PEV. However, this study was concerned with the mourning process that was done through these poems and songs. They were composed by the teachers and not the IDC. This means the intensity of the wording was likely to be felt by the adults more than the IDC. This can be translated to mean that personal transformation was taking effect on adults more than on the IDC through this type of mourning process. This adds to the reasons why the 2007-2008 PEV remains emotive to the IDC, while the adults seem to have moved on without much pain.

2.2.2 Relational Transformation

Sustainable transformative approaches entail processes of building relationships among the involved parties. This term encompasses psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political and military levels amongst others aspects of human life. ¹³¹

Both IDC and the adult respondents were involved in a process of making a paradigm shift in their thinking processes. Building relationships entailed processes of reframing situations and creating a new context in which people addressed their problems. They were engaged in a process of reviewing their perceptions towards one another and PEV.

The adults have been engaged in processes of changing their minds and those of their children. Ben described how their thinking processes had been influenced by the recurrent post-election conflicts. Even before the 2007-2008 PEV, they were involved in making weapons for self defence e.g. poisoned arrows. They had lived with fear of attacks especially during the campaigns and elections. They later understood that these weapons were detrimental to them and their

¹³¹ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington DC: Institute of Peace, 1997, pp. 75-76.

children. For instance, they learnt that if they continued making and keeping these weapons, they would never forgive their “attackers.” This meant that they would always remain “enemies,” a recipe of more conflicts.¹³²

The adults also helped the IDC to reframe the situations and context. For example, they assured the IDC that they were no longer in the conflict zones and there was no more violence. Thus, there was no need of making weapons in readiness for war. These lessons were seen to be helpful. For example, some IDC were involved in restoring relationships amongst their parents and peers.¹³³ Though the IDC were peace builders in practice, in reality they were not aware that they were engaged in relational transformation, an important component of peace building.

One of the respondents, a teacher, highlighted some of the roles the IDC have played in building peace. Some of them are mediators in resolving conflicts arising in the school. Some have vicariously been used to restore their parents’ relationships. For example, when the IDC visited one another in their homes, even if their parents had poor relationships between themselves, eventually they would begin to talk to each other. Perhaps they could begin by asking one another if they have seen their children. The IDC were involved in games, drama and singing, activities geared to enhance peace. The IDC had also been brought together through activities like hiking, which had helped in enhancing their relationships with one another. The adults had played major roles in supporting the IDC in performing the above activities. The teachers, for example, had been involved in composing the songs, poems and drama. They were also influential to the IDC by imparting them with skills to perform these activities.¹³⁴

¹³² Oral Interview, Ben *(not real name), Jikaze IDP Camp, 22nd June 2013.

¹³³ Oral Interview, Ben *(not real name), Jikaze IDP Camp, 22nd June 2013.

¹³⁴ Oral Interview, Mr. Michael *(not real name), Teacher, Private School Hosting Children from all IDP Camps, Maai Mahiu, 29th June 2013.

Though, the IDC have been taught these skills, they were not aware that these activities were geared specifically to enhance peace. The adults had not explained to the IDC the reasons, for example, why they were singing to the visitors, etc. Perhaps, the IDC would have thought that it was just for entertainment purposes.

2.2.3 Empowerment and Recognition

“Empowerment” is a process of restoring individuals’ sense of their own value, strength and capacity, so as to handle life problems.

Recognition on the other hand, means considering the perspective, views and experiences of others. Recognition is something one gives, and not just something one gets. ¹³⁵

From this study, it is clear that the IDC have learnt quite a number of issues to enhance empowerment and recognition. This means the adults around them had empowered them with some skills. For example, the IDC understood that the PEV (2007-2008) was not a merely ethnic conflict, but about issues of power and breakdown of relationships.¹³⁶

Jane, an adult respondent, explained how the adults were trying to help the IDC to understand the PEV, for example, the causes of the PEV. She explained that in the 1992 PEV, they suffered many atrocities, including humiliating actions like being beaten by attackers in the presence of their children. These actions traumatized their children, such that they screamed whenever they saw these “attackers”. So the adults counselled these children by letting them realize that these “attackers” were doing these actions involuntarily.

¹³⁵ Robert Bush and Joseph Folger, *The Promise of Mediation: Responding to Conflict Through Empowerment and Recognition*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher, 1994, pp.295-296.

¹³⁶ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

They explained that perhaps, these actions were done under the influence of evil forces.¹³⁷

The IDC seem to have understood the causes of the PEV from the adults' perspectives, but rather partially. From the focus group discussions, the IDC were in agreement that the 2007-2008 was caused by "power rivalry." What they did not seem to agree with the adults about was that the perpetrators performed atrocities unconsciously. Nevertheless, the explanation by the adults to the IDC was a strategy of reducing fear and anger among the IDC. This was seen to be effective to some extent. This can be explained by the fact that the IDC stopped screaming whenever they saw the "attackers."

The IDC revealed that they have been empowered on how they manage their daily conflicts. Also, irrespective of their ethnic groups, they can work together. The IDC also said they try as much as possible not to discuss issues that can trigger violence, for example, ethnic related issues. They also chose their friends on the basis of their characters, not on ethnic lines. They had also learnt that they needed each other especially in their school lives.¹³⁸

The IDC have been empowered in various ways which were revealed in their relationships. For example, they had learnt to choose friends irrespective of their ethnic identities. This was very essential for their welfare and common good, for example, in their studies. Another aspect revealed is that relationships are maintained by the aspect of forgiving. The IDC had learnt the act of not discriminating people on ethnic grounds. For example, they still had friends from different ethnic groups, even though, they had an idea that some of their ethnic group members had "attacked" them.

¹³⁷ Oral Interview, Jane *(not real name), Informal Teacher, Vumila IDP Camp ,29th June, 2013.

¹³⁸ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative from an IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

2.2.4 Reconciliation

The idea of reconciliation had been embraced by both the IDC and the adult respondents. Ben, an adult respondent, narrated how he had met his old friend. This friend hailed from Kericho, one of the areas which had been greatly affected by the 2007 PEV. This friend admitted that what they did to them was unacceptable and wished that Ben would return to Kericho.¹³⁹ The “friend” agrees with what Mckee says about reconciliation; namely, that reconciliation is a deep process and it involves coming into terms with an imperfect reality, which demands changes in our attitudes, our aspirations, our emotions, etc.¹⁴⁰

For the adults, it seemed as if the process of reconciliation was much easier than the IDC. The adults could easily own up to their mistakes to each other and begin to rebuild their relationships. This acknowledgement in itself is a building block toward reestablishment of relationships. For the IDC, the act of reconciliation through the “confession” was not captured.

The IDC expressed the issues of reconciliation in deep sorrow. They used narratives like the following;

They did bad things to people. We
will have to forgive them.
Will only forgive them and continue with
life.¹⁴¹

This narrative from the IDC introduces the aspect of forgiving in a reconciliation process. Kalayjian and Paloutzian describe the aspect of forgiveness as one that can help people move from beyond the burden

¹³⁹ Oral Interview, Ben* (not real name) an IDC parent: Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁴⁰ P. Mckee, “*Re-education, Adolescence and Conflict Resolution: Lesson from Northern Ireland*”, Vol. 43, 2000, pp.83-84.

¹⁴¹ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative from an IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

of pain, anger, hatred and misunderstanding that often result from traumatic events.¹⁴² The IDC verbalized the aspect of forgiving, but the researcher through observation and deep scrutiny of the words the IDC used, holds a different view. The notion of “just forgiving” in order to move on with life does not seem to be a sustainable transformative approach towards peace building. It seems to be a process just to help the IDC move on with their daily activities, as life has to go on. It was seen as a “last resort.”

2.2.5 Reparations

Reparation is a process intended to acknowledge the suffering and harm done to the victims and provides restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, sanctification or guarantees of non-repetitions.¹⁴³

Both the IDC and the adult respondents agreed that they had benefited to some extent. The adult respondents, especially those from *Vumilia* and *Fumilia*, had tangible evidence of two types of reparations. This is restitution and damage compensation reparations. John’s narrative elucidates these types of reparations. He said that when they first settled in the IDP camp, they stayed in tents. Later, through their chair they approached the Habitat, an NGO, and some government officials. They explained to them of their poor living conditions. At first, the Habitat wanted to construct for them muddy houses, but after negotiations with them, they settled for permanent houses. At *Vumilia*, they had already built 226 houses and only nine were remaining, while in *Fumilia* they had completed 51 houses for all the families.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ani Kalayjian and Raymond Paloutzian, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Psychological Pathways to Conflict Transformation and Peace Building*, London: Springer, 2010, pp.5-9.

¹⁴³ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1976, Article2 (6).

¹⁴⁴ Oral Interview, John*(not real name), ATrustee at Maai Mahiu IDP Camps, 29th June, 2013.

These IDPs were involved in negotiations with the key actors on the reparations. They were involved in advocacy, as well as in implementation. This made them feel recognized because, eventually, they got what they were asking for. Their living conditions have greatly improved as compared to when they lived in the tents.

The IDC viewed reparation differently from the adults. They did not seem to view the above forms of reparation as enough. What the IDC advocated for was rehabilitative reparation.¹⁴⁵ This is a kind of reparation which touches on medical and psychological health and social services, for example, their education, job opportunities and provision of personal effects.

