

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF CHURCH IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A CASE  
STUDY OF ANGLICAN CHURCH OF KENYA. "**

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DECLARATION

This Dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other University.

Signed..........Date.....9/11/2011.....

David Mutua Kiiru (Rev)

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

Signed..........Date.....14/11/11.....

Prof. Makumi Mwangi

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear wife Mary Mutua for her continued support and encouragement during my studies. My daughter Wanjiru Mutua and my son Kiiru Mutua for the joy that you are to my life. To all the members of ACK Shalom Parish for your support and prayers and my prayer cell, the Rev Grace and Isaac Mugo and Nancy and Ruben Kinyua you are a blessing.

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## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ACK - Anglican Church Of Kenya

KANU – Kenya African National Union

GEMA - Kikuyu Embu Meru Association

COPDB - Conflict and Peace Data Bank

DOSS - Directorate of Social Services

SA – South Africa

ASALs - Arid and Semi Arid Lands

WCC - World Council of Churches

PCR - Program to Combat Racism

UN - United Nations

FORD - FORAM OF RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY

NGOs - Non- Governmental Organizations

NCKK - National Council of Churches of Kenya

LSK - Law society of Kenya

CSO - Civil Society Organizations

CBO - Community Based Organizations



## **Abstract**

For a long time Kenya has been considered an island of peace with many refugees from the neighbouring countries seeking refuge there. But with the understanding that conflict is endemic, the conflicts in Kenya have been there almost throughout the Kenyan history. With the dawn of multiparty era, the conflicts in Kenya became manifest conflict, with many deaths and displaced persons during the general elections that followed. The church has seen it as its mandate to be involved in the management of conflict in the country at different levels mainly Track II and track 1 1/2. This project examines the role that the Anglican Church of Kenya has played in the management of conflict in the country. Two case studies one at Timboroa near Eldoret Town and the other at Mai Mahiu in Logonot Division are explored for this Purpose.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 Introduction to the Study

Since the end of the Cold War a wave of ethnic conflict has swept across parts of the western of Europe, the former Soviet Union and Africa. Localities, states and sometimes whole regions have been engulfed in convulsive fits of ethnic insecurity, violence and genocide. There was optimism that the end of the Cold War might usher in a new world order. The end of nuclear armageddon was followed by new threats of state melt down and ethnic cleansing that have rippled across the international community.<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that Kenya has been seen as an island of peace within the Horn of Africa and has been a place of refuge for many it has had its share of challenges in the area of ethnic relations. Most of the intrastate conflicts in Kenya have been seen to be resource based ethnic clashes, between various tribes, such as amongst the pastoralist and the farming tribes and have become evident and acute over time. In particular the conflict between the Kalenjin (and other pastoralist) and Kikuyus have become acute since 1991, as seen in the work of Schwartz and Sing. They also note that clashes have claimed lives of thousands of people and continue to the present date. This can be associated with population growth combined with unsustainable ecological practices which result in depletion of available resources leading to impoverishment, migration and clashes over access to remaining resources.

<sup>2</sup> They see collective fear of the future as the cause of ethnic conflict. This happens when groups begin to fear for their safety.<sup>3</sup> Clashes between various groups began in 1991, intensified in 1992 and continue to the present date. Schwartz et al observe that most prominent clashes have

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<sup>1</sup> Lake David A & Rothchild (1996) 'Containing Fear: The Origin and Management of Ethnic Conflict.' International Security, vol. 21, No 2. pp. 41

<sup>2</sup> Schwartz Aniel and Sing Ashbindu, (1993) *Environmental Condition, Resources and Conflicts: An Introduction Overview And Data Collection*. (Nairobi: UNEP) pp.25

<sup>3</sup> Lake & Rothchild (1996) 'Containing Fear: The Origin and Management of Ethnic Conflict.' International Security, vol. 21 No 2. pp 41

occurred between the Kalenjin “warrior” together with other pastoralist tribes such as the Maasai and the Kikuyu people.<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that the year 1991/1992 is the same period when pressure for multipartism upon the Kenya African National Union (KANU) government was at its peak hence we cannot rule out political influence as a factor in the clashes.

### **1.2 Problem Statement of the Research problem**

In all the conflicts that the country has gone through, most of the time the church has been there trying to look for a solution. Unfortunately most of the time the efforts has only been successful in reaching a settlement which means most of the time the problem that they attempt to solve will recur. Since the church lacks relevant tools in conflict management that can help in reaching a resolution, its impact on this field has not been obvious. The church also sometimes fails to understand that conflict is endemic. When conflicts are not resolved the result is considerable human and property destruction and creation of a huge structural imbalance. If the approaches that the church uses towards conflict management are ineffective the conflict that the church handles will recur and hence a problem for Kenya. When the conflicts are not well managed they become violent. This means that the development work that the church is involved with in the conflict zones will either stop or even worse be destroyed. The research therefore will help the church to identify the gaps that exist in the way it handles conflict and recommend adaptation of a more relevant approach in conflict management.

### **1.3 Objectives**

- To establish if the ACK knows its place in conflict management and examine the role of church in conflict in Kenya.

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<sup>4</sup> Schwartz at el (1993) pp 26 °

- To inquire the methods ACK uses in conflict management in order to establish if it has the right mechanism for the task.
- To determine the factors that can enhance or hinder the role of the church in conflict management and identify the areas of cooperation between the church and other actors in the resolution of conflict and in peace building.

## 1.4 Literature Review

### 1.4.1 Introduction of Literature Review

In this section literature on conflict management shall be done, also to be reviewed is the literature on how the church in different parts of the world has been involved in the work of conflict intervention at the levels of all the three tracks. Since it is important to understand the dynamics of conflict before its intervention, literature that helps to comprehend and master conflict shall also be reviewed. The theories of conflict management are also discussed in this section. The theory of conflict research which is the world society arm of conflict management will be applied since it is the one that seeks to understand the cause of conflict.<sup>5</sup> it encourages the parties involved to understand the sources and hence ultimately to resolve the conflicts. The management through which this process is managed is the problem solving workshop.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.4.2 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The term conflict management is used to refer to any management process by which parties to conflict are encouraged to come together and do something about their conflict. Settlement and resolution of conflict are assumed to be inclusive enough to cover any

<sup>5</sup> M. Mwagiru(2006) *Conflict In Africa: theory, Process and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research) pp. 39

<sup>6</sup> M. light,(1984) 'Problem- Solving Workshop: The Role of Scholarship In Conflict Resolution' in M. Banks (ed.) *Conflict in World Society: A new Perspective on International relations*(Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books,)

management effort that third parties turn to . together with their theoretical implication the methodologies suggest that a third party entering into a conflict should have a clear idea about the outcome expected from the management exercise.<sup>7</sup> Mitchell have noted that any third party who undertake any mediation expect to be rewarded. They should therefore prepare carefully for the role. To be successful in any conflict intervention it is necessary for the mediator to have read the conflict they are entering into and decide about the best methodology to follow.<sup>8</sup> Because of its orientation and belief, the Anglican Church of Kenya subscribes to the philosophy of resolution rather than settlement.

Moore defines mediation as the intervention into a dispute or negotiation by an acceptable, third party who has no authoritative decision – making power to assist disputing parties in voluntarily reaching their own mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute.<sup>9</sup> Bercovitch definition on the other hand focuses on the process with the aim of changing the behavior of the parties. He describes mediation as, “a process of conflict management related to but distinct from the parties own negotiations, where those in conflict seek the assistance of or accept an offer of help from an outsider whether an individual, an organization, a group or a state) to change their perception or behavior, and to do so without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of law.<sup>10</sup> Modern research suggests that no party can ever be neutral in any conflict because everybody has some views (for example revulsion) about conflict and these innate feelings cannot be blocked and tucked away. The issue can only be that of impartiality in the conflict. Classically it was believed that a third party had to be impartial in order to achieve a

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<sup>7</sup> M. Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa*, op.cit. pp. 39

<sup>8</sup> C. R. Mitchell, (1988) 'The Motives For Mediation' in C.R. Mitchell & K. Webb (eds), *New Approaches To International Mediation* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press,) pp. 29

<sup>9</sup> Moore Christopher W (1998) *The Mediation Strategies For Resolving Conflict*. (San Francisco: Jossey- Bass). Pp 14

<sup>10</sup> Bercovitch Jacob (2009) *Mediation and Conflict Resolution* in Bercovitch J, Kremeyuk Victor And Zartiman W.I, *The sage Hand Book for Conflict Resolution*.( Lodon: Sage Publication Ltd) pp 343

successful outcome to mediation, or whatever form of third party intervention was at hand.<sup>11</sup> Modern conceptions no longer hold this position about mediation and the literature is clear that empirically, a third party does not need to be impartial in order to achieve a successful outcome.<sup>12</sup> A mediation process can be technically unsuitable if it fails to address the essentially perceptual and psychological elements of the conflict. This can make the process fail to reduce to any appreciable extent the psychological gaps that separates the parties to conflict. This can only happen if the mediator has the ability to analyse and respond to the internal dynamics of the conflict.<sup>13</sup>

In the work of intergroup and international conflict resolution- intervention methodology known as problem solving approaches as discussed by Tamra Pearson are off the record face to face meetings between members of adversarial groups , where a third party facilitates participants working through a structured agenda that asks participants to consider the concerns of all the parties participating. The shape of possible solution and constrains are faced by all parties. Participating to accepting the varying possible solutions, underlying the problem solving approach is a goal of addressing basic human needs with the assumption that frustrated basic human needs is the source of serious conflict. The confidential nature of such meetings is meant to allow for more candid discussions and more creativity in the generation of new options and makes it more politically possible for the influential persons to attend. Joint actions steps are often devised. To maximize the impact of new insight and solutions it is important to use the approach with the influential.<sup>14</sup>By contrast in the area of mediation more general problem

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<sup>11</sup> Young O.R. (1967) *The Intermediaries: Third parties in International Crises*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press.) pp.55

<sup>12</sup> Touval Saadia (1975) *Biased intermediaries: Theoretical and Historical Consideration*.(Journal of International Relations, Vol.1 ) pp 51

<sup>13</sup> Mwangiru Makumi (2002) 'The Elusive Quest : Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya' in Okoth Godfrey & Ogot Bethwell A. (ed.) *Conflict in Cotemporary Africa* (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation) pp. 182

<sup>14</sup> D'estree Tamra Peason, (2009) *Problem- Solving Approaches* in the Sage Hand Book of Conflict Resolution. (ed.) Berchovitch Jacob et al ( London: Sage Publication Ltd.) pp 143.

solving approaches have come to be applied to the style and school of mediation that stresses a focus on identifying underlying interest and reaching integrative agreements.<sup>15</sup> This is contrasted by authors such as Bush and Folger with other mediation approaches where the emphasis is not on reaching an agreement but rather their way of relating.<sup>16</sup>

#### 1.4.3 THE CHURCH IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

There has been an increased engagement of church communities in the search for détente or constructive management of conflicts. For example the American bishops were involved in the nuclear debate in the eighties; the role of churches in the democratic emancipation of Central and Eastern Europe; and the impact of church leaders on the conflict dynamics in several African conflicts. All have attracted considerable attention.<sup>17</sup> In South Africa (SA) church leaders like Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak, are good examples. In Zaire, Monseigneur Laurent Monsengwo was elected as chairman of the "High Council of the Republic", and played a central role in the difficult negotiations between President Mobutu and his opponents. The Burundian catholic bishops, representing half of the population, mediated towards the development of a more collegial government to prevent further violence. The church has played a role in empowering people in the Third World with the Liberation theology and many recent efforts to provide peace services in conflicts areas, including field-diplomacy.<sup>18</sup>

In South Africa (SA) the World Council of Churches (WCC) proposed a Programme to Combat Racism (PCR). The programme intervention was first setting a fund to "oppressed racial groups

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid pp 143

<sup>16</sup> Bush, R.A.B. & Folger, J.P. (2004) *The Promise Of Mediation*. (New York: Jossey Bass) pp. 75

<sup>17</sup> Assera, Hizkias. (1990). "Religion in the Sudan: Exacerbating conflict or facilitating reconciliation" *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 21 No. 3. pp. 43