The IDC felt that their needs were not met. Their needs were inclusive of financial, educational and social issues. These IDC were not only aware of these needs, but they were also pushing for them to be met. Advocacy and participation were some of the ways the IDC were pushing for their rights. They wanted more teachers in their schools, more so those who are government employees. The IDC also pushed for availability of job opportunities. However, the IDC had to push through other parties like teachers, parents, etc.¹⁴⁶

One of the chairmen in the IDP camps narrated how the IDC had pressurized him in ensuring that their needs were met. He admitted that having their needs met was not an easy task. For example, getting sponsors for every child was not easy, and what he had done was to get one sponsor per family. This meant perhaps, only one child in the family would benefit from the sponsorship. This made the rest of the children feel left out. ¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Oral Interview, Karingi,(Chair Person): Vumilia IDP Camp, 22nd June,2013.

In the above illustration, the IDC reveal another dimension of reparation process. This is where the victims in a violation seek to advocate for their rights and push for better standards of living. The adult are also assisting them in advocacy through their teachers, parents and chairperson. Though some efforts were being made, the IDC expressed feelings of dissatisfaction and frustration.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how the IDC understand peace and peace building in comparison to the adult respondents. The IDC, in many of the occasions, have showed that their views and understanding are quite different from those of the adults. An elaborate example is on the issues of justice. From the adults' platform the "offenders" might have been operating under an influence of a spell from satanic forces. For the IDC, though they could not express themselves verbally, they seemed to be indicating otherwise. For example, the IDC used statements like "*the offenders did bad things to us*"; "*I love some of them (children from other communities) but not so much.*" In these two statements, the IDC don't seem to give excuses towards the "offenders" actions, unlike the adults, who felt that the actions were involuntary.

Lansdown acknowledges that there is a great need to listen to the perspectives of children and their experiences after a conflict. He says that though children are not a homogeneous group, their evolving capacity is linked to both children's development and exposure to opportunities in their local context.¹⁴⁸ This is an issue the study concurs with. The views of the IDC and the adults are on many occasions quite diverse. If decisions on peace building are based on

¹⁴⁸ Gerison Lansdown, "*Early Childhood Development. Can you hear me? The Right of Young Children to Participate in Decisions Affecting Them,*" Netherlands: Bernard Van Leer Foundations, 2005, pp. 1-4.

adults' point of view, then the needs of the IDC will not be met. This is clearly reflected through the aspects of personal transformation, reparation and reconciliation. For instance, in the reconciliation process, the adult respondents felt the need to own up their mistakes and, then seek for forgiveness. The IDC did not seem to be in a position to apply such a principle. In the first place, the IDC might not have had an idea of what mistakes they needed to own up. In their reconciliation process, they only highlighted that they will forgive their "offenders" and move on with life.

In the aspects of reparations, the adults were pursuing for restitution and damage compensation form of reparation, while the IDC were pursuing for rehabilitation type of reparation. The adults showed signs of satisfaction when their needs were met. The IDC did not seem to appreciate the types of reparations the adults had received. They continued to pursue theirs which they had not adequately attained. This fact made them frustrated.

This chapter reveals how broad the term "peace building" is. The IDC are playing some major roles in peace building. However, they are not aware that they are involved in peace building. The IDC were involved in their personal and relational transformation. Through empowerment and recognition, they have learnt new ways of solving their day -to- day problems. Through reconciliation and reparation, they seemed to be pursuing restorative justice. However, most of these roles played by the IDC have been done from adults' perspectives.

In summary, this study concludes that IDC have been instrumental in peace building, but they are largely, unaware of their participation. IDC have valuable perspectives and priorities, which are often very different to those of adults. Their priorities reflect concerns and challenges grounded in their day-to- day reality, rather than fears and worries that are at a distance.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON PEACE

BUILDING AFTER 2007-2008 PEV

3.0 Introduction

Gasser and Tan in their analysis of ethnic identity found out that, even at the age of two and half years, children have developed a sense of ethnic identity. They say the process of ethnic identity and understanding that “we are” and “are not”, are complex and multifaceted. This is a process that begins in childhood and continues throughout life. They also observed that young children acquire ethnic values, customs, language styles and behaviour codes long before they are able to label them as ethnic.¹⁴⁹

This chapter reviews how the IDC have been influenced by ethnic identity in building peace. As described earlier, the study acknowledges that ethnic identity affects, or rather, can influence individuals at all levels of their lives.

3.1 Familial Ethnic Socialization

Familial ethnic socialization refers broadly to a process where family members talk or train their children about their ethnic culture and practice of cultural traditions in their homes. For example, the family members teach their children about the traditions, culture, holidays and history that are associated with their ethnic background.¹⁵⁰

Familial ethnic socialization in this study was categorized into two; covert and overt. In overt socialization, the family members openly do

¹⁴⁹ M.B Gasser and R.N Tan, “Cultural Tolerance, Measurement and Latent Structure of Attitude Toward the Cultural Practices of Others.” *Educational and Psychological Measurement* Vol. 59, pp.11-126.

¹⁵⁰ G.P Knight, M.E Bernal, M.K Cota, C.A Garza and K.A Ocampo, “ Family Socialization and Mexican America Identity and Behavior,” in M.E Bernal and G.P Knight(Eds); *Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities*,” New York: State University of New York Press, 1993,pp. 105-130.

things with an intention of promoting their culture. For example, if they decorate their homes, it is done for identification and promotion of their culture. On the other hand, covert familial ethnic socialization is where the family members are not intentionally teaching the IDC about their ethnicity. Nevertheless, they are still doing it, but inadvertently.¹⁵¹

Covert type of familial ethnic socialization was evident in this study. Ben, an adult respondent, confirms this phenomenon in his narrative. He said that it is important to appreciate one's ethnic group. As for him, he emphasized that he is a "true" Kikuyu and at that moment he breaks into laughter. He added that though we appreciate our ethnic groups this should not lead to hating or despising other ethnic groups. In a later interview, Ben mentioned that he always speaks to his children in Kikuyu language, but they always respond in "*Kiswahili*".¹⁵²

It is clear that the respondent really appreciates and values his ethnic group. Before the actual day of the interview, the researcher had visited him in order to plan for the interview. At that moment, he was busy doing his work, while listening to his vernacular radio station.¹⁵³ Though he appreciates other ethnic groups, he identifies closely with his ethnic label. Even, in the presence of visitors, his radio remained in the vernacular station. He did not seem worried that his visitors perhaps did not understand that language. Incidentally, this happened even on the day the study was conducted. This study concluded that he was devoted to his usual radio station. Bearing in mind that his children never speak in Kikuyu, though they can

¹⁵¹G.P Knight, M.E Bernal, M.K Cota, C.A Garza and K.A Ocampo, " Family Socialization and Mexican America Identity and Behavior," in M.E Bernal and G.P Knight(Eds); *Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities*, " New York: State University of New York Press, 1993,pp. 105-130.

¹⁵² Oral Interview, Ben* (not real name) an IDC parent: Jikaze IDP Camp,29th June, 2013.

¹⁵³ Oral Interview, Ben* (not real name) an IDC parent: Jikaze IDP Camp 22nd June, 2013.

understand it, this affirmed to his children that they are indeed from Kikuyu ethnic group.

As much as there are efforts to reduce the effects of ethnic identity, the end results do not seem fruitful or noticeable. On one hand, he identifies conspicuously with his ethnic group. On the other, he introduces the aspect of “Kenyanism.” The ideal socialization is thought to be that of cultivating nationalism, but in reality ethnic familial socialization is taking place. Perhaps, this reflects the complexity of separating ethnic identity from individualism.

This type of covert familial ethnic socialization was seen to send contradictory messages to the IDC. The IDC’s understanding is that they ought to be Kenyans and not “tribal,” in order to maintain peace. On the other hand, what they were picking from the adults around them suggested quite a different view. This study termed them as contradictory messages because from one front, the adults were propagating for “one” Kenya without ethnic boundaries. On the other front, the adults were promoting their ethnic values. For instance, the IDC were all aware of their ethnic groups and those of their friends.

Some of these contradictory messages were highlighted in the interviews with the IDC. The IDC were asked if they knew of other ethnic groups apart from their own. They agreed that they knew of some, but when they were asked to name them they said “Bantus and Nilotics.”¹⁵⁴

The above question was asked after the IDC had given their brief introduction. One of the details in the introduction was about their ethnic groups, which incidentally all were aware of. It is after this

¹⁵⁴Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

that some of these IDC talked about the Bantu, as an ethnic group. It was becoming difficult for them to mention other people's ethnic identities, even though they were familiar with them. It was revealed later that these IDC found it very frightening to mention each other's ethnic groups. In their schema, the IDC had a notion that an ideal peace does not identify with ethnic groups. The IDC understood that mentioning another's ethnic group is equivalent to conflicts. Perhaps that was a lesson they had also learnt from the 2007-2008 PEV, where the attackers were asking their victims' ethnic identity before causing atrocities. However, after calming the IDC down and allowing them to realize that the study was not intended to penalize any one, it is only then that they mentioned the other ethnic groups and what they knew about them.¹⁵⁵

There was yet another contradictory message that was captured in this study. Some of the IDC knew very well their ethnic groups, but they preferred to be associated and identified with another ethnic group. One of the IDC said that she preferred to be a Kikuyu, though she is a Kamba. The other group members laughed and reminded her that she is a Kamba. This respondent had reasons why she preferred to be a Kikuyu. One of the reasons was that she thought Kikuyu were always the presidents of Kenya. And in her views they are good. The fact that the IDC could point out their different ethnic groups, explicitly revealed that the respondents were quite aware of their ethnic markers and could easily point out their ethnic boundaries. The IDC were in a position to identify the "other" in their midst. This was despite the fact that most of the adults interviewed said that they are not "ethnically bound" and did little to reveal their ethnic differences.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁵⁶Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

This study appreciated the fact that ethnic identity was closely interwoven with people's daily activities. The respondents found it difficult to separate themselves from aspects of ethnic identities. Though the adults did not teach the IDC aspects of ethnic identity directly, they nevertheless taught them through their lifestyles. For example, when the adult respondents choose to listen to their vernacular radio stations, wear cultural outfits, it was a clear way of identifying themselves with specific ethnic groups. It was like marking their ethnic boundaries. Perhaps the IDC were all aware of their ethnic groups, including those of their neighbours. However, they had difficulties in mentioning "other" ethnic groups. The adult respondents associated peace with a united Kenya, a nation without ethnic boundaries, but in reality this was seen as an uphill task. This type of socialization seemed to confuse the IDC who did not know whether to appreciate their ethnic identities or abandon them in order to enhance peace.