<sup>18</sup> Luc Reyckler, (1997), 'Religion and Conflict'. *The International Journal of Peace Studies* (Vol 2, No 1) pp 3

and organization supporting the victims of racial injustices.<sup>19</sup> In this intervention decision the WCC had concluded that to intervene in this conflict they had to be partisan and were even ready to participate in just war. The church leaders like Archbishop Desmond Tutu openly condemned the political policies that supported apartheid. He refused any dialogue until some preconditions had been met, - namely abolition of pass laws and bantu education, abandonment or removals and resettlement among others.<sup>20</sup>

The church has used both the traditional diplomatic method and Track II or Field diplomacy in its peacemaking effort. The involvement of conflict management and resolution by the church is because it is a biblical mandate. The failure of the church to see this as its mandate has meant that it fails to sharpen the concept and the tools to do / facilitate conflict resolution. Yet in situation of social conflict it is not possible to fulfill its calling if this aspect is left out. God will not accept a person's offering unless they are reconciled with their brothers and sisters.<sup>21</sup> And will not forgive their trespasses unless they have forgiven those who have trespassed against them.<sup>22</sup>

#### 1.4.4 CONCEPTUALISATION OF CONFLICT

A firm foundation of sustainable peace cannot be laid unless and until full comprehension and mastery of conflict has been realized and good governance democracy and development will continue to elude the people of Africa. While the ethnic factor can be considered, it is often exploited and manipulated by those who are bent on promoting conflict. Assefa insists that elites in African societies especially the politicians do from time to time feed people with prejudice

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas David (1979) *Council in the Ecumenical Movements: South Africa 1904-1975*(Johannes Burg.SACC) pp93

<sup>20</sup> Hope Marjorie & Young James (1983) *The South African Churches In a Revolutionary Situation* ( New York: Mary Noll Orbis Books) pp 93

<sup>21</sup> Holy Bible: Matthew 5:23-25

<sup>22</sup> Holy Bible: Matthew 18:23-35, 16:12-15



against the stereo types about other ethnic groups to win their support for achieving their own interests.<sup>23</sup> This has been the origin of genocide in the history of humanity. Conceptually conflicts are determined directly by sets of intermediate variables and indirectly by sets of exogenous variables that act through the proximate variables. Galtung suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle, with contradiction, attitude and behaviour at its vertices. Conflicts Vesna says are the result of fear of the future lived through the past.<sup>24</sup> The role of the theme of victimization among the Jews can help us to explain this fear. An Analysis by Bar-Tal to all the text books in history, geography, Hebrew, and social science for grades one through to grade twelve approve by the ministry of education to investigate how they express ethos of intractable conflict showed that the theme of victimization still receives a prominent place in text books by dwelling on the image of Jewish victimhood.<sup>25</sup>

Understanding the origin of conflict means therefore, developing a framework of comprehending: one how the various causes of conflicts fit together and interact; two is which among them are the dominant forces at a particular moment in time and thirdly what policies and strategies should be crafted to address those causes in the short, medium and long term. Competition for resources typically lies at the heart of conflict. This accounts for the reason of political power struggle as those involved seek to acquire control over the means of production.<sup>26</sup> Abdou acknowledges that the church in Kenya has been weak in the area of peace making. This is due to lack of skill and lack of cooperate will. Due to this lack of skills the attempt by the church to keep the first opposition party FORD (Forum Of Restoration Of Democracy) united

<sup>23</sup> Hizkias Assefa, (1993) *Crucible of Civilization and Conflict: Ethiopia* in P Anyang' nyong'o (ed) *Arms and Daggers in the Heart of Africa*. (Nairobi: African Academy Of Science) pp.23

<sup>24</sup> Vesna Petic (1994), *Working Group on the international Spread and Management of ethnic Conflict*. Remarks to the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) pp 2

<sup>25</sup> Bar-Tal aniel 2001, *Why does fear override Hope in societies Engulfed by Intractable conflict as it does in the Israel Society?* Political psychology, vol 22.3. International society of political psychology. Pp. 610

<sup>26</sup> Adedeji Adebayo (1999) *Comprehending African Conflicts in Comprehending And Mastering African Conflict: The Search For Sustainable Peace and Good governance*. (NY: Zed Books) pp 10

failed. At another level the church engaged in mediation and intervention in the spiraling ethnic violence through sermons, prayers, personal visits to the victims and delivery of relief

assistance.<sup>27</sup> Archbishops Kuria effort to mediate between Wamalwa and Raila both of FORD-Kenya after the death of its chair Oginga Odinga were also unsuccessful.<sup>28</sup>

The process of conflict resolution by the church sees the need to bring in a theological dimension. It is not just restricted to interpersonal and social relations. Assefa insists that for reconciliation to happen there is need for a larger scope that extends from spiritual level to the personal –psychological, to social and then ecological level. This is a perspective that allows peace to integrate the individual society and nature. The personal psychological peace is important because inner peace and outer peace are interrelated –that is a person’s ability to make peace with others is enhanced by that individuals ability to act at peace with him or herself. A peace making process that enables the parties to reflect on spiritual implication of their behavior especially their contempt, hatred, callousness, or self centeredness and on their destructive actions in general is likely to lead to a more conducive atmosphere for the quest of just and lasting solutions in their dispute. Assefa critic the typical peace negotiations where the parties to a conflict come to the table armed with very self centered cost- benefit calculations ready to deny or defend their wrong doings, determined to attribute total blame for the conflict to their opponents and an intent on extracting concessions from their adversaries.<sup>29</sup> In his criticism Assefa seem to overlook two important facts. One being that, conflict is endemic and second that for every conflict there is a ripe moment. He also overlooked a widely observed opinion among

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<sup>27</sup> Abom Agenes C (2003) 'The Church's Involvement in The Democratisation Process in Kenya.' In Assefa H. & Wachira George, (ed.) *Peace Making And Democratisation in Africa*.(Nairobi: E.A.E.P.) PP.11

<sup>28</sup> Musalia M. Wangari, (2001) *Archbishop Manasses Kuria; a Biography- Strong In the Storms*.(Nairobi: Cana publishing) pp.

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<sup>29</sup> Assfa Hizkias (2003) 'Peace And Reconciliation As a Paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and its Implication For Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa'. In Assefa H. & Wachira G. (ed.) *Peace Making And Democratisation in Africa: Theoretical Perspective and Church Initiative*. (Nairobi: E.A.E.P) Pp 50

those who study conflict that most of the time crises originate with third parties because of their interest either to maintain power or to gain the same. Zartman also argues that there is the ripe moment in which a conflict can be resolved successfully.<sup>30</sup> Apart from bringing in the spiritual aspect, all the other dynamics of a conflict must be considered if the resolution of such a conflict is going to happen.

## 1.5 JUSTIFICATION

This research will have both an academic benefit and a practical benefit. Academically it will contribute to the knowledge in the area of conflict management especially to those who would want to know how the church can get involved. It will also serve as a resource for those who want to facilitate or teach issues of conflict management. Practically as mentioned above there are many church leaders who do not know what to do in the face of conflict. This work will be a resource to such leaders. The data that will be presented in this work and the analysis of the same will give the practitioners of conflict management especially those on the ground the reality of what happens among the people on the ground and the most appropriate way to respond to conflicts.

## 1.6 THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

No matter the location and the organization of societies, there is need to deal with and manage conflict. Conflicts can be beneficial but they can also be destructive and expensive for the parties involved. It is therefore necessary to manage conflicts to ensure they do not become destructive and costly.<sup>31</sup> Conflict can be managed through coercive means and non coercive means. The available methods of peaceful settlement of international conflicts are listed in Article 33 of United Nations (UN) charter which requests the “parties to any dispute the

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<sup>30</sup> Zartman William I (1998) *Ripe For resolution Conflict and Intervention in Africa*. ( New York: OUP)

<sup>31</sup> Bercovitch Jacob (2009) ‘ Mediation and Conflict Resolution’ in Bercovitch J, Kremeyuk Victor And Zartman W.I, *The sage Hand Book for Conflict Resolution*.( Lodon: Sage Publication Ltd) pp 340

continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangement or other peaceful means of their choice." There are three paradigms/ school of thought of international conflicts. These include the strategist approach, the peace researcher and the conflict researcher. Each of these paradigms offers a different approach in conflict management as discussed by Groom. In his work Groom says that coercion is used to determine the result of conflict in the strategist approach. The peace researcher on the other hand addressed the issue of structural violence. Like the strategist, the peace researcher result to threats systems and rejects the supportive approach. The aim of these action is to paralyze conflict and to make it manifest.<sup>32</sup> In the use of this approaches the end result is that there is a winner and a loser. In this case the conflict will not have been resolved but settled. Resolution as described by Rueck implies a solution acceptable to all concerned which does not sacrifice any basic interest and which one party will later refuse to recognize (repudiate).<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless settlement as Galtung states is an important requirement of conflict resolution.<sup>34</sup> In the conflict researcher the conflict analyst looks to a condition of self sustaining peace as his Goal. While the strategist assumes that human beings are inherently bad and prevalence of power politics and cannot see beyond settlement, conflict researcher is different. He argues that the resolution of conflict is in theory possible. This is the best conflict approach and as Groom states - though he does not use the term conflict researcher- it is the one recommended by many. Though Groom insist that for a resolution to happen the two rival parties

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<sup>32</sup> Groom A.J.R.(1990). in Burton John & dukes F. ed. *Conflict: Reading in Management and Resolution*. (Lodon:macmillan) pp83

<sup>33</sup> Rueck de Antony(1994) in Banks M. ed. , *Conflict in World Society: a New Perspective in International Relations*.(Sussex: Havester) pp. 98

<sup>34</sup> Galtung Johan,(1971),*The Middle East and The Theory Of Conflict*.(Journal of Peace research. Vol. 8 No. 134)pp. 123

without a third party<sup>35</sup> other scholars appreciate the role of a third party as in the case of mediation. In this work the theory that will be used is that of the conflict researcher because the aim is to manage the conflict to a point of resolving it.

Problem solving is one of the mechanisms applied in mediation for the purposes of conflict resolution. The method emerges from one of the main paradigms of the international relations mentioned above. The paradigms of international relation reflect different ways of perceiving the world and different views about conflict in society and how to manage it. The paradigm from which it emerges from is the world society which uses conflict researcher method of conflict management. The world society see the international relationship as based on a complex pattern of transactions and interrelationship, a process that generates conflict. The world society conflict management approach is the conflict researcher. The approach tries to understand the causes of the conflict, the sources of conflict and eventually resolve the conflict.<sup>36</sup>

#### 1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The Anglican church of Kenya (ACK) knows its role in conflict management and it has the right skill to reach conflict resolution.

The church does not know its role in conflict management and it does not have the correct skill to do conflict resolution.

#### 1.8 Research Methodology

This research shall be basic research since it will contribute to our knowledge of social system. To be able to achieve the objective the data shall be presented in the form of a

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<sup>35</sup> Groom A.R.J 1990. *Conflict: Reading in Management and Resolution* Pp .89

<sup>36</sup> M, Light, (1984) 'Problem Solving Workshops. The Role of Scholarship in Conflict Resolution'. In M. Banks (ed) *Conflict in World Society. A New Perspective on International Relations* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Book)

statement hence it will be a qualitative research.<sup>37</sup> Secondary and primary data shall be used in this study. Primary source data shall include interview with church workers at Directorate of Social Services (DOSS) which is the department concerned with social service within the Anglican church of Kenya, the Anglican priests and other church officials within the conflict zone who have been involved in intervention of the conflicts, some of the key community members who have been involved in forums of peace building and the NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) working alongside the church. Also to be interviewed are the government officials who have been involved in leading intervention operation at various levels and at different times. To be able to do this interview, contacts shall be gotten from the head of Advocacy to the persons that have been involved in the work of conflict management within the ACK fraternity. After getting the contact I will travel to the venue where the conflict management was done to be able to interview the people on the ground. The interview will be mainly done at the central rift valley referred herein as the Nakuru Region Inter- Diocesan Christian Community Service (NKIDCCS) which is the ACK development department in this region.