3.2 Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviour

An ethnic group is a group of people who see themselves as being distinctive in some ways from "others." Members of any ethnic group usually have certain beliefs, values, habits, customs and norms, which they share in common.¹⁵⁷

Both the IDC and the adult respondents held onto various beliefs and attitudes in relation to their ethnic identity. Some of these beliefs and attitudes had led to behaviour that influenced peace building. One of the adult respondents illustrated the importance of ethnic identities. He said that he would not advocate for anybody to abandon his/her ethnic identity. This is because even Jesus was identified with an ethnic group (Jew), and he preached amongst different communities. However, he quickly said that people need to be careful on exalting

¹⁵⁷ Paul Connolly, "What Now For the Contact Hypothesis? Towards a New Research Agenda." *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, Vol 3(2), 2000, pp. 169-193.

one's ethnic group above others because we are all human beings irrespective of the ethnic groups we ascribe to.¹⁵⁸

The above respondent emphasizes the importance of having a united Kenya. However, he holds a belief that peace or unity is not brought about by people abandoning their ethnic identities. He believes that people can still remain different and dwell in peace and unity. He appreciates ethnic identity, but says that it should not be used as a key to despise "others." What is clearly reflected from the above respondent is that peace building is not necessarily brought about by diffusing ethnic identities. These are some of the beliefs and values which have been passed to the IDC and have guided the way they related with their peers and the decisions they make.

For example, the IDC from *Fumilia* IDP camp appreciated their ethnic background, while at the same time they respected other ethnic groups. They valued the other ethnic groups because of what they help them to do. They have realized that other ethnic groups are equally very helpful. For example, Maasai were described by some of the IDC as very important because they supplied them with milk, meat and cooking oil.¹⁵⁹

Fumilia IDP camp, unlike other camps, has a mixed population which originally came from Narok. There are people from various communities, which include, Kisii, Luhya, Maasai, Nandi, Turkana, Kikuyu and Kamba. It is important to highlight that the IDC of this camp are quite aware of their ethnic groups and some of their ethnic markers which make them different from the others, for example, their languages and dressing codes.

¹⁵⁸ Oral Interview, Ben* (not real name) an IDC parent, Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁵⁹ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from *Fumilia*, IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

Even though these IDC are growing in a multicultural environment, they have learnt coexistence, while on the other hand they have learnt to keep their distance on issues which can flare violence. For example, they support one another in school work, but rarely do they engage in cultural talks and ethnic issues. For instance, the IDC refrained from talking about the 2007-2008 PEV, which had made them IDPs¹⁶⁰.

This discussion with these IDC at *Fumilia* explains the reason why the IDC at *Jikaze* could not easily mention the names of the other ethnic groups. They started by saying that there are Bantus.¹⁶¹ Their belief lies in the fact that talking about another ethnic group can trigger violence. Therefore, to avoid violence and uphold peace, they do not engage in ethnic matters. Another significant point noted in this study is that most of the IDC were not fluent in their vernacular languages, but were fluent in Kiswahili (including IDC as young as three years old).¹⁶² This was an interesting observation since the IDP camps are situated in a rural town.

This could be seen as an effort by the IDC to build a culture of peace. This was supported by the fact that these IDC did not want to discuss issues that are related to ethnic identity. The IDC were avoiding the idea of being identified ethnically, perhaps by putting up a face of “Kenyanism.” This could mean not being identified with a particular ethnic group, but being a Kenyan. Sharing a common language, Kiswahili, was seen as a unifying factor.

Security was considered by the respondents (both the IDC and adults), as an integral part of peace building. Security was influenced

¹⁶⁰ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from *Fumilia*, IDP, 15th June, 2013.

¹⁶¹ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from *Jikaze* IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁶² This phenomenon is discussed in details in sub-topic 3.4.

by the type of leadership, whether powerful or not. All the IDC could identify close correlations between peace and power (leadership). Some of the IDC from *Jikaze* were seen to associate leadership with the Kikuyu ethnic group. This had influenced their preferences in terms of ethnic groups. Some who were not from Kikuyu ethnic group preferred to become Kikuyu. The reason for this selection was because a Kikuyu president was in power. ¹⁶³

These IDC had identified leadership with a particular ethnic group and in their schema this meant security and peace. This can be associated with some beliefs that are embedded in the community. One of the adult respondents explained how most people elect their political leaders. He said that most people go for leaders who have “fame” especially in terms of financial stability. They are also leaders that belong to their own ethnic groups. Such leaders are thought to be sources of peace, support and security. He adds that if people elect leaders that do not belong to their own ethnic groups, they are not likely to benefit much because he/she might give all his support to “his/her” people.¹⁶⁴

Here the choice of a leader is determined on the basis of ethnic identity. The respondent suggests that a good leader should come from one’s own ethnic group and has to be financially stable. This is what the IDC respondents from *Jikaze* were expressing, particularly those who chose to be associated with Kikuyu community. It was from such beliefs that these IDC formulated knowledge about leadership.

3.3 Coexistence and Peace Building

The IDC and the adults interviewed revealed that they were in an “active” coexistence. This type of coexistence is described by

¹⁶³ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁶⁴ Oral Interview, Ben* (not real name) an IDC parent, Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

Khaminwa as one which is characterized by recognition and respect for diversity. It is also characterized by active embracement of differences, equal access to resources and opportunities in all aspects of life.¹⁶⁵

Nick, who is an adult respondent resides at *Fumilia* IDP camp, illustrated this phenomenon of “active” coexistence. He described the inter-personal relationship of people living in *Fumilia* as closely interwoven. For instance, he quoted the Maasai and Kikuyu and said that one could hardly differentiate them from the other. First these two communities have intermarried and they are conversant with each other’s language. At one time they will speak in Kikuyu, while after sometime they will switch to the Maasai language. Apart from the language, they sometimes dress in their cultural outfits, especially the Maasai one.¹⁶⁶

The above illustration shows how the adult respondents portrayed aspects of “active” coexistence. They had intermarried amongst themselves. This was a sign of establishing binding inter-personal relationships. They had also accepted the use of one another’s language as a means of communication. Acceptance of another language was seen as an important aspect of building inter-personal relationship. This is seen as an integral aspect in peace building. Finally, they had defused their ethnic differences, especially through their communication and dressing code. All the above modes of “active” coexistence promoted peaceful coexistence.

Provision of common basic needs in the IDP camps was another way in which “active” coexistence was promoted. All the respondents confirmed that they shared common facilities. For example, they have one common water source. The reason why the water tanks were

¹⁶⁵ Angela Khaminwa, “Coexistence, Beyond Intractability,” (eds.), in Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgers, *Conflict Information Consortium*, Boulder: University of Colorado, July, 2003, pp.1-5.

¹⁶⁶ Oral Interview, Nick* (not real name) an IDC parent: *Fumilia* IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

stationed at one point was to build peace amongst these different communities. Different communities utilize water differently, for instance, the Maasai need water for their animals, while the Kikuyu and Nandi (Kalenjin) need water for their kitchen gardens. But even this being the case, they have never had conflicts over this resource. The water resource has become the unifying factor. Through this resource, they had learnt to understand one another's need for water and respected the fact that they used that resource differently.

The IDC mode of "active" coexistence was a bit different from that which was expressed by the adults. For the adults, part of their coexistence was based on ethnic factors. For example, some of the adults had intermarried with other ethnic groups and had adapted their ways of life. One of the respondents described that it was hard to differentiate a Maasai or a Kikuyu in these marriages.¹⁶⁷ Whereas, the IDC's coexistence was based on understanding one's needs and seeking to fulfill them.

The IDC experienced this coexistence especially because they are the ones who take care of the water needs in their homesteads. They respected one another. And also, the time of fetching water becomes their playing time with their counterparts from the other camps.¹⁶⁸ This coexistence was seen to promote cooperation among the IDC. It also provided a psychological and physical environment which helped them to reduce tensions among their peers. This was supported by the fact that they could play with children from all the communities found in the camps.

Equity as a process in "active" coexistence was revealed. The IDC attended one primary school which is situated in the camp and the

¹⁶⁷ Oral Interview, Nick* (not real name) an IDC parent: Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

¹⁶⁸ Oral Interview, John* (not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

houses they lived in were similar.¹⁶⁹ The equity which had been established in the camps, especially through attendance of the same school and settlements, was seen to reduce unhealthy economic competition and brought the feeling of “oneness”. This phenomenon of “oneness” is reflected in the next section.

3.4 Acculturation in Peace Building

The study found out that two major strategies of acculturation had emerged in the IDP camps. However, both the IDC and the adult respondents had different preferences.

The adults’ preference was integration acculturation. Berry describes integration acculturation as a process where individuals develop a combination of values and identities from both cultures (of origin and the host culture) and desire to function proficiently in both cultures.¹⁷⁰ This strategy was entrenched among the adults to an extent that some of the respondents said that, it was impossible to identify them through their ethnic markers. John confirmed this type of acculturation. He said that one could hardly differentiate some of these ethnic groups from the other. He said that it is something that is concealed because their dressing codes, foods, etc, are blended.¹⁷¹

Though all the IDP camps are homes to people from different communities, *Fumilia* is quite unique. It is a multicultural community and has over five ethnic groups coexisting. The population in that camp is small (51 families), but they come from many ethnic groups. They have adopted each other’s culture, while they still maintain their own.