The research shall focus on the communities that have been involved in conflict and those who have attempted an intervention for the conflict. There are many outside factors that can influence the outcome of the intervention to conflict. Such include the level of education, the historical background and the national and international factors that influence the success of the intervention. There are independent variables that are responsible for bringing about change. These independent variables are the main concern of this research since they are the ones that are either successful in reaching a resolution or not. The dependent variables are the conflicts as they

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<sup>37</sup>Peter Ngau AND Kumssa(ed),2004, *Research Design, Data Collection And Analysis: A Training Manual*.

change in the degree of the conflict and are dependent upon the intervention to conflict. There are also the extraneous variables that are the factors that affect the relationship between the parties in conflict and even the other actors within the conflict.<sup>38</sup>

The information to be used in the research shall be through questionnaires to the members of the communities involved in the conflict and interviews of those who have who have attempted to do an intervention. The study population will be identified through consulting with the office of Anglican Church of Kenya the places that the work of conflict management has been done. The interviews will be with a few members of the communities and the personnel involved in the process of conflict intervention shall be done. To be allowed to do this research consent has been given by the Diocesan Bishop of Nairobi. To be consulted before this work is done is the Head of Directorate of Social Services (DOSS).

The secondary data will include journals, news papers, articles and books, relevant reports that have been made at different times be it from the church or from the government and other institutions. Though the Anglican Church has been involved in conflict management in the country for a long time, there is no any research that has been done to show that their activities in this area have been effective. The verbal interviews with those who have been involved in conflict management in Kenya will constitute a substantial source of data.

## **1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE**

### **CHAPTER TWO**

A Conflict map of Kenya- This chapter discusses what conflicts is, the types and location of conflicts in Kenya and the actors in the conflict system.

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<sup>38</sup> Kumar Ranjit (2005) *Research Methodology: a Step By Step Guide for Beginner* (London: Sage Publication) pp. 24

### **Chapter Three**

Approaches to Conflict Management- the chapter discusses the methods of conflict management which the outcome is aimed at resolution rather than settlement.

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

The Role of The Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) in Conflict Management – the chapter discusses the history of development of the Anglican Church of Kenya and the role it has played in conflict management.

### **CHAPTER FIVE**

Conclusion is about the lessons learned in the process of this study and the gaps identified in the way that the Anglican Church do Conflict Management.

### **Bibliography**



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **A Conflict Map of Kenya**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter examines the meaning of conflict and some of the variables that determine conflicts. These will help to conceptualize the conflict in Kenya. There is then the historical account on how after independence initially two tribes and eventually one dominated Kenya both economically and politically. These imbalances brought about discontentment and eventually tension within the country. The imbalances were blamed on the colonizers who of course were not there to defend themselves. After the death of the first president of Kenya in 1978 his successor promised to follow his footsteps. In so doing he shifted the power base from the Kikuyu to his Kalenjin tribe. The new administration made all efforts to bring down any group that was seen as a threat to its existence. There emerged two organizations that gathered enough courage to protest against the authoritarian rule of the day. These were the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and the Law society of Kenya (LSK). The government objected the call for multiparty with a lot of force. When the government eventually agreed to allow multi parties, the KANU government reacted by calling for Majimboism. This meant that those who had migrated to other provinces had to go back to their province of origin. There was eruption of violence both during the 1992 and 1997 general elections.

#### **2.2 WHAT IS CONFLICT?**

Most of the present day conflicts are intra-national, non-ideological disputes that take place in the developing nations. The Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDB) shows that since World War II, civil strife, regional crises and overall international out breaks of

violence have averaged about thirty per annum according to Azar. Azar also says that over 90 per cent of this conflicts have taken place in the third world and most have been protracted and socio- ethnic rather than strategic conflicts.<sup>1</sup> Conceptually conflicts are determined directly by sets of intermediate variables and indirectly by sets of exogenous variables that act through the proximate variables. Galtung suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle, with contradiction, attitude, and behaviour at its vertices (see figure 1.1).<sup>2</sup>

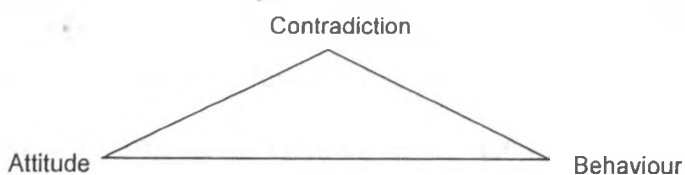


figure 1.1 Galtung's models of conflict

Here the contradiction refers to the underlying conflict situation, which includes the actual or perceived 'incompatibility of goals' between the conflict parties generated by what Chris Mitchell calls a 'mismatch between social values and social structure'.<sup>3</sup> In a symmetric conflict, the contradiction is defined by the parties, their interests and the clash of interests between them. In an asymmetric conflict, it is defined by the parties, their relationship and the conflict of interests inherent in the relationship. Attitude includes the parties' perceptions and misperceptions of each other and of themselves. These can be positive or negative, but in violent conflicts parties tend to develop demeaning stereotypes of the other, and attitudes are often influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred. Attitude covers emotive

<sup>1</sup> E.E. Azar, (1984) 'Theory of Protracted Social Conflict and the Challenge of Transforming Conflicts Situation.' In Zinnes D.A., ed., *Conflict Processes and the Breakdown of International System* Vol 20 Book 2 Monograph Series In International Affairs, (Colorado: University of Denver ) pp. 84

<sup>2</sup> Galtung, Johan (1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means*. (Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage Publications) pp. 72

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, C.R. (1991), "A willingness to Talk: Conciliatory Gestures and De-Escalation." *Negotiation Journal* 7(4)pp. 410

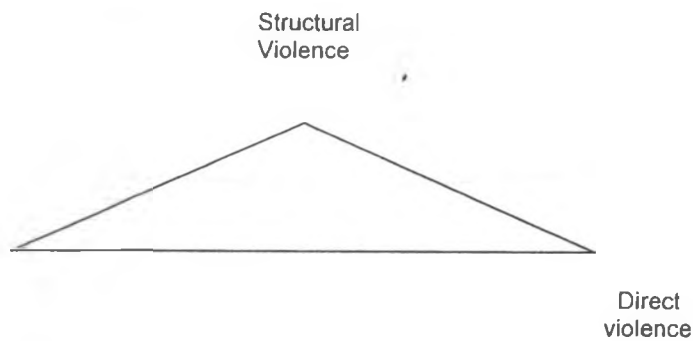
(feeling), cognitive (belief) and conative (desire, will) elements. Analysts who emphasize these subjective aspects are said to have an *expressive* view of the sources of conflict (for example: 'a social conflict exists when two or more parties believe they have incompatible objectives'.<sup>4</sup> Behaviour is the third component. It can involve cooperation or coercion, gestures signifying conciliation or hostility. Violent conflict behaviour is characterized by threats, coercion and destructive attacks. Analysts who emphasize objective aspects such as structural relationships, competing material interests or behaviors are said to have an *instrumental* view of the sources of conflict (for example: there is conflict 'whenever incompatible actions occur . . . an action that is incompatible with another action prevents, obstructs, interferes, injures or in some way makes the latter less likely to be effective'.<sup>5</sup> Galtung argues that all three components have to be present together in a full conflict. A conflict structure without conflictual attitudes or behaviour is a latent (or structural) one. Galtung sees conflict as a dynamic process in which structure, attitudes and behaviour are constantly changing and influencing one another. As the dynamic develops, it becomes a manifest conflict formation, as party interests clash or the relationship they are in becomes oppressive. Parties then organize around this structure to pursue their interests. They develop hostile attitudes and conflictual behaviour. And so the conflict formation starts to grow and intensify. As it does so, it may widen, drawing in other parties, deepen and spread, generating secondary conflicts within the main parties or among outsiders who get sucked in. This often considerably complicates the task of addressing the original, core conflict. Eventually, however, resolving the conflict must involve a set of dynamic changes that mean de-escalation of conflict behaviour, a change in attitudes, and a transformation of the relationships or clashing

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<sup>4</sup> Kriesberg Louis (1998), *Constructive Conflict*. (New York: Rowman And Littlefield) pp. 17

<sup>5</sup> Deutsch, Morton (1973) *The Resolution of Conflict; Constructive and Destructive Processes*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press) pp. 10

interests that are at the core of the conflict structure.<sup>6</sup> Galtung also distinguishes between direct violence which happens when there is an actor who intends to harm or hurt the body or mind, what is referred to as physical and mental violence respectively. Indirect violence also referred as structural violence comes from social structure between humans societies in the world. The two major forms of outer structural violence are repression and exploitation. Both work on body and mind, but are not necessarily intended. Cultural violence is symbolic in religion and ideology, in language and art, in science and law, in media and education. It is seen to play a role that legitimizes direct and structural violence. Galtung illustrates this as follows; direct violence (children are murdered), structural violence (children die through poverty) and cultural violence (whatever blinds the society to this or seeks to justify it). To end direct violence there is need to change conflict behaviour, structural violence by removing structural contradictions and injustices, and cultural violence by changing attitudes. These responses relate in turn to broader strategies of peacekeeping, peace building and peacemaking (see figure 1.2).<sup>7</sup>



( figure 1.2). Galtung's models of violence

### 2.3 Types of Conflict in Kenya

<sup>6</sup> J. Galtung (1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* pp. 72

<sup>7</sup> Galtung, Johan (1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute) pp. 2

Although Kenya is considered to be peaceful, a closer scrutiny reveals an unprecedented wave of internal and cross-border conflicts. In a multi – ethnic state like Kenya, people have strong attachment to their communities, espousing fundamentally different values, and in competition with each other for access to, or control over resources, hence creating acrimony and divisions. These conflicts are mainly manifested as political, economic, environmental, exploitation of natural resources, land clashes, religious differences and lately terrorism. The country has thus continued to be divided on the basis of ethnic, socio-cultural, regional, political and economic lines. As a result, there have been sporadic conflicts among different communities in Kenya. Pastoralists in northern Kenya have borne much of the brunt of internal conflicts and considerable efforts have been directed at addressing their specific conflict environment by a number of stakeholders that include the government, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), religious organizations and Community Based Organizations (CBOs). The resource-based conflicts prevalent in Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASALs) have completely distorted development programmes and eroded civil administration of this vast and rugged countryside.<sup>8</sup>

The dawn of multi-party politics in Kenya brought in its wake new dimensions of conflicts. Communities were divided along political and ideological lines, which gave rise to protracted and institutionalized waves of ethnic and land clashes. Ethnic and political conflicts in Kenya have become more evident during elections, as reflected during the 1992 and 1997 general elections. The intensity of these conflicts following the 2007 General Election resulted in a shattered national fabric culminating in the loss of about 1,300 lives with over 350,000 people internally displaced. The conflicts adversely affected not only Kenya's economy but also that of the neighboring countries, namely Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan. The post election

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<sup>8</sup> Report on National Conflict Mapping for the Active Citizens Programme ,(2011) *Conflict Mapping: An Insider's Perspective*. (Nairobi: Ministry Of Justice, National Cohesion and constitutional Affairs) .pp. 14

violence and the form it took revealed that when differences arise, Kenyans are more inclined to retreat into their ethnic groupings rather than forge ahead as a nation with a common destiny. This situation if left unattended could degenerate into complete national disintegration<sup>9</sup>

Oucho in his work *Undercurrent of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya* categorises the variable determinants of conflict. First there are factors that have their origin in colonial background. These include the country's administrative structure bequeathed to the independent government and a number of other colonial legacies. Oucho has argued that the colonial rule affected the growth of Kenya's ethnic politics in four ways. The boundaries of the colonial state that unified a wide range of ethnic groups were different from those elsewhere; colonial polity was ethnic in nature, giving Kenyan politics an ethnic flavor; uneven development took place biased towards settler agriculture; and missionary influence was greater in the central and western parts of the country giving rise to political organizations in these regions. There emerged a symbiotic relationship between ethnicity and class in the national political arena. This explains why population, ethnicity and politics are intertwined in the country, and why these three issues give character to Kenya's districts and provinces.<sup>10</sup> Second in the independent era government has exploited legacies of administrative structures that is coterminous with the ethnic structure of the country and perpetuated certain biases and prejudices towards some parts and against other parts of the country. The third factor is the world economic/political order which has brought the influence on international agencies to bear on the country's political and economical development. The sets of intermediate variables that influence conflict include: - Geopolitical factors such as physiographic, climatic and environmental condition which affect survival and economical activity as well as territoriality regionalism which political regimes often exploit, and