¹⁶⁹ Oral Interview, Ann* (not real name) Teacher: Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

¹⁷⁰ J.W. Berry, “Conceptual approaches to Acculturation,” in K.M Chun, P. Ball Organista and G. Marin (Eds), *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement and Applied Research*, Washington D.C: American Psychological Association, 2003, pp. 17-37.

¹⁷¹ Oral Interview, John*(not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

This process of acculturation began long before these people became internally displaced. Peace in these camps was seen as a product of coexistence and acculturation. These adult respondents had been in the process of acculturation long before the PEV of 2007-2008, and no wonder they can not easily understand why the conflict broke out. Due to the fact that many of these respondents can not explain the cause of the violence, they have accused the “dark forces” for its inception. This is because, even before the PEV, the process of acculturation was going on, and it is on-going to date. This could explain why the issues of justice are illusive among the adults. James said it was a perplexing issue, because he had lived in Narok for the last fifteen years. During his stay, all communities coexisted peacefully. Narok was a home to many communities and even during the previous election conflicts they had not been displaced as with the 2007 PEV. James adds that even up to date the coexistence is still “active.” He observed that after this PEV, life in Narok quickly went to normalcy almost immediately after the cessation.¹⁷²

While the adult respondents are in the process of integration, the IDC seemed to be in a process of marginalization acculturation. Berry says this is a process of acculturation whereby individuals show little involvement in maintaining the culture of origin or learn about other people’s culture.¹⁷³

All the IDC interviewed in the focus group discussions were aware of their ethnic groups, even those as young as five. Perhaps the ethnic familial socialization taking place in the camps has had an impact. Apart from being aware of their ethnic groups, they are not conversant with one of most common ethnic makers, “language.” The IDC, who

¹⁷² Oral Interview, James *(not real name), IDC Parent, Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

¹⁷³ J.W. Berry, “*Conceptual approaches to Acculturation*,” in K.M Chun. P. Ball Organista and G. Marin (Eds), “*Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement and Applied Research*,” Washington D.C: American Psychological Association, 2003, pp. 17-37.

left their places of origin after they were around ten years of age, have had a privilege of learning their vernacular. They can understand the language and can easily communicate. However, many of them rarely used that language to communicate. They preferred using “*Kiswahili*” The younger IDC respondents could not understand or communicate in their vernacular.

The kind of acculturation strategy by the IDC seems to be geared towards nationalism and not ethnic identity. This can be explained by the fact that the IDC preferred to communicate in Kiswahili, rather than their vernacular. They did not seem to make any effort to learn their vernacular. This acculturation strategy revealed that the IDC could work with people from different ethnic groups, as so long as they had what they required. To have their needs met irrespective of who does it, seemed to be the motivating factor in their relationships.

This, however, was a major concern of this study. Relationships built on interests can be very shaky. One of the IDC respondents said that he has many friends, some from other communities, but he also added that there are some of them he does not love.¹⁷⁴ They are friends simply because they assist each other with school work. One is only left to wonder what happens after the school work is over?

“Emergent ethnic identity” can be the best term to describe the IDC and the adult respondents interviewed (who represented the larger IDP population). This new ethnic identity was expressed through the IDPs' solidarity and similarity of experiences. Some of the experiences that they had gone through were similar. For example, they had all been displaced from their former abodes by the 2007-2008 PEV. They then began to identify themselves as “IDPs.” This is quite interesting because they did not feel stigmatized by using the term “IDP” as one

¹⁷⁴ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative from an IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

would expect in many circumstances. Some of the following statements highlighted this phenomenon:

Interviewer: How do you live without conflicts yet you are many ethnic groups living together, and you are the same groups, that fought each other in 2007-2008?

Respondent: If lets say they are Kisii, they are different Kisii. Those are Kisii IDPs.¹⁷⁵

As for the adults, they had embraced integrated form of acculturation, and had learnt to “fully” trust each other, an element which was revealed by how they protect one another. The IDC also kept referring to themselves as IDPs. They used narratives as illustrated below;

We the “IDPs”for example, are faced with many problems. We the “IDPs” are used to this place and we do not want to be removed.¹⁷⁶

Both the IDC and the adult respondents found it easy to identify themselves with the status of “IDP.” This is a status that gave them a sense of belonging and security. Trust is quite evident among the members of this group and goes beyond their initial ethnic identity. It was quite easy for these respondents to differentiate themselves from the “others” by being identified as IDPs. It was seen as a title of identification, rather than a predicament.

¹⁷⁵ Oral Interview, John*(not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁷⁶Focus Group Disussion (IDC): Narratives from an IDC of Vumilia, IDP Camp,29th June 2013.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how ethnic identity has influenced peace building. The adult respondents have been a point of reference, in which comparisons have been made. In many circumstances, there has been a great difference between how the IDC and the adults have responded to issues of ethnic identity.

This study observed that ethnic familial socialization was influential in the way the IDC responded to issues of peace building. However, most of the parents were not aware that they were socializing their children ethnically. This is what Umana-Taylor called covert.¹⁷⁷ This type of socialization was eliciting contradictory messages to the IDC. This study observed that the IDC associated ethnic identity with conflict, especially if one has to mention another's ethnic identity. Yet, the family members continually exposed them to ethnic related aspects, like language.

The IDC had embraced a belief system which helped them to learn the common triggers of conflicts and avoid them. For example, they always avoided to talk with their friends about the PEV (2007-2008). In their view, talking about it would elicit conflict. These beliefs and values led to attitudes, which eventually enhanced behaviour. Ethnic identity became a template which the IDC used to develop beliefs and expectations about a person's own ethnic group. Eventually, this influenced how they responded to peace building.

Coexistence is another factor which emerged among the IDC. The factors which made them coexist were quite different from their adult counterparts. The IDC formed their relationships based on their interests which could be termed as "reflex action." They realized that

¹⁷⁷ A.J. Umana-Taylor, "Ethnic Identity Development Among Mexican-Origin Latino Adolescents Living in the USA," Columbia: Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Missouri- Columbia, 2001.

they could assist one another in school, get their playing buddies and also assist one another in social activities, like grazing and fetching water. Their relationships were not ethnically tied. Coexistence was seen as a springboard of strength and healthier relationships, but only on the basis of interests. As for the adults, coexistence was seen as a springboard of strength and healthier inter-personal and inter-group relationships as well as other interests like business.

Process of acculturation was very evident in this study. The IDC had a different strategy compared with the adult respondents. While the adults embraced integration, the IDC had embraced marginalized form of acculturation, whereby they were not intentionally embracing ethnical values. For example, they did not seem interested in learning their vernacular and speak it. Integrated acculturation was seen to enhance stable inter-personal and inter-group relationships amongst the adults. Marginalized strategy was seen to form “superficial” relationships which were based on interests.

On the other hand, the process of acculturation explored the recent strategy by Gebremedhin.¹⁷⁸ This is the “emergent ethnic identity” a kind of acculturation which Mwakimako and Gona highlighted in their study in these IDP camps.¹⁷⁹ These respondents referred to themselves as IDPs and had built a strong bond under that cover of the new ethnic identity. Trust among these respondents was evident. Trust was central in transforming relationships, hence building a culture of peace.

In conclusion, ethnic identity has influenced peace building among the IDC. The influence was discussed under different topics. The topics included familial ethnic socialization, beliefs, coexistence and acculturation. For instance, the IDC were being socialized by the

¹⁷⁸ Tesfar Gebremedhin, *Reflecting on Our Ethnic Identity and Cultural Heritage*, USA: West Virginia University Press, 2005.

¹⁷⁹ Hassan Mwakimako and George Gona, op. cit, pp 20-22.

adults that it is important to have a united Kenya. This meant a country without ethnic boundaries. The IDC seemed to have adapted to this belief and perhaps it is the reason why they had embraced marginalized process of acculturation. The IDC understood that discussing issues of their ethnic groups meant conflicts. In order to enhance peace, the IDC preferred to keep away from ethnic issues e.g. language and discussions. It is important to highlight that both the adults and IDC had been influenced differently.

CHAPTER FOUR

ADVANTAGES AND CHALLENGES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

4.0 Introduction

Ethnic identity has been known for negative reasons, more so, in the field of peace building. Hagg and Kagwanja observe that, despite the fact that ethnic identities are linked with violent conflicts, they can also, become vital in peace building. While ethnic identity has been at the heart of violence in Africa, sustainable peace on the continent may depend on the reconfiguring of ethnic identities as the basis of conflict resolution and peace building approaches. ¹⁸⁰

This chapter will highlight the ways in which the IDC can build peace in reference to ethnic identity. It will also look into the challenges which are likely to be encountered while focusing on ethnic identity in peace building.

4.1 Ways in which the IDC can Use Ethnic Identity in Peace Building

These peace building strategies are aimed at changing beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. They are also used to transform short and long term dynamics between individuals and groups toward a more stable, peaceful coexistence.

This study summarizes the strategies discussed as transformative peace building strategies. Transformative peace building takes many forms. This includes all those in this study and many others that are not included.

¹⁸⁰ Gerard Hagg and Peter Kagwanja, "Identity and Peace, Reconfiguring Conflict Resolution in Africa," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution Special Issue on Identity and Cultural Diversity in Conflict Resolution in Africa*, 2007, Vol. 7(2), pp. 9-36.

Peace Education

Peace education was a major component in peace building which all the respondents said was lacking in the IDP camps. IDC in all camps participated in peace building activities, but they were unaware that they were building peace. The IDC expressed the importance of peace education in various ways. They said peace education would promote knowledge, skills and attitudes which would help them change their behaviour patterns and thinking processes. They felt that change would help them prevent violence both physical and psychological, and put them in a position of solving conflicts non-violently. Peace education would also help them build intra-personal, inter-personal and inter-group relationships. The IDC also viewed peace education as a process that would empower them to participate in promoting peace among other communities.¹⁸¹

Another respondent attested to the fact that peace education is quite essential in peace building. He also emphasized the importance of bringing all the key actors on board. He seems to suggest that behaviour change occurs in a context and all actors influence this change. He suggests that if any of these stakeholders are left out in any peace education process, then it will not be effective.¹⁸²

The Power of Vulnerability

There were various responses which the respondents revealed as the “power of vulnerability.” One of the respondents illustrated this phenomenon using a metaphor of a body and its parts. She expressed how a body can not operate effectively while some of its parts are missing. Kenya is seen as the “body” and the ethnic groups in Kenya are the “body parts.” In other words each ethnic group needs the other

¹⁸¹Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

¹⁸² Oral Interview, Ben* (not real name) an IDC parent, Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

in order to operate effectively. She affirmed that every ethnic group needed to understand and appreciate their vulnerabilities. This is the more reason they needed one another.¹⁸³

These respondents expressed the fact that no ethnic group is self-reliant. They felt that they needed to acknowledge it and allow the other ethnic groups gain this understanding. The IDC also expressed the same feeling, especially with their school work. They said they needed each other in helping them with things they did not understand well. This strategy was meant to allow the various ethnic groups in Kenya realize that they need one another. Thus, instead of fighting each other, they begin to complement one another.

Developing Interdependence

The IDC had already learnt the issue of interdependence. They were aware they could benefit from their friends, even those from different ethnic groups. These IDC had learnt that there are some activities which are identified with specific ethnic groups. They also had learnt that they needed one another. The reason was mainly because they could benefit from the other groups' products and services. For these IDC, the Maasai were important. They were the source of meat, milk and fat. This is a fact that an IDC emphasized by using the word "good" when describing the Maasai.¹⁸⁴

One of the adult respondents illustrated on how the issue of interdependence was important. He said that, for instance, a Kikuyu man might be talented in business, but he does not know how to fish and he desires to know. One of the choices he has is to learn from the other ethnic groups who are well conversant, like the Luo. On the other hand, a Luo fisherman might need to work together with other

¹⁸³ Oral Interview, Jane *(not real name), Informal Teacher, Vumila IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁸⁴ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): A Narrative by an IDC from Fumilia, IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

ethnic groups in order to sell his products. He emphasized that no single ethnic group was self reliant. However, each ethnic group required the other, perhaps for business transactions. This was seen to enhance cooperation among ethnic communities and bring to realization that each ethnic group is equally important and has something to offer to the others. This respondent held to the view that no ethnic group was “useless” in Kenya and hence, no ethnic group was entitled to undermine the “other.”¹⁸⁵

Both the IDC and adult respondents appreciated that every ethnic group has a unique talent(s). Each ethnic group, at one moment or another will require the specific talent(s) from the other groups, and then, they to cooperate so that they can benefit from each other. This will help to enhance their inter-personal and inter-group relationships, thus reducing unhealthy competitions and violence. Cooperation and feeling of worthiness were the by-products of interdependency.

Establish Personal Relationships

The respondents expressed the need of intentionally and strategically establishing healthy personal relationships. For example, one of the adult respondents described how healthy relationships could be built. She understood that it was important for the children to deliberately cultivate deep friendships. She remembered that during their earlier years their friendships would lead to marriages.¹⁸⁶

Another respondent also supported the idea of establishing healthy personal relationships. He said that the IDC needed to be encouraged to join playing clubs like football clubs which could help build close

¹⁸⁵ Oral Interview, Nick* (not real name) an IDC parent: Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁸⁶ Oral Interview, Jane *(not real name), Informal Teacher, Vumila IDP Camp ,29th June, 2013.

relationships amongst themselves. He added that once children became playmates, it was difficult to fight amongst them.¹⁸⁷

The above illustrations emphasize that IDC (children in general) have to play deliberate roles in building relationships. Some of the ways that this can be achieved include; encourage their participation in playing clubs, build friendships which can also lead to intermarriages, etc. The respondents understood that when people are in strong relationships, they were likely not to harm one another. Even in conflicts or in arguments, when they experienced divergent interests, etc, they are in a better position to resolve them non-violently. This is mainly because they are friends and not merely colleagues.

Story telling

Story telling is another strategy which the respondents felt would help them build peace. The IDC felt that their narratives were important in two ways. One, they would let others know their experiences. Secondly, as they share their stories, they are likely to build unity among the other groups. The IDC suggested that this would be done in a particular format. They would begin from the conflict prone areas and then extend it to other parts of the country. They expressed that this strategy would enhance communication amongst them. This would give them opportunity to explain what conflict means to them. They would also have an opportunity of hearing from their counterparts. This is a strategy which was meant to help them pour out their deep feelings¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁷ Oral Interview, Mr. Michael *(not real name),Teacher,(Private School Hosting Children from all IDP Camps), Maai Mahiu, 29th June 2013.

¹⁸⁸ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from Vumilia IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

Reflexive Dialogue

Rothman describes reflexive dialogue as a transformative approach towards peace building. It is a form of guided, introspective interaction, whereby the warring parties are brought together in a formal set-up and allowed to express their concerns, feelings, fears, etc. The main aim is to help the warring parties to examine themselves and gain inner insights of their own failures, imperfections, thereby becoming less self-righteous and more tolerant. In many cases a third party is present, whose role is to moderate the process.¹⁸⁹

One of the adult respondents illustrated this type of transformative approach by saying that it was important to take the children back to where they came from and spend some time there. He said that the aim was to meet with the people who dwell there, and talk with them on issues that caused the PEV. In addition to that, they could visit the places that were destroyed during the conflict, for example, the Kiambaa church. From this point of reference they are told how the church was before the conflict and how it is after. Then, they are given some time to discuss their views and eventually they are made to understand that this happened only because of an ethnic conflict. He explained that this would enable the children understand better the impacts of conflicts and help them change their minds towards conflicts. The children would be having an opportunity to make their beliefs and their “abstractive” ideas become a reality. For example, being close to an “enemy” without causing any conflict would help them appreciate an “enemy” as another human being.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Jay Rothman, “Reflexive Dialogue as Transformation,” *Mediation Quarterly*, 1996, Vol.13, No.4, pp. 345-347.

¹⁹⁰ Oral Interview, Nick* (not real name) an IDC parent: Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013.

Process of Humanization

De-humanization is a phenomenon that was experienced in the 2007-2008 PEV. Some communities had labelled others “*madodoa*” (spots), a derogatory term denoting “outsiders” not belonging to the Rift Valley. This could imply such people were intruders in the Rift Valley politics, perhaps the reason they needed to be expelled or annihilated.

Both the IDC and adults suggested that there was need to reconstruct these relationships. All through this study, the process of humanization was expressed by the respondents. Both the IDC and the adults emphasized the importance of humanizing their “opponents”. They expressed the view that there was need for engaging in a process of openly acknowledging that their “opponents” are indeed human beings. They were created by God. People need to realize that their “opponents” share similar values, emotions, feelings, ideas, etc. Thus, these opponents do not deserve inhumane treatment.¹⁹¹

Finding Commonality

This strategy was discussed in this study from various dimensions. One of the respondents discussed it using the following narrative. He said that when he observed the politicians he realized that they represented different ethnic groups, yet they effectively worked together. When by any chance they experienced any disagreements, they resolved them amicably. This respondent also added that their children need to be encouraged to do business both locally and internationally. In summary, this respondent highlighted two key aspects of peace building. He brought about the idea of having common interests and at the same time understanding one another, irrespective of the competing interests. He gives the example of the

¹⁹¹Oral Interview, Andrew* (not real name) an IDC parent: familia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013; Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Fumilia, IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

politicians who, though they disagree, can always enter into dialogues and consultations.

The other aspect he highlighted was that peace building can be done by improving the economic status of the children and youth. He suggested that common grounds can be created through common markets and trade. He emphasized the importance of providing the IDC with a common ground or rather a level playing ground. This means giving them equal opportunities, irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds.¹⁹² This brings an idea of equity which can enhance peace.

Stereotype-Breaking Actions

This is a strategy that almost all the respondents in this study had used. Interestingly, it had been used accidentally. For instance, one of the respondents met with his previous “enemy”. This said “enemy” had come to visit the camp on his official duties. He apologized to this respondent and since then, he had paid him several visits.¹⁹³

This respondent later discovered these visits are quite helpful in restoring their relationship. He suggested that such a strategy would also work for children. He suggested that children needed to be educated on the different ethnic groups. For example, they can be taught there are different ethnic groups, “this person is a Kisii, but, we are one.” This can be done by allowing children to visit different “tribes” so that they can meet with them and perhaps spend some time with them. This is a process that would make the IDC gain more understanding about other ethnic groups. This process of understanding would help to demystify myths and stereotypes that the IDC could still be holding onto.¹⁹⁴ This narrative also suggested

¹⁹² Oral Interview, John*(not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

¹⁹³ Refer to sub-topic 2.2.4.

¹⁹⁴ Oral Interview, John*(not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps Trustee, 29th June, 2013.

that it is a fact that some people are from different ethnic groups and this makes each ethnic group unique mainly because of the ways they have been socialized. Generally, the people of Kenya are not homogeneous and thus different ethnic groups are bound to do things differently from other groups and also not according to other's expectations.