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<sup>9</sup> Report on National Conflict Mapping for the Active Citizens Programme ,(2011) *Conflict Mapping: An Insider's Perspective* op. cit pp.14

<sup>10</sup> Oucho John O.(2002) *Undercurrent of Ethnic Conflicts In Kenya*.(Brill Journals; social studies series vol.3 ) pp.34

contribute significantly to ethnic tension and conflict.<sup>11</sup> At present, then, the situation is at the stage of conflict of interest and political conflict, but there are as yet no armed conflicts over climate change. If we count climate change as a factor in conflict and violence, it is indirect, through the structural violence which leaves vulnerable populations at risk from natural disasters, droughts and storms, or through the indirect impact of climate on drought-related conflicts such as in Darfur. Migration from areas at risk from sea and storms has certainly contributed to ethnic conflict – for example, in north-east India. But predictions that climate change will be associated with armed conflict in a major way remain speculative at present, since it's not known how climate change or future conflict will unfold. The Mau eviction in Kenya can be seen as an environmental conflict with the eviction of Mau settlers from the water catchment areas to avoid de-forestation and other type of environmental pollution.<sup>12</sup> Romsbotham et al also note that droughts and declining rainfall will affect agriculture, significantly lowering the incomes of poorer farmers while possibly raising those of richer farmers. Lower run-off to rivers may trigger conflicts between riparian states. Parching continental interiors and loss of low-lying land to the sea may intensify conflicts over land and other agricultural resources – for example, destabilizing relations between pastoralist and agrarian communities. There will certainly be increased migration, both internally and internationally, though whether this triggers or mitigates conflict depends on circumstances.<sup>13</sup> It can be observed that the link between environmental resources and the outbreak of international conflicts have been recognized for decades. But modern analysis of the environmental conflict is unique in two ways; one is the role that population growth plays in fomenting conflicts; and the distinction between non-renewable and renewable resources. Population growth plays a role in engendering resource scarcity. This

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<sup>11</sup> Ouko John O, *undercurrent of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya* op. cit. pp. 35

<sup>12</sup> Romsbotham O., Woodhouse Tom, & Miall H., (2005) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (2ed) Cambridge Polity) p 301

<sup>13</sup> Romsbotham, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* op. cit. pp.301

“demand-induced scarcity” might either force nations to look beyond their borders for resources and hence propel state expansion, or create apprehension amongst the population(s) within a nation who are most affected by this scarcity and create conditions ripe for internal violence.<sup>14</sup> Lipschutz et al argues that in the past, most analysis on the link between resource scarcity and international war focused on non-renewable resources such as oil and minerals. Today, most experts do not contest the influence that non-renewable resource scarcity has had on the outbreak on international conflict. Instead, the focus has shifted to renewable resources such as cropland, fish, forests, air and water.<sup>15</sup> Recent studies, however, have focused on resource appropriation in situations of abundance as the fundamental underlying cause of war. According to the ‘resource-war’ proposition, groups engaged in violent conflict are not primarily motivated by grievance (that is ethnic discrimination, inequality, historical animosity), but essentially by economic agendas and therefore greed. Issues of identity and self-determination are dismissed in favour of a focus on the role that resources, by and of themselves, play as the main objective of groups engaged in war.<sup>16</sup>

The second set of factors are historical – for instance land alienation and land settlement to redress problems such as land shortage and maximize the utilization of land resources; ethno linguistic balkanization and inherent prejudices and animosities and other historical accidents which remain un-rectified even if they have become redundant. In the third category are the population issues. Population factors have an impact on conflict as parameter multipliers and variables. Ouchu insists on the importance to underpin the role of population size, growth, ethnic

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<sup>14</sup> Choucri, Nazli, and Robert C. North, *Nations in Conflict: National Growth and International Violence*, (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1974.) Pp.75

<sup>15</sup> Lipschutz, Ronnie D. and John P. Holdren, “Crossing Borders: Resource Flows, the Global Environment, and International Security,” (*Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 21 (2), 1990.) pp.121.

<sup>16</sup> T R Gurr, *Minorities, nationalists and ethno political conflict, Managing global chaos: Sources of and responses to international conflict*, C A Crocker & F O Hampson with P Hall (eds), U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC, 1996.) pp 145



propositions and spatial distribution and population dynamics (fertility, mortality and migration) in conflicts.<sup>17</sup> State intervention is also an important factor in conflict. There are times when the state plays a part in deepening prejudices in the country, preferring some parts of the country to others. In others the state sponsors' insecurity along the conceited prejudices and in others it is partisan in effecting development in the country and equally intervenes partially whenever conflict erupts between neighboring regions and ethnic groups.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1980s for example there was evidence of administrative incompetence and mismanagement associated with the KANU government as a result of a debauched political leadership ushered in by the president Moi particularly after the 1982 abortive coup. In the 1980s Kenya began to pursue redistributive policies. President Moi was determined to redistribute resources away from the ethnic groups that provided the social base of the Kenyatta regime to the group that constituted his own. Chege notes that a series of initiatives were used to redistribute resources including a move to establish control over the civil service in which Kikuyu were replaced by Kalenjins; substantial shift in the level of public expenditure for roads health, water and education away from the central province to other regions especially to the Rift valley where president came from.<sup>19</sup> These are some of the sets of variables that Oucho John lists as determinants of conflicts though he notes that the list could be added. The theory of relative deprivation is applicable to the situation in Kenya. The proponent of this theory Paul Corrier says that popular perceptions see rebellion as a protest motivated by genuine and extreme grievances; rebels are public –spirited heroes fighting against injustice. Economic analysis sees rebellion more as a form of organized crime or more radically something that is better

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<sup>17</sup> Oucho John *undercurrent of Ethnic Conflicts* in Kenya op. cit. pp. 35

<sup>18</sup> J. Oucho, *undercurrent of Ethnic Conflicts* in Kenya op. cit. pp. 35

<sup>19</sup> Chege M. (1994) *The Return Of multiparty Politics* in J.D. Barkan , ed., *beyond Capitalism Vs Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania* (Nairobi: East Africa Education Publisher) pp48

understood from the distinctive circumstance in which it is feasible, rather than worrying about what might motivate its participants. The rebels will certainly have a list of grievances against the government for its oppression, unfairness and perhaps victimization of some part of the population that the organization claims to represent. In the economist view of conflict, grievances will turn out to be neither a cause of conflict nor an accidental by product of it. Rather a list of grievances is deliberately generated by rebel's organizations. Without this list of grievances the organization tends to fade away. Corrier goes on and comments that this interpretation of conflict is obviously not shared by rebel organizations or by the people who honestly support them; the justice for struggle seem central to success. In contrast the economic theory of conflict argues that the motivation of conflict is unimportant; what matters is whether the organization can sustain itself financially. It is this rather than any objective grounds for grievance, which determines whether a country will experience civil war. The economic theory of conflict then assumes that perceived grievances and the lust for power are found more or less equally in all societies. Groups are capable of perceiving that they have grievances more or less regardless of their objective circumstances. This social phenomenon is what Corrier called relative Deprivation.<sup>20</sup>

#### 2.4 Actors in the Conflict System

Soon after independence the call for an increased minority tribe representation in high level position in both the public and private sectors has been made with great frequency. Rothchild in his work *Ethnic Inequalities in Kenya* found that around the time of independence in the 1963 the critic assailed the Kikuyu- Luo domination of the country; however by 1966 the focus of attack became more and more limited to the Kikuyu alone. The then government

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<sup>20</sup> Corrier Paul (2001), 'Economic causes of social Conflict and their implication for Policy' in C. A. Crocker et al (ed) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a divided world* ( Washington D.C : US institute of peace) pp.200

responded to tribal minority complaints and dissatisfaction in three basic ways; by insisting that existing imbalances were inherent from the past administration; by setting a high priority in recruitment policies upon individual merit and industriousness, and by assuring the less advantaged people that resources would be allocated according to the need. The government spokes person during this period rejected the claims that there were deliberate efforts to assist Kikuyu to the detriment of others. Imbalances were blamed on the colonial indifference. Despite the effort by the government to include less favored people for leading civil service posts in its attempt to blunt charges of preferential treatment; individual merit and achievement in the recruitment remained of paramount importance in the recruitment process. The tribal imbalance continued as a live political issue on the Kenyan scene. Since the government planner maintained that investment in the less favored provinces should not take place at the expense of overall national development, economic disparities between regions continued. The government's ability to achieve successful recruitment and resource allocation policies has been one of the main challenges of leadership in Kenya. Imbalances of opportunity between tribal groupings therefore have remained a stubborn fact of life in Kenya. Although these is attributed to a variety of inherited circumstances these inequalities have caused a number of political tensions.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand successive population censuses have revealed an interesting picture of spatial distribution of Kenya's ethnic groups, in which three patterns emerge. According to Oucho the three largest groups – the Kikuyu, Luo and Luyah are ubiquitous. The first group dominates both Nairobi city because of their proximity and Nakuru town into which they have migrated mainly since independence. The Kikuyu prefer migration for the purpose of agricultural land settlement, while the Luo and Luhya migrate for purposes of employment in the formal sector. The Kikuyu who migrate for economical reasons, commercial farming and to do business, usually break links

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<sup>21</sup> Rothchild Donald (1969), ' *Ethnic Inequalities in KENYA* '. The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 7, No. 4. Pp691

with their original home, while the Luo and Luhya do so as workers and maintain strong links with their rural home areas. This nature of Kikuyu make them candidates of discrimination and detestation by those whose property or territory (land in particular) they have been accused of 'invading'.<sup>22</sup>

The protest and the tensions that were in Kenya in the 1960's never grew to become rebellion movements. This could be because the constitution then was favoring the government. The government had a strong grip to power and in a way it managed to keep those who protested silent either by use of carrots or sticks whatever it found convenient. The bills that were passed in parliament also made the situation hopeful.

State terrorism is seen as an aspect that causes political violence. It is argued that institutional repression or more violent forms characterizes 91 of 105 developing countries. The absolute majority of the population in developing countries exists under regimes characterized by torture, execution, disappearances and brutal prison treatment of those suspected of opposing the government. State violence is categorized into four : attacks upon power contender; efforts to instill unity or maintain order; quelling those expressing opposition to the regime where such individuals or groups are not of immediate danger to those in power and do not employ violent tactics; and elimination of group or persons considered 'undesirable'.<sup>23</sup> Whatever form of these categories that are assumed, it is designed to defend the interest of those controlling the state. The Kenyan polity has been encumbered with instances of state terrorism both in Kenyatta and Moi regimes. In the case of Kenyatta regime, critics were either detained or assassinated.

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<sup>22</sup> Ouko John *undercurrent of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya* op. cit pp. 36

<sup>23</sup> Rupesinghe K. (1989) "*Internal Conflicts and their Resolution*" in K. Rupesinghe, ed., *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. (Oslo : International Peace Research Institute.) pp.5

When president Moi took over power after the first president of the republic of Kenya Mzee Jomo Kenyatta he expected everybody to sing his tune. Just as he sang Kenyatta's his predecessor. However not everybody was willing to do that and in 1982 there was an attempted coup. The attempted coup made the Moi regime to engage in a coercive centralization process which entailed the severe curtailing of free expression (including the parliament) and of the autonomy of the judiciary, the move towards a de jure one party state, the criminalization and persecution of opposition groups and limitations on the activities of professional ethnic and cultural organization. Political association was restricted a move that forestalled any possibility of legal protest while constraints on any form of gathering paralyzed the process of transforming information and ideas into action.<sup>24</sup> This led to an underground culture of defiance that was expressed for example, in certain forms of subversive music. Periodically these dissents would burst into the open leading to short lived cycles of illegal demonstration, riots and looting. There were also crack downs, evictions, detentions and killings.<sup>25</sup> The Moi regime sought to assault any organization in civil society so as to consolidate power and neutralize potential independent agent of agitation. It is important to note that Moi was from a minority Kalenjin Community.