4.2 Challenges of Using Ethnic Identity

Though ethnic identity has been seen as a tool in peace building, it is not without its challenges. The respondents expressed the view that some of these challenges could arise from many factors. Some could arise from the complexity of ethnic identities and others from the multifaceted aspects of peace building. This section will only discuss the challenges which were highlighted by the respondents.

Inadequate Information Gathering

This was a challenge which was expressed by almost all the respondents. For example, if the IDC were to gather information about 2007-2008 PEV, they might need to hear from all the actors involved. This might mean that they visit the ethnic groups that were involved in the PEV. Some of the respondents found such an activity too expensive, for instance, in transporting the IDC from one place to another.

Andrew feared that, even though the purpose of the visits was to eradicate negative ethnicity, the exercise was seen to be expensive and complicated. For instance, he understood that the ability to deal constructively with ethnic conflicts is largely determined by how well one understands the actors involved. But he expressed the view that it would be complicated to understand the actors' perspectives towards any conflict and the motives behind the conflicts. This being the case, most of the actors would, perhaps, use different strategies to pursue

many different objectives like power, scarce resources, job opportunities etc. Gathering such information is what he felt would be expensive, complex and time consuming.¹⁹⁵

Failure to Understand the Opponents' Perspectives

This challenge was expressed by the IDC. They used some narratives like the following;

Not all people will agree with the views of other ethnic groups. And not all people will cooperate with others. But those who will accept will cooperate.¹⁹⁶

In their discussions, they expressed the complexity of people's beliefs, values and norms and how they can influence their perceptions towards peace building. For example, the IDC indicated that some people will have different world views, which might interfere with their beliefs and behaviour. This was seen as a recipe for misunderstanding leading to lack of cooperation.¹⁹⁷

Confusing Interests with Positions

The interviews show that different respondents had different views about the PEV 2007-2008. Some said it was caused by greed, selfishness, ethnicity, power struggles, and many others. Not only were the causes of this PEV diverse, but the respondents were also not able to separate interests from positions. Lederach defines "position," a term used in peace building, to mean a platform from which the warring parties speak. For example, what these parties want, and what must be done to achieve it? On the other hand, "interests" are the reasons why the warring parties want what they are demanding

¹⁹⁵ Oral Interview, Andrew* (not real name) an IDC parent: fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

¹⁹⁶ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

¹⁹⁷ Focus Group Discussion (IDC): Narratives from Some of the IDC from Vumilia, IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

for. Lederach gives examples of “interests” like land, jobs, money, etc.¹⁹⁸

One of the adult respondents elucidated the issues of “positions” and “interests” and how they are confused. For example, he said that people try to diffuse ethnic identities and make people identify themselves as Kenyans, an issue that he disagrees with. He acknowledged that his ethnic identity is a “position” and it was not the cause of the PEV of 2007-2008. This means that people did not go to war because of their ethnic groups, but because they had “interests” they were pursuing. He added that the ethnic groups that fought each other had previously coexisted, what had changed were the “interests” they were pursuing. He seems to emphasize that the PEV was largely caused by “interests,” which included competition, power, resources, etc.¹⁹⁹

His views suggest the importance and complexity of separating “positions,” like ethnic identities from “interests” like power control because “interests” often are hidden under “positions.” Confusing of “interest” with “position” was seen as a hindrance in achieving a sustainable peace. This is because “positions” can not easily be altered. For instance, it could be a difficult task for peace builders, to alter ethnic identities of any warring parties. It would be difficult for the IDC to be in a position to separate “positions” from “interests” given that they are inexperienced and the complex nature of ethnic identities.

¹⁹⁸ John Paul Lederach, “From War to Peace,” *MCS Conciliation Quarterly Winter*, 1991, Vol. 10 (1), pp. 12-15.

¹⁹⁹ Oral Interview, Nick* (not real name) an IDC parent: Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013.

4.3 Conclusion

This study gathered information on strategies which can enhance peace building. Basically, the study focused on how ethnic identity can be used in peace building. On one hand, there were the benefits of ethnic identity in peace building, while on the other, were challenges which could make it difficult to use ethnic identity.

Some of the ways in which ethnic identity can be used in peace building included peace education, power of vulnerability, developing interdependence, establishing personal relationships, story telling, reflexive dialogue, process of humanization, finding commonality and stereotypes- breaking actions. All these peace building methods are referred by Burgess as transformative peace building approaches.²⁰⁰ These approaches were aimed at bringing fundamental changes in attitudes and/or behaviour of individuals and/or the relationship among the IDC and other children from different parts of the country.

Though ethnic identity was seen to be a major ingredient in peace building, it also had its challenges. One of the challenges was inadequate information gathering. Gathering information is a very important aspect in peace building. However, it requires the parties involved to purposively visit one another. This is a process which the respondents felt was expensive and time consuming.

Failure to understand their opponents' perspective was another challenge. The respondents felt that transforming people's perceptions and how they make sense of the world was likely to be complicated. Lastly, separation of interests and positions was seen as a tough task. It seemed difficult to make a distinction between interests and positions among the warring parties.

²⁰⁰ Heidi Burgess, Guy Burgess, "Constructive Confrontation: A Transformative Approach to Intractable Conflicts," *Mediation Quarterly*, Vol.13 (4), pp. 305-322.

In conclusion, this chapter exemplifies the importance of ethnic identity in peace building. Alongside with the benefits are the challenges.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study focused on IDC from three IDP camps; namely, *Jikaze*, *Vumilia* Eldoret and *Fumilia* Narok. The time frame stretched from 2008 to 2012, a period after PEV of 2007-2008 and during the tenure of the Grand Coalition Government, the government that was formed to address the political crisis that resulted from the PEV.

Issues of ethnic identity in peace building efforts have been given little attention, notwithstanding, the many experiences of ethnic conflicts. Peace building efforts have also excluded children.²⁰¹ Due to the fact that few studies have been done on children and the topic of ethnic identities, there is limited documented work. These gaps gave this study the justification of carrying out a study which sought to understand the nature and the importance of ethnic identity in peace building among the IDC. It was also of great concern to this study that children were often left out in peace building programmes, despite the fact they form a large proportion of the world's population. Based on the data gathered and analyzed, it is safe to make a few conclusions on these points.

This study showed that peace building is multifaceted. It requires diverse factors or ingredients in order to create conducive conditions which can facilitate return of IDPs to their homes or their resettlements. For this to happen, this study found out that it was important to have a paradigm shift. This was a shift which would include children as some of the main actors in peace building and by making use of their capabilities. But adults such as parents and teachers were also included. The reason of including them was to provide more information about the IDC. They also formed a platform on which comparisons were done.

²⁰¹ William Eckhardt, "Making and Breaking Negative Image," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, No. 1, 1991, pp.87-95.

This study acknowledges that it is within child's rights to participate in matters of peace building. Children have a right to information, to be heard and to hold opinions, among other rights.

To understand what the IDC were capable of doing, the study had four objectives. They included an investigation of the roles the IDC played to maintain peace after 2007-2008 PEV. The others are to examine how ethnic identity have influenced the peace building mechanisms; an investigation on the importance of ethnic identity in peace building and, finally, to find out if there are any challenges if ethnic identity is used in efforts towards peace building.

To achieve the above objectives, the researcher carried out a qualitative research. This is because the topic of ethnic identity is highly malleable. Using this approach, it helped the researcher to go deeper into this phenomenon and explore the nuances related to it. It was an inductive process in which themes and categories emerged through analysis of the data collected.

The study utilized various tools and techniques in the process of collecting both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through the oral interviews, observations and focus group discussions. Secondary data was acquired from relevant books, scholarly journals, newspapers, magazines and NGO reports from various libraries and websites.

The sample was made up of IDC and adult respondents, who were selected through purposive and snowball selection. There were three focus group discussions each having eight to ten IDC, who were below eighteen years of age. Every IDP camp had one group representing it. These focus group discussions were selected through purposive selection with the help of the camp leaders and parents. The adult respondents were also selected with the help of the camp leaders who

led us to others and the cycle continued. In total the study interviewed twenty adults who had the relevant information. These adult respondents were from different age groups, some of them were educated, and for example, the teachers had diploma certificate while others were uneducated. Most of the parents were self employed.

The study investigated how the IDC understood peace and peace building. The researcher found out that the IDC had never had any formal peace education. Nevertheless, the IDC had various ideas about peace and peace building. Some of the IDC said that it was a season of calmness, while others said that it is an act of forgiving. Though many of the IDC believed in forgiving one another, the issues of 2007-2008 PEV remained very emotive. This revealed that the trauma caused by these atrocities were still not yet resolved among them.

Peace building was understood in the light of many shades. Peace building was evaluated through issues of power, justice, security and socio-economic development. Both the IDC and the adult respondents pointed out that there was a strong correlation between power and peace building. They alluded to the fact that when there is a powerful leadership, peace is easily achieved and maintained.

On the issue of justice as far as 2007-2008 PEV was concerned, there were differing views between the IDC and the adult respondents. Whereas the adults felt that it was an elusive phenomenon, the IDC expressed a feeling of injustice by the perpetrators. For example, the IDC did not at any time explain that the “dark forces” were responsible for the PEV. Instead, they used narratives like, “they did bad things to us,” and “I do not love some of them.”

The adults regarded security as an integral component of peace building. They enhanced security by working together with the

government. On the other hand, the IDC associated security with safe environment, due to the presence of security forces around them.

Socio-economic development was considered to be an important pillar in peace building. The respondents, especially the adults, felt that for sustainable peace to exist, human basic needs had to be met. Socio-economic development was an avenue in which the IDC could avoid idleness, a vice which promoted conflicts through incitement.