Moi made effort to consolidate his precarious position in a state and economy that were dominated by the Kikuyu ethnic group of the former president. Espousing widely populist ideals such as combating the endemic corruption associated with Kenyatta's patronage system, Moi instilled confidence with what Khapoya describes as a vague but at the same time, reassuring Nyayo philosophy committing himself to follow Kenyatta's footsteps and retaining the Kikuyu economist Mwai Kibaki as vice president and finance minister.<sup>26</sup> At the same time Moi set about

<sup>24</sup> Wider J. A (1992) *The Rise Of Apathy In Kenya*. (Los Angeles: University Of California Press) pp 162

<sup>25</sup> Surbar friedman Galia (1997) *Church and The State In Kenya 1986-1992: The Churches Involvement In The game of Change*. (African Affairs, Vol. 96, No. 382) pp 27

<sup>26</sup> Khapoya, Vincent B.(1988)"*Kenya Under Moi*, (Africa Today No 1) pp 17

dismantling civic and political organizations and a network of patronage that had served Kenyatta's regime and had the potential to undermine his power. In 1980 the president banned ethnic welfare association a step essentially targeted at Kikuyu Embu Meru Association(GEMA), the largest ethnic association led by prominent old guard of the Kenyatta regime. Karimi and Ocheng note that in 1976 GEMA had spearheaded an attempt to amend the constitution to prevent Moi from automatically assuming power upon the demise of the then president Kenyatta who died two years after this attempt.<sup>27</sup> As observed in the above analysis of Kenyatta era the old guards of the Kenyatta regime could be seen as the reason why there was no much development in other parts of the country. They were the ones who were being protested against during some of the parliamentary sessions. They used the positions of power they held to nullify any attempt to discredit them. They blamed the lack of development in such areas on the colonial administration. The attempt to change the constitution so that the vice president does not automatically take over power is a show of their desire to cling to power at the expense of other communities. This can be seen as one of the main source of tension between the Kikuyu and other communities in Kenya.

The efforts of Moi's consolidation effort were felt on other societal organizations when he maneuvered the constitutional change that outlawed opposition parties and established the Kenya African National Union (KANU) as the sole political party in Kenya in June 1982. As a result of KANU's drive for hegemony, societal organizations had a strained relationship with the state. The state deregistered or proscribed them, beheaded and emasculated them by forcing the removal of leaders and withdrawing their resources and privileges. The state reconstituted them into new organizations, and it forced them to withdraw or diminished contacts with the state to

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<sup>27</sup> Karimi Joseph and Ochieng Philip(1980) *The Kenyatta succession*.(Nairobi: Trans-Africa Book Distributor) pp. 57

avoid antagonism, then it co-opted them, this is according to Widner.<sup>28</sup> As indicated earlier there was tension during the Kenyatta era because of allegation of corruption and tribalism. It would be hoped that Moi would have put effort to resolve as he had indicated in his manifesto, the existing conflict but his actions instead were making the matter worse.

The organizations that were disbanded include the matatu vehicles owners associations, the public service club, the university staff union and the students' organization of the University of Nairobi. The first three being the preserve of Kikuyu commercial transport, civil service and the university elite were potential opposition strongholds. The university students in 1982 August had rioted in support of the attempted coup. The university lecturers were also subject to constant harassment after the coup attempt and some had been detained or exiled. Other organizations particularly farmers organizations that had been favored by the Kenyatta patronage network and whose deregistration would have undermined the immediate economic prospects were beheaded or otherwise weakened. The government also created other organizations, especially in the marginal areas as avenues of patronage to regions and groups that had not benefited to regions and groups that had not benefitted from Kenyatta's regime.<sup>29</sup> Other established groups continued to exist and function without conflict with the regime so long as they acquiesced to regime preferences. Commenting on the situation in Kenya in 1980's Ndegwa says two organizations resisted the attempts by the KANU Government to control them and later emerged as the major oppositions in a civil society cowed by the single party. The law society of Kenya which is a professional Organization that had been politically dormant for most of its existence became more outspoken in the late 1980's in large part due to a radicalized leadership

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<sup>28</sup> Widner Jennifer A. (1992) *The Rise of A Party State In Kenya; For Harambee" to "Nyayo"*(Barkely: university of California Press)pp.56

<sup>29</sup> Barken, Joel D, Michael Chege,(1989)"*Decentralizing the strict Focus And the Politics of Reallocation In Kenya*" Journal of African Studies vol. 27(3) pp 431

ried to displace political elites from the former government. All these amounted to political coercion. The perpetuation of terrorism and violence by the state and its agents resulted in political deprivation to these who were targeted. Thus a conflict ensued between those in favour of the status quo and those who wanted change of the status quo. These made the state to remain set for political confrontation. The other organization that emerged as an active opponent to the single party regime was the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), which is the main umbrella body for protestant churches. This for the NCCCK was a revival since the independence movement. The activism by those two organizations was so intense in the late 1980's that in the absence of political parties, they became the unofficial opposition to the KANU hegemony.<sup>30</sup>

The sermon by the Rev Timothy Njoya challenged the ruling party to learn a lesson from the Eastern Europe and institute reform. Later in March 1990 former cabinet minister Charles Rubia and Kenneth Matiba called a press conference to announce their support for a multiparty system in Kenya. The government warned any move towards that direction and Rubia and Matiba along other rebellious politicians together with some civil society members persisted with their cause to have multiparty in Kenya. For the president and other government officials they reiterated what would become a constant refrain, "Kenya was not cohesive enough as a nation to have multiple parties." In such a cabinet they insisted that advocating multiple parties was tantamount to advocating violence. It was the withdrawal of donors on grounds of corruption that made the government to act. Moi advised his men to embrace multiparty. But he also advised them to protect themselves. To protect themselves the KANU Members of Parliaments (MPs) and Ministers started campaigning for Majimbo this means 'province' in Swahili. Majimbo rallies took place in rural areas where KANU support was strongest such as Rift valley province.

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<sup>30</sup> Ndegwa N. Stephen (1996) *The Two faces of Civil Society : NGOs and Politics in Africa.* (West Hartford, USA: Kumafian Press Inc) pp27



The model was preferred because even if the proponents lost control of the central government, they could bargain with her new leaders on basis of their political strength in ethnic enclaves where their grip in local politics would ensure their dominance. This federalism (majimboism) discourse however confronted the reality that many settlement schemes in independent Kenya as well as the large number of cross-ethnic ties from business, trade and marriage meant that the Rift valley is a rich tapestry of multicultural communities. During Campaigns they underscored the implications of Majimboism to be that all those Kikuyus settled in the Rift Valley would have to pack up and resettle in central province<sup>31</sup>

Pre-electoral ethnic cleansing has been common in Kenya. Before the 1992 elections militias attacked members of ethnic groups associated with the opposition especially the Kikuyu in KANU dominated areas mainly the Rift valley. As a cover up the government tried to characterize this as reciprocal and spontaneous 'tribal clashes'. Influential cabinet ministers openly advocated expulsion of non-autochthonous ethnicities from the KANU zone. There is evidence that government official supplied weapons and paid attackers per house burned and person killed and that KANU leaders trained militias in special camps. Over 1500 people died and an estimated 30000 were left homeless.<sup>32</sup> The conflict that happened at this time was politically motivated. The chairman of KANU was from the Rift Valley region and those who were being attacked were seen to be from tribes that were opposing his reign. Moi had also predicted that Kenya was not ready for multipartism as this would bring instability in the country. There was also the factor of federalism.

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<sup>31</sup> Wider Jennifer, *A The Rise Of A party State in Kenya* op. cit. pp. 101

<sup>32</sup> Nowwrojee B (1997) *Failing the Internally Displaced*. The UNDP Displaced persons Program,( New York: Human Rights Watch/Africa) pp 6

There was also a wave of ethnic violence that erupted at the coast a few months before the 1997 elections. Organized and unidentified armed people attacked members and properties of ethnic groups not indigenous to the largely pro KANU region. Indirect links were subsequently traced to the government. Like it happened in 1992 many people died and a large number were injured. The threat of further violence displaced and disenfranchised between 10000 and 20000 people.<sup>33</sup> These attacks to non indigenous communities were meant to ensure that they fail to vote since that would increase the chances of KANU remaining in power. The attackers would also hope to take over the properties belonging to those they have displaced. The theory of grievances versus greed becomes useful in analyzing the attacks during the general elections.

## 2.7 Conclusion

One can observe that from the colonial period there are a number of variables that made Kenya vulnerable to overt conflict. The colonial authorities formed the foundation through their administrative boundaries that divided Kenya into tribal units. Following their example the succeeding authorities did not do anything much to change the set precedence of their colonial master. Despite the fact that there are times the conflict in Kenya seemed to be resource based conflict and at other times an ethnic conflict, the evidence above shows that conflict in Kenya is mainly political. The conflict became overt every time at the election period causing deaths, injuries and internal displacement of the Kenyan citizens. The fact that overt conflict in Kenya has continued to recur is a clear indication that there has never been any successful resolution if at all there was an attempt at any one time. It is clear that the political class is the one who benefitted from the conflict hence the lack of good will to find a resolution.

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<sup>33</sup> A Testensen, B-A Andreassen & K Trovfull, (1998) *Kenya's Hobbled Democracy Revisited: The 1997 General Elections In Retrospect and Prospect*. (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights)pp 43-44

## CHAPTER THREE

### APPROACHES TO CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses methods of conflict management . The first part of the chapter is about conflict management and the different track levels. They include the first track (track I), the second track (track II) and the multi-track or track III/ 1 1/2. There is an explanation on how Lederach uses a pyramid to show how these three levels operate during intervention to conflict within a country. The second section of this chapter is about the different approaches given as a response to a conflict. The approach used determines if a conflict will have a settlement or a resolution. Most of the conflict management practitioners recommend the fifth alternative as discussed in this chapter. This is where high regard is given to self and other. The role of the civil society organization in peace building is discussed at length. This interest is because the church falls under this category and the research of this work is mainly on the church.<sup>1</sup> A connection between the role of CSOs and the UN is made and the need of the partnership of the two is noted. The remaining part of the chapter is about the track three approaches as proposed by Hirosh. This is defined as the practice of non state actors utilizing various resources in dealing with conflicts. This section is important since it forms the point of entry for the Anglican Church of Kenya in its role in conflict management. There are different frameworks that have been recommended by different authors and this work seeks to see if the Anglican Church of Kenya has given them any consideration in its work in conflict area. A lot of insights used are from Curle and Lederach since they have contributed a lot in this area.

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<sup>1</sup> Hiroshi ODA (2007) Peace Building from Below: *Theoretical and Methodological Consideration Towards an Antropological Study on Peace*. Journal of the Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University vol. 2 pp .13

### 3.2 Need for Conflict Management

Conflict prevention, management and resolution are good politics, good business and good morality and need to be sold as such. Commitment to these goals allows leaders to turn conflict into an occasion of decisiveness and allows parties to get on with productive activity. It reduces duplicating conflict in three ways: by dealing with the specific conflict, by contributing to the construction of the principles of order and in turn by reducing the ambiguity and uncertainty that gives rise to conflict.<sup>2</sup>

Parties undertake bargaining and negotiation to resolve their grievances directly, overcoming conflict and establishing cooperation. Parties need specific tactics and strategies to move from conflicting to reconciling mind set and behaviour. If they reach a stalemate, other parties are involved through mediation and reconciliation. The option of an arbitrator or an adjudicator is only reached when the parties are unable to reconcile and be reconciled.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3 Outcome of Conflict Intervention

There are two issues that inform the study of outcome. These are stated by Mwangiru as the conditions necessary for the successful outcome and the index of what constitutes successful outcome in any intervention.<sup>4</sup> Cortright notes that there are no forms of reconciliation and resolutions that can function in the absence of incentives and constraints. There are gratifications and deprivations closely associated with peacemaking. Parties in conflict need to be shown a better future that can replace the current conflict. This is not inherent in resolution

<sup>2</sup> Bercovitch J. (1984) *Social conflict and third parties. Strategies of conflict and resolution* (Boulgre, Co: Westview press) pp. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Bercovitch J. (1984) *Social Conflict and Third Parties. Strategies of conflict and resolution* (Boulgre, Co: Westview press) pp. 10.

<sup>4</sup> M. Mwangiru 2006 *Conflict In Africa* pp. 103

but needs to be sweetened by enticement. Parties in conflict needs to be shown that the present cause is painful so as to perceive the better future promised by reconciliation, a vision of present that often involves the use of sticks and carrots to keep the conflict within limit and to hold the peace upwards.<sup>5</sup>

The three basic conditions that affect the likelihood of a successful outcome in mediation are identified as follows by Bercovitch; the identity of the parties, the nature of the conflict and the characteristics of the mediator. Bercovitch sees the chances of outcome being affected by the power disparity between the parties in conflict, the nature of the former relations between the parties and the perception of the parties.<sup>6</sup> Mwangi sees the importance to this approach to outcome because it can enable the mediator at the onset to know the types of conditions that may lead to a successful outcome. In practice the approach helps to provide guidelines about the kind of action such as empowerment that may be necessary to push the process to a successful outcome.

### 3.4 Settlement And Resolution

Settlement and resolution are distinguished from each other by the way they relate to power and with power. Settlement as described by Mwangi is anchored on the notion of power, while resolution rejects power as the main frame work of managing social relationships. Settlement of conflict is informed by the idea that since the society is anarchical and power plays a great role in the relationships, the best that can be done in situations of conflict is to reach accommodation which the parties in conflict must accept. Instead of addressing the causes of conflict, settlement merely readjusts and regulates conflict relationships. In the process of

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<sup>5</sup> David Cortright (2007) 'Sanctions and stability pacts: The economic tools of peace making' in Zartman William (ed) *Peace Making international conflict*. (Washington US Institute of peace) pp. 385.

<sup>6</sup> Bercovitch International Mediation, *a study of the incident strategies and condition of successful outcomes cooperation and conflict* volume 20, (1986) pp. 155 - 167

settlement there are efforts of outdoing each other. Power therefore defines both the process and the outcome of the conflict settlement.<sup>7</sup> In the structure of settlement the weaker party accepts the outcome because it has no power to contest it and not because it is contented with the outcome. Mwangiri notes that bargaining underlies the process of settlement. Bargaining itself is conditioned and informed by the power relationship between the parties. It is essentially a contest of will and power where the stronger party is able to strike the better bargain for itself. Since addressing the causes of conflict is not its concern, bargaining does not address the causes of conflict.<sup>8</sup>

The philosophical basis of resolution rejects power as the basis of relationship, especially in a situation of conflict. As Bercovitch puts it conflict resolution is not about suppressing, eliminating or controlling conflicts. It is also not about avoiding a conflict, and is certainly not about using superior force to conquer your adversary. Conflict resolution involves a range of formal and informal activities which are undertaken by parties to conflict or outsiders with the aim to limit and reduce the level of violence in conflict and to achieve some understanding on the key issues in conflict. A practical agreement or a jointly acceptable decision on future interaction and distribution of resources.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.5 Methods of Conflict Management

#### 3.5.1 Negotiation

Negotiation has the choice of agreeing, refusing to agree, or continuing to talk to improve the terms of agreement. The approach of negotiation to conflict is systematic, equal and

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<sup>7</sup> M. Mwangiri, *Conflict in Africa* 2006 op. cit. pp. 40

<sup>8</sup> M. Mwangiri, *Conflict in Africa* op. cit. pp.40

<sup>9</sup> Bercovitch Jacob & R. Jackson (2009) *Conflict Resolution In the Twenty First Century: Principles, Methods and Approaches* (Michigan: University of Michigan) pp.1

voluntary. This means that the parties to negotiation may use stalling techniques to produce deadlocks and disillusionment. In such a case a third party is required as a mediator to assist the parties to get out of an impasse.<sup>10</sup> “Conflict resolution is about accepting a conflict recognizing that there are ways out of it and engaging with some tactic or explicit coordination without which none of these goals can be achieved.”<sup>11</sup> These goals can be achieved in many ways and this chapter will explore a number of them.

### 3.5.2 MEDIATION

Mediation was used early in the history of conflict resolution. But not until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was it institutionalized in international law as a means of peaceful resolution of interstate conflict. This happened at The Hague in 1898. In the late 70s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, different mediation approaches appeared that did not focus on states alone as mediators. The actors were now civil society representatives. Nevertheless, also prior to this change, church mediators like the Quakers, had been active in mediating civil wars as we learn from the work of Curle discussed in details in this chapter.<sup>12</sup>

Moore defines mediation as the intervention into a dispute or negotiation by an acceptable, impartial and neutral third party who has no authoritative decision – making power to assist disputing parties in voluntarily reaching their own mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute.<sup>13</sup> Bercovitch definition on the other hand focuses on the process with the aim of changing the behaviour of the parties. He describes mediation as, “a process of conflict management related to but distinct from the parties own negotiations, where those in conflict

<sup>10</sup> Bercovith Jacob & R. Jackson (2009) *Conflict Resolution In the Twenty First Century* op. cit., pp.8

<sup>11</sup> Bercovith Jacob & R. Jackson (2009) *Conflict Resolution In the Twenty First Century* iop. Cit. pp.8

<sup>12</sup> Curle, Adam, (1971) *Making Peace*

<sup>13</sup> Moore Christopher W (1998) *The Mediation Strategies For Resolving Conflict*. (San Francisco: Jossey- Bass). Pp 14

seek the assistance of or accept an offer of help from an outsider whether an individual, an organization, a group or a state to change their perception or behaviour, and to do so without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of law."<sup>14</sup> Modern research suggests that no party can ever be neutral in any conflict because everybody has some views (for example revulsion) about a conflict and these innate feelings cannot be blocked and tucked away. Classically it was believed that a third party had to be impartial in order to achieve a successful outcome to mediation, or whatever form of third party intervention was at hand.<sup>15</sup> Modern conceptions no longer hold this position about mediation and the literature is clear that empirically, a third party does not need to be impartial in order to achieve a successful outcome.<sup>16</sup> A mediation process can be technically unsuitable if it fails to address the essentially perceptual and psychological elements of the conflict. This can make the process fail to reduce to any appreciable extent the psychological gaps that separates the parties to conflict. This can only happen if the mediator has the ability to analyze and respond to the internal dynamics of the conflict.<sup>17</sup>

### 3.5.3 Interactive Conflict Resolutions

Application of ICR (interactive conflict resolutions), deals with simple members of community in conflict. The interest of the intervention is not to influence policy directly. It aims at instituting dialogue and increasing understanding among wider public which may eventually affect policy.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bercovith Jacob & R. Jackson (2009) *Conflict Resolution In the Twenty First Century* 2009: pp 343

<sup>15</sup> Young O.R. (1967) *The Intermediaries: Third parties in International Crises.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press.) pp.55

<sup>16</sup> Tuuval Saadia (1975) *Biased intermediaries: Theoretical and Historical Consideration.*( Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Vol.1 ) pp 51-70

<sup>17</sup> Mwanguru Makumi (2002) 'The Elusive Quest : Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya' in Okoth Godfrey & Ogot Bethwell A. (ed.) *Conflict In Cotemporary Africa* (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation) pp. 182

<sup>18</sup> Zertman William I (ed) *2007 Peace, making in international conflict: methods and technique* Washington United State Institutue of Peace.



### 3.5.4 Dialogue and Reconciliation

These types of activities can take place on the track II and III levels. The objective of the project despite its variety is to reconcile groups of people that have been in conflict. Often these groups are different ethnic groups. Through different activities these groups are brought together to get a better understanding of the other in order to build relationships with each other. Those who criticize the approach, say that the approach focuses too much on the individual level of people with limited outreach to the entire conflict setting thereby having only limited impact in the society.<sup>19</sup>

Dialogue can help in identifying areas of agreement and disagreement and create option for future of the region. Help to establish working relationship between the groups, propose separate and joint actions to promote the formation of joint coordination committees in order to oversee activities. Dialogue and problem solving forums of various kinds have been applied to of a variety of conflicts around the world during the past few decades.

Facilitation by experts provide input into mutual problem solving. The impending crisis diffuses over time and development work is undertaken to address the conflict underlying issues like water and famine. The continuation of dialogue ensure that the conflict does not exacerbate<sup>20</sup>

### 3.5.5 Civic Education and Awareness Building.

A lot of actors on the track II and 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  level try to empower different groups in society such as women, teachers, parliamentarians or media through training and awareness building. Training and conflict resolution or facilitating brain storming of options is also combined with

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<sup>19</sup> Paffeholz 2006 *community based bottom up peace building. op. cit. Pp. 40*

<sup>20</sup> M. Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa op. cit pp. 10*

the traditional interactive conflict resolution. This trend though healthy can be confusing. It is useful as long as clear goals and clear linkages between methods and goals are maintained.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.5.6 Facilitation

Facilitation seminars can be used to engage participant in joint analysis of the problem and to produce corporate solutions and recommendations. In some cases, participants from the two groups develop implementation plans and coauthored policy paper. This can help discover the basic hopes and ultimate fears on both sides thus building a stronger base for their joint political action.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.6 Levels of Workshops

Focus on inter ethnic community building that include the development of trust and solidarity by sharing grievances through storytelling, examining the cycle of victimhood and aggression, discussing shared responsibility for the traumatic history and moving towards the reconciliation through expression of apology and forgiveness. This was because of the vital role that religious elements play in reconciliation through information of grief process, the respective acknowledgement of grievances, the confession of evil act performed by some of one's own group and the admission of bias found in sinful attitude.

The second level of the seminar is built on the trust of the first level to provide training in communication, problem solving, negotiation and mediation which help to shift the adversarial approach to conflict toward a joint search for mutually acceptable solutions and result in corporate initiative such as negotiation programmes. The third level seminars assist the religious

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<sup>21</sup> W. Zartman, *peace Making in International Conflict* op. cit. pp.111

<sup>22</sup> Fisher Ronald J. interactive conflict Resolution in Zartman w. (ed) *Peacemaking in international conflict: Methods and Techniques* (Washington :United State Institute of Peace) pp243

communities to develop local peace building initiative to address the structural issues underlying the conflict.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.7 Track I, II AND III

Ever since the end of the Cold War there has been a new sense of awareness and general understanding that most of the armed conflicts in the world are intrastate. The narrow security agenda of the Cold War was replaced by an extended concept of security that took into account threats against the life and health of people, for example in the form of environmental degradation, famine disasters, extensive violation of human rights and terrorism which the made conflicts of the 1990's, new conclusions were reached on the role of ethnicity and religion (identity factors) in conflicts. The peace research also established the relationship between democracy and peace. In the response to this, there is great involvement by the civil society, for example truth and reconciliation process in South Africa that had the broad support of the people.<sup>24</sup>

The role of nongovernmental stakeholders in handling conflicts, preventing violence and building peace is often summarized through reference to various tracks. The concept of track II diplomacy is considered to have originated from the work of an American diplomat Joseph Montville.<sup>25</sup> He designated this to unofficial diplomacy, performed by private persons and civil society organizations (CSOs). The first track is that of governments and states where they act separately or jointly. The challenges at the first track are that the government might have a

<sup>23</sup> Ronald fisher, 'interactive Conflict Resolution' in W. Zartman (ed.) *peace Making In International Conflicts: Methods and Techniques* (Washington; United State Institute of Peace) pp. 243

<sup>24</sup> Akerlund Anna (2005) *Transforming Conflicts And Building Peace: Experience and Ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations*. (SIDA studies No. 13. Peace Team forum and Forum syd) pp. 11

<sup>25</sup> Montville, Joseph, (1987) 'The Arrow and the Oliver Branch: A case for Track Two Diplomacy', in John W. MacDonald, jr. & Diane B. Bendahmane, eds, *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy*. (Washington, DC: Foreign Service Institute) pp.5.