The IDC have played minimal roles in peace building since the 2007-2008 PEV. It is important to note that even in the roles they played, they were not aware they were building peace. The following are some of the roles that the IDC have played; personal transformation, relational transformation, empowerment and recognition, reconciliation and reparations.

In personal transformation the IDC were involved in activities which were meant to enhance personal healing from the traumas that were caused by the conflicts by encouraging a mourning process. This was done through reciting of poems, drama, singing songs to visitors and counselling done by the adults and peers. Nevertheless, the IDC did not seem to have benefited much from these processes. For example, up to date the issues of the PEV are quite emotive. This shows that the mourning process which could have led to healing is far from being reached. The researcher's understanding is that these processes could have been interfered with by the fact that the activities done were from the adults' perspectives. For example, the poems and songs were composed by the teachers, meaning that these were their ideas. This means the words in the poems or songs were likely to have a greater impact on the adults' healing processes than on the IDC. No wonder then, the adults have moved on without many struggles, unlike IDC who are still struggling with painful experiences of the PEV.

In relational transformation, the IDC played major roles. However, the IDC were unaware that they were meant to build relationships as a way to enhance peace. The IDC were able to reconcile their peers and their own parents, etc. They were involved in activities like mountain hiking, games, being helped to reframe situations and their “enemies.” These activities enabled them to build their inter-personal relationships. For example, they played with other children, even from different ethnic groups.

On issues of reparations, the IDC felt that their needs had not been met. They had been pursuing these reparations through the advocacy of adults. Their type of reparation was rehabilitative which includes medical, psychological and social services like education, etc, which they felt had not been addressed. They pointed out that they had no jobs and also they did not have enough teachers who were employed by the government. The adults, on the other hand, pursued restitution and compensation reparations, which they had already achieved. For example, they had permanent houses instead of tents they initially lived in. This gave them satisfaction because they had been involved in the processes and, secondly, they had achieved what they had demanded.

This study focused on ethnic identity as a building block towards peace. It appreciated that ethnic identity is a malleable phenomenon which occurs in a context. This study illuminated the phenomenon of ethnic identity using constructivism theory. Constructivists hold a view that ethnic identity is a tool or mechanism for reducing uncertainties about the social world given the cognitive limitations. They hold the opinion that people are constantly and naturally searching for meaningful social categories that can serve as “useful summaries” of vast amount of information about social world and its people. Ethnic identities are like “roadmaps” that guide people

through labyrinth of social relations. Constructivists argue that individuals often redefine their ethnic identities that define them and this means that ethnic identities are never fixed. Ethnic identities can be manipulated to facilitate conflicts or to enhance cohesion. For example, in 2002 general elections, NARC won the elections peacefully. Incidentally, NARC, comprising of several parties with members from different ethnic groups, portrayed a high level of ethnic cooperation. Ironically, some of these ethnic groups that had embraced ethnic cohesion in 2002 were the same ethnic groups that were involved in the 2007-2008 PEV. This shows how ethnic identities are manipulated by different political environments in Kenya. Constructivists argue that peace is a social construction and is mainly a product of political/or economical phenomena. Peace building is therefore, a constructive social change. This involves changing people's minds, quality of relationships, attitudes, behaviours, perspectives, value orientations, etc.

Ethnic identity had an influence on both the IDC and the adult respondents. What is important to highlight is that they were influenced in different ways. This study categorized the influence in four main components; familial ethnic socialization, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour, coexistence and acculturation.

Covert familial socialization was taking place and the respondents did not seem to be aware of this process taking place. Due to this, the IDC experienced contradictory perceptions. On one front, they understood that unity was important for peace building. This is a "unity" which signified a community without ethnic boundaries. To the IDC, peace had little to do with ethnic identity. On the other front, the adults around them promoted their ethnic symbols like language, dressing code and ceremonies. As much as the adults looked forward and spoke of a "united" Kenya, they propagated the idea of a nation that is

united through diversity, not assimilation. This is a concept which was not made clear to the IDC, thus receiving contradictory messages.

Some beliefs and values promoted among the communities in the IDP camps had influenced peace building. For example, some of the IDC had associated ethnic identities with conflicts, especially when they had to mention other people's ethnic groups. Though some of the IDC could communicate in their vernacular languages, they had opted to communicate in Kiswahili. This is a language that they used as a unifying factor. Some of the IDC associated leadership with Kikuyu ethnic group and thus preferred to be members of Kikuyu ethnic group. They viewed good leadership as one from one's own community.

Both the IDC and adult respondents were experiencing "active" coexistence. The difference was that, for the IDC their coexistence was based on interests and desires to fulfill them. For the adults, their coexistence was based on both ethnic factors, e.g. intermarriages, and other "common good" factors like water. The "active" coexistence embraced by the adults seemed to be more cohesive than that of the IDC. IDC did not seem to establish strong relationships. This is because relationships were bound to change once interests were fulfilled. Also, such relationships were based on conveniences.

Acculturation was taking place both to the IDC and the adult respondents. The adults had embraced an integrated preference. This kind of strategy enhanced their intra-personal, inter-personal and inter-group relationships. The adults had embraced one another to an extent that one of the respondents said that it was hard to tell of their ethnic groups. The IDC had embraced the acculturation strategy of marginalization. This strategy seemed to be geared towards nationalism and not ethnic identity. They showed little interest in learning cultural attributes, e.g. language. But the IDC showed that

they could work with people from different ethnic identity on the basis of accomplishing their needs. This study was concerned with how deep these relationships were. For example, in one of the focus group discussions, one of the respondents said that he could work with all ethnic groups, but he did not love some of them. It showed signs of a “superficial relationship”. Both adults and the IDC experienced “emergent” ethnic identity. This is where they identified themselves as IDPs and had built strong relationships in this new status.

This study also investigated how ethnic identity could be used by the IDC to enhance peace. The respondents discussed some of the ways which this study acknowledged as transformative approaches of peace building. They included peace education, power of vulnerability, interdependency, personal relationships, story telling, reflexive dialogues, process of humanization, finding commonality and stereotype-breaking actions.

The respondents viewed these approaches as processes that would bring fundamental changes in attitudes and/or behaviour of individuals and/or the relationship among the IDC and other children from different parts of the country. These approaches viewed peace building as a social construct and on-going transformative processes of change. They were aimed at establishing positive relationships, attitudes, behaviours and structures. The respondents were optimistic that these transformative strategies would minimize the destructive effects of ethnic conflicts and promote their physical, emotional and spiritual progress.

Both the IDC and the adults expressed their concerns as far as using ethnic identity in peace building is concerned. They raised three broad issues which were likely to occur and hinder peace building. There was a likelihood of not gathering adequate information about all the ethnic groups that were involved in the 2007-2008 PEV. They felt that

the process would be very expensive and time consuming. They saw this as a major challenge because they understood the ability of dealing constructively with ethnic conflict is largely dependent on how well the IDC understood all the actors involved and their interests.

The other challenge they predicted was the failure to understand the opponents' perspectives. The IDC felt that different ethnic groups had different values and norms. This would make them to interpret their world views differently and this could bring about misunderstanding. They thought that making people understand and adopt another's standpoint was a difficult thing.

The other challenge which was expressed by the respondents was the difficult task of distinguishing between interests and positions. Position is the point of view from which the warring parties ask or place their demands. In this case it is ethnic identity, while interests are the reasons why they are making their demands. Some of the interests included power, scarce resources, like jobs, etc. One of the respondents said that in many cases people deal with positions which are likely not to change as fast as possible. For example, he says that he can not change his ethnic identity, and after all it did not cause the PEV. The 2007-2008 PEV was caused by "interests" and not "positions." This kind of statement revealed how peace building mechanisms are diverse and complicated because interests are often hidden behind positions.

In conclusion, this study tested the four hypotheses it had set. IDC in Maai Mahiu have played minimal role in peace building after the 2007-2008 PEV. Even in the role that they have played, they were largely unaware. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons that have caused the IDC not to heal from the events of the PEV. The IDC have been influenced by ethnic identity in building peace. The IDC seem to be battling with issues that are related to ethnic identity. They have in

most cases tried to opt out from issues related to ethnic identities. For example, they use Swahili language in their communication, and their acculturation strategy is based on interests not ethnicity. This is unlike their adult counterparts. However, this study has shown that the IDC have not been able to build strong intra-personal, inter-personal and inter-group relationships as compared to the adults. But, since ethnic identity is important in peace building, it can not be easily washed away. It takes a process and period of time to construct and re-construct ethnic identities that will promote peace, in spite of the critical challenges.

Finally, this study has the following recommendations. Firstly, it is of great importance that children are given opportunities to exercise their rights, for example their right to participate in peace building. To facilitate this, the study suggests that more studies need to be carried out in all the IDP camps in Kenya. By doing so, it is assumed that more information will be gathered which can assist in making policies which can mitigate ethnic conflicts in Kenya. The researcher holds to the view that new policies are required in order to stop the cycle of ethnic conflicts in Kenya.

Peace education is very important and needs to be done at every stage. This will help to equip children with knowledge and skills which can enable them to participate in peace building. Peace education needs to be a well planned curriculum and be deliberately implemented in schools.

Instead of trying to eradicate ethnic identities, more extensive studies need to be done on this phenomenon of ethnic identity in peace building in order to understand the importance of ethnic identity. This should focus on children of this nation. Since ethnic identities are highly malleable, perhaps the studies can be carried out at different seasons, for example, before and after an election.

Sources and Bibliography

Primary Data:

Oral Interviews

Ann* (not real name), Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013: Teacher:

Andrew* (not real name), Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013: IDC

Parent.

Bosco* (not real name), Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013: Chair

Person.