challenge in that it might be difficult to maintain a low profile in certain situations, given that the eyes of the media are watching their every move. Governments can have problems intervening in internal conflicts since they can be accused of becoming involved in internal affairs of another state. The first track also has weakness in that their actions are often limited in view of their own national interest. The aim of this approach is to identify the representative leaders of the conflicting parties and to bring them together to negotiate or mediate a cease fire and a peace accord.<sup>26</sup> The assumptions in this approach is the fact that when the peace settlement is reached between the warring parties it will trickle down to the entire population, because these top leaders have their constituents and the power to use or not to use force behind them. The mediators or negotiators are usually give direction and make their proposal to the parties. Mark Hoffman and others quoted by Paffenholz think that the outcome oriented approach overlooks deep causes of conflicts. He says that this approach cannot guarantee long-term stability.<sup>27</sup> The second track consists of CSOs with special interest and competence in the area of conflict transformation and peace building. The advantages and disadvantages of second track mirror those of first track. Their relative lack of power has a weakness that they are not taken seriously. On the other hand it is this fact that gives them a greater possibility to experience and to test ideas. They are limited by lack of resources, but not by any consideration of the principle of non-involvement or by national interests. They are informal and discreet. They often have a direct point of entry to local civil society.<sup>28</sup> Romsbotham at el also notes that the new field of conflict resolution in the 1950s defined itself in relation to the challenges of understanding and transforming distractive human conflicts. In contrast to older established fields such as

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<sup>26</sup> Lederach, building Peace o. cit. 1997, pp. 44-46

<sup>27</sup> Paffenholz Thania(2006) *Community Based Bottom-up Peacebuilding: the development of The Life & Peace Institute's approach to peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the Somalia experience (1990-2000)*(Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute) pp. 17

<sup>28</sup> Wirmark Bo (ed) 1997. *Government -NGO Relation in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace: Report from a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6.* Peace Team Forum. Pp.17

international relation, conflict resolution was to be multi-disciplinary, multicultural, both analytical and normative, and also theoretical and practical.<sup>29</sup> These are in contrast to defining conflicts in relation to fights games and debates as discussed by Rapoport in his work.<sup>30</sup> Such can only lead to settlement and not resolution or transformation. Burton distinguishes between conflicts and disputes. Disputes are about interest where the parties involved want the same thing while conflicts are about values whereby the parties involved do not want the same thing. Disputes require settlement while conflicts have deeper struggles over unsatisfied human needs that require resolution.<sup>31</sup> There has been a shift from seeing third party intervention as the primary responsibility of external agencies toward appreciating the role of internal third parties or indigenous peace makers. This is a concept introduced by Diamond and Mac Donald. Instead of outsiders offering the forum for addressing conflicts in one-shot mediation effort, the emphasis is on the need to build constituencies and capacity within the societies and to learn from the domestic cultures how to manage conflict in a sustained way over time. This suggests multi-track model in the place of the earlier track one and two model mentioned above in which emphasis is placed on the importance of indigenous resources and local actors- what is also referred to as Track III. The multi-Track could include the following tracks: industry, individual citizens, research and education, religion, activist track, the donor track (funding), communication and media.<sup>32</sup> Tongeren at el added further tracks like art, gender work and sport after having referred to diplomatic functions such as mediation, hosting negotiations and the like. The concept has come to be used to point out the breadth of participants that can contribute to

<sup>29</sup> Romsbotham at el *contemporary Conflict Resolution, op. cit.* (2005) pp.6

<sup>30</sup> Rapoport Anatol (1974) *fights, games, and Debates* (Michigan: university of Michigan) Pp. 10

<sup>31</sup> Borton John (1990a) *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. (New York: St Martin's Press) pp21

<sup>32</sup> Diamond, Louise, and John McDonald, (1991), *Multi- Track Diplomacy: a systems Guide and Analysis*. (Grinnell: Iowa Peace Institute) pp. 15

building peace. The concept also includes the belief that the different tracks should interact in order to achieve the best possible effect.<sup>33</sup>

On track II and III levels there are many more approaches to peace building than on track I level. Their common aim is to work on the deeper causes of conflicts in order to develop long term solutions. The third parties here are non directive and try to empower the conflicting parties to find their own solutions. The advocates argue that the approaches are long term and are relationship oriented because they aim at rebuilding destroyed relationship between the conflicting parties. If the relationships between the parties are restored and the root causes of the conflict are tackled there will be peace within the entire society.<sup>34</sup> Lederach's peace building approach divides the pyramid of the society in the conflict country into three levels which could be approached with different mediation and peace building strategies. This distinction between the three tracks has been taken over by main stream research with the following understanding. The development can be seen as the most comprehensive transformation oriented approach that concentrates on the indigenous actors with external actor's role being only supportive through the empowerment of the former. The three levels can be approached with different mediation and peace building strategies. The top level could be accessed by mediation at the level of the state and the outcome oriented approach. The middle range leadership level could be approached with problem solving workshops, conflict resolution and civic education training. An example of a prominent partial insider is the South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Track II is therefore equal to organized civil society: these include groups such as unions, associations, NGOs and churches (middle range leadership of society). The third level, which is the grass roots level

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<sup>33</sup> Van Tongeren, Paul ed, (1999) *People Building Peace- 35 Inspiring Stories from The Around The World*. European center For Conflict Prevention. Pp. 6

<sup>34</sup> Tiana Paffenholz ) *Community Based Bottom-up Peacebuilding: the development of The Life & Peace Institute's* (2006 op. cit.) pp 18-19

represents the majority of the population and can be approached by different grass root training or local peace commissions.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.8 CONFLICT APPROACHES

Romsbotham at el notes that the typical habit in conflict is to give very high priority to defending one's own interests. Using the first conflict recorded in the Holy Bible as an illustration they give the following analogy. If Cain's interests clash with Abel's, Cain is inclined to ignore Abel's interests or actively damage them. Leaders of nations or of any other conflicting parties for that matter are expected to defend the national/party interest and to defeat the interests of others if they come into conflict. But this is not the only possible response.<sup>36</sup> Romsbotham at el identifies five approaches to conflict, distinguished by whether concern for self and concern for other is high or low. Cain has high concern for self and low concern for other: this is a 'contending' style. Another alternative is to yield: this implies more concern for the interests of other than self. Another is to avoid conflict and withdraw: this suggests low concern for both self and other. Yet another is to balance concern for the interests of self and other, leading to a search for accommodation and compromise. And there is a fifth alternative, seen by many in the conflict resolution field as the one to be recommended where possible: high regard for the interests of both self and other. This implies strong assertion of one's own interest but equal awareness of the aspirations and needs of the other, generating energy to search for a creative problem-solving outcome.<sup>37</sup> In the work of intergroup and international conflict resolution-intervention this methodology known as problem solving approaches as discussed by Tamra Pearson are off the record face to face meetings between members of adversarial groups , where

<sup>35</sup> Lederach John Paul (1994) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: US institute for peace) pp. 44

<sup>36</sup> Romsbotham at el *Contemporary conflict resolution*(2005) pp. 17

<sup>37</sup> Romsbotham at el, *contemporary conflict resolution op. cit.* pp18

a third party facilitates participants working through a structured agenda that asks participants to consider the concerns of all the parties participating. The possible solution and constraints faced by all parties participating to accepting the varying possible solutions, underlying the problem solving approach is a goal of addressing basic human needs with the assumption that frustrated basic human needs is the source of serious conflict. To do this John Burton developed a human needs theory.<sup>38</sup> The premise is that in violent conflict, fundamental human needs like security, identity or participation, are not satisfied. With the help of needs assessment, efforts are made to select the unfulfilled needs of the conflicting parties and bring them into an agreement.<sup>39</sup> The confidential nature of such meetings is meant to allow for more candid discussions and more creativity in the generation of new options and makes it more politically possible for the influential persons to attend. Joint action steps are often devised. To maximize the impact of new insight and solutions it is important to use the approach with the influential.<sup>40</sup> By contrast in the area of mediation more generally problem solving approaches have come to be applied to the style and school of mediation that stresses a focus on identifying underlying interest and reaching integrative agreements.<sup>41</sup> The problem solving workshops are decisive yet the idea is the same; usually the representatives of the conflicting parties who have access to the top leadership are invited. This makes the selection of the leadership very important. The approach concentrates also on the needs of the parties. Facilitators are usually a team of academic professionals with experience of conflict resolution and regional expertise. To be successful it is important to have a series of problem solving workshops with the same target groups and

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<sup>38</sup> Burton, John, (1990) *Human needs Theory*, (Houndsmill)

<sup>39</sup> Paffenholz, *community based bottom up peace building op.cit.* (2006) pp.19

<sup>40</sup> D'estree Tamra Peason, (2009) *Problem- Solving Approaches in the Sage Hand Book of Conflict Resolution*. Ed. Berchovitch

Jacob at el ( London: Sage Publication Ltd.) pp 143.

<sup>41</sup> D'estree *Problem- Solving Approaches in the Sage Hand Book of Conflict Resolution* Ibid pp 143



facilitators.<sup>42</sup> Bercovitch criticizes this approach saying that these workshops are too long term oriented to be able to stop war. Another criticism is that improving communication and building relationships between conflicting parties do not necessarily result in an agreement to end the war.<sup>43</sup> The purpose of the workshop is however not for cease fire. Other reasons for the workshops include responding to early warning and providing structures in which the parties in conflict can continue after settlement is done.

As noted above problem solving is one of the mechanisms applied in mediation for the purposes of conflict resolution. The method emerges from one of the main paradigms of the international relations called the world society. The world society sees the international relationships as based on a complex pattern of transactions and interrelationships, a process that generates conflict. The world society conflict management approach is the conflict research. The approach tries to understand the causes and sources of conflict and eventually resolve the conflict.

### 3.9 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The central idea of the civil society is to bring individual liberty and personal security. This is propagated by intermediate organisations standing between the state and the individual. Civil society is also defined as a variety of autonomous, voluntary institutions which provide services to individuals and which articulate public interests. Civil society institutions occupy the space intermediate between the state on one hand and the lowest unit of social life that is the

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<sup>42</sup> Ronald Fisher (1997), *Interactive Conflict Resolution*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University) Pp. 32

<sup>43</sup> Bercovitch Jacob (1994) *Social Conflicts and Third Parties: Strategies of Conflict Resolution* (Boulder: Lynne Renner Publisher) Pp. 116

family on the other hand. Civil society also aims at protecting the individual from the overwhelming power of the state.<sup>44</sup>

In the situation of the post Cold War intrastate conflicts, the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) discovered that they could play a role in contributing to peaceful development. The CSOs is composed of different organisations including churches, development cooperation organisations, peace associations, humanitarian organisations, human rights organisations, youth organisations, solidarity organisations, adult education organisation, women organisations, child rights organisations, law society organisation and environmental organisations. The organisations are involved in varied projects including dialogue projects, education projects, democratisation projects, human rights projects, trauma processing projects, peace observation projects, as well as projects related to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Some have the aim of achieving change at grass roots level while others focus on leaders of organisations, associations or important social sectors. Some few projects focus on the decision making level in the form of support for capacity development in intergovernmental or organisations or on exerting an influence on the parties involved in crises and conflict at relatively high level.<sup>45</sup>

CSOs therefore have potential to support the prospects of peace in areas of crisis and conflict. CSOs can be classified into their different types- either conflict transformation or peace building. Conflict transformation contribution aims at exerting an influence on the very dynamic of the conflict by working with the altitude of the parties involved in exerting an influence on the behavior in the conflict, or of exerting an effect on the very issue in the dispute, the contradiction. The three types of peace building aims at developing structures to support and

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<sup>44</sup> Dessaalegn Rahmato,(2002) "civil Society Organization in Ethiopia", in Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang eds., *Ethiopia, the Challenge of Democracy from Below*, (Uppsala : Nordic African Institute) Pp. 104

<sup>45</sup> Akelund(2005) *transforming conflict and peace building op.cit* pp.12

secure peace through the development of norm and knowledge of developing conflict management by eliminating structural risk factors.