Ben *(not real name), Jikaze IDP Camp, 22nd June 2013: IDC Parent

Dan*(not real name), Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013: IDC parent

Gitonga* (not real name), Jikaze IDP Camp, 22nd June, 2013: Chair

Person

James *(not real name), Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013: IDC

Parent.

Jane*(not real name), Vumila IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013: Informal

Teacher.

John* (not real name), Maai Mahiu IDP Camps, 29th June, 2013:

Trustee

Karingi, Vumilia IDP Camp, 22nd June, 2013: Chair Person.

Mary* (not real name), Vumilia IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013: IDC parent

Mr. Michael *(not real name), Maai Mahiu, 29th June 2013: Teacher,

Private School Hosting Children from all IDP Camps.

Nick* (not real name), Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013: IDC

parent.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Jikaze IDP Camp, 29th June, 2013

Vumilia IDP Camp, 29th June 2013.

Fumilia IDP Camp, 15th June, 2013

Reports

Bailey, J. (1990). Keynote Speech for Youth 2000 Conference, New Hampshire, November-December.

Boutros-Ghali. (1992). *An Agenda for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peace Making and Peace Keeping: Report of the Secretary- General Pursuant to the Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31st January, 1992.*

Office of the Special Representatives of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict. Global Youth Action Network, UNICEF, UNFPA and Women Commission for Refugee Women and Children. *Will you Listen? Young Voices From Conflict Zones* New York October 2007

UNHCR, "Policy Framework and Implementation Strategy: UNHCR'S Role in Support of the Return and Reintegration of Displaced Populations, February 18, 2008.

Journals

Boraine, A. (2006). Transitional Justice: A Holistic Interpretation, Fall Winter. *Journal of International Affairs*, 60 (1).

Branch C, Tayal, P, and Triplett, C. (2000). The Relationships of Ethnic Identity and Ego Identity Status Among Adolescents and Young Adults. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24(1).

Brewer, M. (1979). In-group Bias in the Minimal Inter-Group Situation. A Cognitive Motivational Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, March, 1979, 86(2).

Derick, L. (1989). Growing Up in the Post Modern Age: On the Child's Situation in the Modern Family and on the Position of the Family in the Modern Welfare State. *Acta: Sociological* (32) 2.

Gutierrez, N.L. (1991) Managing Cultural Diversity in Volunteer Organizations. *Voluntary Action Leadership*.

Lynch, G. (2006). The Fruits of Perception: Ethnic Politics and the Case of Kenya's Constitutional Referendum. *African Studies*, 65 (2).

Mobekk, E. (2006) Transitional Justice and Security Sector Reforms: Enabling Sustainable Peace. *Occasional Paper No. 13*.

Morse, J.M. (1999). Qualitative methods: The state of the art. *Qualitative Health Research* 9 (3).

Morrow, V. (1995). *Invisible Children? Towards a Reconceptualisation of Childhood Dependency and Responsibility*, *Sociological studies of Children* (7).

Murunga, G.R. (2003). Ethnicity; Community Relations and Civil Society in Contemporary Kenya; Trends and Field Experiences. *Ufahamu*, Vol 29 (2).

Opotow, S. (2001). Reconciliation in Times of Impunity; Challenges for Social Justice. *Social Justice Research* 14 (2).

Phinney, J.S, Horenczky, G, Liebkind, K. and Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic Identity Immigration and Well-Being. *An Interactional Perspective Journal of Social Issues*, 57.

Stewart, F. (2008). Global Aspects and Implications of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities Experienced by Muslims Worldwide. *Working Paper* (60).

Books

Akerlund, A. (2005). *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*. Sweden: Sida studies

Assefa, H. (1999). *The Meaning of Reconciliation in Peace Building*. United Kingdom: European Center for Conflict Prevention.

Barry, J, Trimble, J, and Olmedo, E. (1986). *Assessment of Acculturation* in W. Lonner and J. Berry (Eds), *Field Methods in Cross-Cultural Research*. Newbury Park: Sage

.Breslin, J. (1991). *Breaking Away from Subtle Biases in Negotiation Theory and Practice* eds. J. William Breslin and Jeffrey Rubin. USA: Cambridge Mass Program.

Charlesworth, R. (2000). *Understanding Child Development*. London: Delmar Thomson Learning.

Cole, E. (2007). *Introduction: Reconciliation and History Education*, in *Teaching the Violent. Past History Education and Reconciliation*, (eds) Elizabeth A. Cole. London: Rowman and Littlefield.

Dawes, A. (2000). *Cultural Diversity and Childhood Adversity: Implications for Community Level Interventions with Children in Difficult Circumstances*. *Children in Adversity: Ways to Reinforce the Coping*

Ability and Resilience of Children in Situations of Hardship. London: Oxford.

Dawes, A and Donald, D. (1994). *Understanding the Psychological Consequences of Adversity: Psychological Perspective*. Cape Town: South African Research Press.

Dupuy, K. (2008). *Education for Peace: Building Peace and Transforming Armed Conflicts Through Education System*. Norway: Save the Children.

Giddens, A. (2001). *Sociology*, 4th edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Grieff, P. (2008). *The Role of Apologies in National Reconciliation Processes; On Making Trustworth Institutions*, in *The Age of Apology*, (eds) Mark Gibney and Rhoda Howard. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Hein, L. and Selden, M. (2000). *The Lessons of War, Global Power and Social Change*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe

James, A., Jenks, C. and Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jenks, C. (1996). *Childhood*. London: Routledge.

Ketel, H. (2002). *Proud to Work and Happy to be Organized: Working Children in West Africa and Their Participation in Their own Movement*. Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden.

Kleinman, A and Lock, M. (1997). *Social Suffering*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lee, W.M.L. (1999). *An Introduction to Multicultural Counselling Accelerated Development*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lovell K. and Lawson, K.S. (1971). *Understanding Research in Education*. London: University press.

Locke, D.C. (1998). *Increasing Multicultural Understanding; A Comprehensive Model*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Miller, J. (1997). *Never Too Young! How Can Children Take Responsibility and Make Decisions?* London: Save the Children.

Mugenda, O., and Mugenda, A. (1999). *Research Methods, Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Nairobi, Acts Press.

O'Reinly , S. (1998). *The Contribution of Community Development to Peace Building: World Visions' Area Development Programs*. UK: World Vision.

Peggy, L., and Waters, M.C. (2002). *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. New York: Russel Sage Production.

Rumbaut, R.G. and Portes, A. (2001). *Ethnicities; Children of Immigrants in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sam, D.L. and Berry, J.W. (2006). *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Singleton, R. (1988). *Social Science Research*. London: Oxford university press.

On-line

Kallen, D. (1999). *Cultural Policy in the USA History*. Available: <http://www.america.edu/kdurr/kalen.html>.

<Http://www.Colorado.Edu/conflict/peace/treatment/stereobk.htm>

<http://cognet.m.t.edu/library/erefs/mites/dovidio.html>

Appendix 1

INTERVIEWS FOR THE IDC IN A FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

- 1) Where were you born? (Place of birth)
- 2) Which ethnic group do you belong to? Briefly, let's talk about the ethnic group that you belong to.
- 3) Do you know of any other ethnic group? Let's briefly discuss about what you know about "them".
- 4) Which ethnic group do your close friends come from?
- 5) What qualities do they have that made them to become your best friends?
- 6) In case you have a conflict with them, how do you deal with it?
- 7) Let's briefly talk about the post-election violence of 2007-2008.
- 8) How do you understand the term peace?
- 9) How have the children living here been involved in ensuring there is peace, since the post-election violence of 2007-2008?
- 10) What do you think the children can do, in order to avoid another ethnic conflict in future?
- 11) If you were to be relocated from this area where would you want to be re-settled?

Thank you very much for participating in this focus group discussion.

Appendix 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE PARENTS IN THE IDP CAMPS

- 1) Where were you born?
- 2) When did you move to your current location?
- 3) Where else have you lived and for how long?
- 4) Discuss briefly about the ethnic group you identify yourself with.
- 5) Discuss briefly about other ethnic groups you know.
- 6) How would rate the ethnic group you identify with, in relation to the “others” you know.
- 7) Comment briefly about the post-election violence of 2007-2008.
- 8) What measures have been put in place, to ensure peace is maintained in the camps and in the country, since the post-election violence of 2007-2008? Have the children living here been involved?
- 9) In order to ensure peaceful co-existence in your area, what needs to be done especially by the young generation?
- 10) If you wanted to help the children from getting into the problems of ethnic clashes in future, how best would you do it?
- 11) In the past, ethnic groups have been mobilized to fight in ethnic conflicts. Are there ways in which these ethnic groups can be mobilized for peace building?
- 12) If ethnic identity was to be used in peace building what could be the challenges?

Thank you very much, for participating in this study.

Appendix 3

INTERVIEW GUIDES FOR THE TEACHERS

- 1) How long have you worked in this school?
- 2) Have you taught in other schools, especially, from other regions of this country? If yes, where else?
- 3) What is the ethnic composition of students in your school?
- 4) What language(s) is commonly used by the teachers during their lessons? (Especially for the very young IDC)
- 5) Discuss briefly about the inter-personal relationships amongst these students.
- 6) What is your comment about the post-election violence of 2007-2008?
- 7) In connection with that conflict, how have the IDC been involved in building peace?
- 8) How is the current education system influencing peace-building amongst the IDC since the 2007-2008 PEV?
- 9) As a teacher, how else do you think the IDC can be involved in building peace as one of the measures to ensure ethnic conflicts are eliminated in the future generations?
- 10) In the past, ethnic groups have been mobilized to fight in ethnic conflicts. Are there ways in which these ethnic groups can be mobilized for peace building?
- 11) If ethnic identity was to be used in peace building what could be the challenges?

Thank you very much, for participating in this study.