Despite the fact that there are many projects being implemented in areas where there is/was an ongoing armed conflict, there is a great deal that indicates that the real strength of CSOs lies in long term prevention of armed conflict. There is need of developing structures and the capacity to deal with conflicts in a peaceful manner. Special interest shall be taken to see if there is capacity and expertise for identifying early warning signals by the actors that contribute to peace building. According to Akerlund the most suitable form for this is a broad program for cooperation in which several perspectives are given prominence, for example human rights, the environment, poverty reduction, democracy, disarmament and issues relating to the arms trade while integrating a gender perspective in all activities.<sup>46</sup>

Such can help in response to the post Cold War human challenges that can be source and consequence of conflict. In the agenda for peace, Boutros Ghali lists what he sees as the new dilemma of insecurity to include ecological damage, disruption of family and community life, and greater intrusion into the life and right of individuals. These are added to other problems like unchecked population growth, crushing debt burdens, barriers to trade, drugs and growing disparity between the rich and the poor. Poverty, disease, famine, oppression and despair abound, joining to produce 17 million refugees, 20 million displaced persons and massive migration within and beyond national borders. Ghali acknowledges the need for the UN to build peace, stability and security which must encompass matters beyond military threats in order to break the fetters of strife that have characterized the past. This is not to imply that the military/ armed conflict should be ignored, rather since they have continued to bring fear and horror to humanity

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<sup>46</sup> A. Akerlund, *Transforming Conflict and Building Peace* op. cit. pp. 14

they call for the need of involvement to try to prevent, contain and bring them to an end.<sup>47</sup> Ghali also acknowledges the role of civil society in the agenda for peace. This is what he says:

“Just as it is vital that each of the organs of the United Nations employ its capabilities in the balanced and harmonious fashion envisioned in the Charter, peace in the largest sense cannot be accomplished by the United Nations system or by Governments alone. Non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, parliamentarians, business and professional communities, the media and the public at large must all be involved. This will strengthen the world Organization's ability to reflect the concerns and interests of its widest constituency, and those who become more involved can carry the word of United Nations initiatives and build a deeper understanding of its work.”<sup>48</sup>

This is out of realization that the United Nations can only be able to do conflict management at the track I. This as is observed above does not have the capacity of transforming conflict and hence there are high chances of the conflict to recur.

### 3.10 Track III or 1 ½ Applied

The effective and sustainable peacemaking process must not be based merely on the manipulation of peace agreements made by elites, but more importantly by the empowerment of the communities torn apart by war to build peace from the grass roots. This complements the account of international intervention and reconstruction. The revision of which has led to clearer understanding that there is recognition that embedded culture and economies of violence provide more formidable barriers to constructive interventions than originally assumed. This means that one dimensional intervention is unlikely to produce lasting resolution. The other thing is the specification of the significance of post conflict peace building and the idea that agreement need

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<sup>47</sup> Ghali Boutros B., (1992), *An Agenda for Peace Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping* .(UN Security Council) pp.3

<sup>48</sup> Ghali Boutros B., (1992), *An Agenda for Peace Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping* . article 84,pp 21

to be underpinned by understanding structures and long term development framework that will erode cultures of violence and sustain peace processes on the ground. The third thing is that of the related idea of the significance of local actors and the non-governmental sector and the link with local knowledge and wisdom. This alliance as proposed by Romsbotham and others is to enhance sustainable citizen based peace building initiative and to open up participatory public potential spaces in order to allow institutions of civil society to flourish.<sup>49</sup>

Adams Curles introduced a framework that suggests that education, advocacy and mediation share the goal of change and restructuring relationships that are not peaceful. Curle argues that education or conscientisation is needed when the conflict is hidden and people are unaware of imbalances and injustices. This role is aimed at erasing ignorance and raising awareness as to the nature of unique relationships and the need of addressing the resorting equity, as seen from the view of those experiencing the injustices. Advocacy is done in support of those pursuing change. It helps in increasing awareness of issues, needs and interests leading to demands for changing the situation. The work of the advocate therefore is to push for the balance of power that is in recognition of mutual dependence increasing the voice of the less powerful and legitimating of their concerns. Successful confrontation increases the awareness of interdependence and balance of power. This makes negotiation possible helping the role of mediation to emerge. Negotiation in this case means that the parties involved recognize they cannot simply impose their will or eliminate the other side but rather must work with each other to achieve their goals. Successive negotiation and mediation lead to a result that Curle refers to as increased justice or more peaceful relations.<sup>50</sup> The weakness of this framework as noted by

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<sup>49</sup> Romsbotham Oliver, WoodHouse Tom, & Miall Hugh (2005), *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*(2ed) (Cambridge: poljty) pp. 215-6

<sup>50</sup> Curle Adam (1971) *Making Peace*

Lederach is that confrontation does not always end in negotiation.<sup>51</sup> The sentiment that Lederach has can be confirmed by what has happened in the three countries in North Africa that is Egypt, Tunisia and currently Libya. The advocacy which was done through modern technology - twitter and face book – lead to a confrontation that did not stop at negotiation but a revolution that removed from power the existing leaders of their country.

### 3.10 CONCLUSION

Peace building approaches and entry points are different according to the opportunities available and the nature of interventions that emerge in various situations of conflict. For the civil society which includes faith based organization to bring resolution to conflict within the society, conflict research method of conflict management is the best option. There are three entries that have been identified in this chapter the community or grass root level herein referred as track three, the middle- range level the is referred as track two and the top or the national level referred as the track one. The track III approach is seen as the most effective since the use of local resources is emphasized.

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<sup>51</sup> Lederach John Paul (1995) *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across culture*. (New York: Syracuse University Press) pp. 13

## CHAPTER FOUR

# THE ROLE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF KENYA IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

### 4.1 THE BACKGROUND OF THE ACK

The Anglican initiatives started at the coast, and gained momentum with the beginning of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1899. Mission stations were established across the hinterland that is Kenya today. The formal structures of ACK date back to 1844. Working with other Churches (in the Alliance consortium), the Anglican Church started promoting education and advancement while at the same time carrying out advocacy work. As was usual, early missionary work and Church planting included formal education, healthcare services, agricultural extension services and youth vocational training. Dioceses established structures to coordinate these services. In 1981, the Provincial<sup>1</sup> Board of Christian Community Services was established to guide the Church's role and strategies for the development component of its holistic ministry. Holistic ministry in this sense means that the church is concerned with the total welfare of the Human being and not the spiritual aspect alone. In 1986, the Provincial Development Desk was started in the Provincial Office to accentuate the intentions of the ACK Development philosophy launched in 1983 to bring about a cohesive approach to the development work of the Church. At that time, most of the 8 dioceses in the ACK had established development departments.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note: in the Anglican Church Terms a Province covers The whole Country. A province is divided into smaller sections Called Diocese. A few diocese put together creates an inter diocesan region and Kenya Has nine regions

<sup>2</sup> ACK Centenary Celebration. *The History Of The Anglican Church of Kenya*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press) pp.12

In 1991, the Provincial Development Desk was constituted into a distinct office and called the Provincial Development Office (PDO) to consolidate, facilitate and develop capacity of the Diocesan development departments. In 1993, discussions and consultations on regionalization commenced. This meant grouping together of diocesan development initiatives of related dioceses for synergy and ease of development focus and administration. In 1996, PDO started the programmatic approach by establishing specific program desks with specialized program officers. By this time the number of Dioceses had grown to 24. In June 1997, the regionalization process was evaluated, and the report of the evaluation highlighted the importance of reviewing the functions and performance of PDO.<sup>3</sup> A staff member Joyce Mwangi said that the evaluation was too scattered to create the impact desired. It was also confusing for the partners in terms of the report they would receive since there seemed to be different reports from the same geographical location. Creating regions would help to have greater impact and management.<sup>4</sup> During the 2007—2008 post election violence these regions were helpful because they made it easier for leaders from different communities to come together by default and chat the way forward together.<sup>5</sup> In November 2002, the PDO itself was specifically evaluated. The Evaluation Report recommended a major restructuring and strengthening of this provincial-level organ of ACK's social development ministry. The restructuring process involved a series of discussions, which culminated in the emergence of the Directorate of Social Services (DOSS), with fresh mandate.

The roundtable consultation held in Limuru in 1983 resulted in formulation of the ACK Development Philosophy and gave impetus to the various dioceses to start engaging in

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<sup>3</sup> The ACK - Constitution, (2002) (Nairobi: Uzima Press) PP.xii

<sup>4</sup> Joyce Mwangi interview on 5<sup>th</sup> September 2011 at ACK-doss Office at upperhill.

<sup>5</sup> Justus Kinyua, Director of NKRIDCCS, Interview on 14<sup>th</sup> September 2011



systematic development work. The main outcome of the consultation was a decision to amalgamate the several CCS (Christian Community service) units into stronger administrative units for greater effectiveness in the management of community development programs. Then, the process of regionalization began, with a series of workshops and discussions among the bishops, the clergy, and Diocesan CCS workers, spanning the period 1993 to 1997, facilitated by leading local and foreign consultants. As from 1995, inter-diocesan regional CCS started to be formed. This was done by the Bishops, the diocesan development coordinators and the funding partners of ACK in the response to the high rate of increase in the number of dioceses; the dioceses were 9 in 1983 and 21 in 1993.<sup>6</sup> In June 1997, there was made a decision to have 9 CCS regions, with the grouping composed around the diocesan units that existed in 1992. An interview with Charles reveals that one of the nine regions is Nakuru Region Inter-Diocesan Christian Community Services (NKRIDCCS) which covers the Central Rift and parts of South Rift<sup>7</sup>. It is this region that a part this research is done. The region is key because most of the conflict and IDP camps of the 2007-2008 post election violence and also other conflict that have happened in Kenya happened in this region.

#### 4.2 Anglican Church of Kenya, Directorate of Social Services (ACK- DOSS).

The purpose of ACK-DOSS is “Spearheading ACK development issues and positive social transformation. This includes leading conceptualization, stirring and steering action”<sup>8</sup> The Core Values of ACK-DOSS are as follows. One is living in harmony with God, humanity, other living creatures and the environment. Second is the respect for and use of rights based

<sup>6</sup> Church Man Pocket Dials (1999) Nairobi: Uzima Press

<sup>7</sup> Charles Ndegwa interview 6<sup>th</sup> sep 2011 at ACK -Doss Upperhill

<sup>8</sup> ACK-DOSS, *the strategic Plan*.(Nairobi, 2009)

approaches. Thirdly they seek to uphold life in its wholeness. The forth value is respecting the right and ability of people to shape their own destiny. The fifth value is that they appreciation of self while accepting limitations. They recognize that the church is the salt and light of the society. Lastly they have Zero tolerance to all forms of discrimination (race, color, creed, ethnicity, and differently abled - persons).<sup>9</sup> The roles specified for DOSS by the various categories of stakeholders of ACK's social development ministry are; Advocacy on Policies, justice and peace at local, national and international levels; Coordination and Facilitation of the ACK's Social Development programs for efficient and effective service delivery, research, documentation and dissemination of information, facilitating resource mobilization, especially local fund development, facilitation of linkages, networking and collaboration, build the capacity of the church in order to carry out holistic ministry.<sup>10</sup> This is done through nine regions known as Christian Community Services (CCS) spread in the whole country. June Nderitu the staff incharge of advocacy at DOSS notes that despite the fact that they do not have a docket with ACK-DOSS that deals with conflict management a few RCCSs (Regional Christian Community Services) have them within the region and they give them all the support that the need. However those who manage those dockets at the regional levels learn on the job and are not trained. Most of what they practice is what they have learned on the job and from a few conflict management seminars that they have attended.<sup>11</sup> To validate this Director of NKRIDCCS Mr Kinyua said, "one can only be able to get involved in the work of peace building out of a call". Despite this he acknowledges the place of advanced learning to sharpen his skills in conflict management but unfortunately for him such an opportunity is not forthcoming.<sup>12</sup> The communities in the

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<sup>9</sup> Anglican Church Of Kenya- *Directorate Of Social Services Strategic Plan Document* (2006)pp. 12

<sup>10</sup> Anglican Church Of Kenya- *Directorate Of Social Services* (2006)

<sup>11</sup> June Nderitu ,6<sup>th</sup> sep 2011 ACK-DOSS *interview*, Nairobi upper hill

respective regions initiate and implement development projects through participatory and sustainable approaches. The Anglican Church of Kenya besides preaching the good news of the Kingdom of God promotes justice and uprightness for national cohesion, integration, peace and development.

Mwagiru includes the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church as some of the prominent unofficial conflict managers. Together with other organizations they have not always been involved in conflict management activities. They have largely been involved more in supportive rather than direct roles in conflict management. Others have been engaged in humanitarian endeavours. He also observes that those involved in a humanitarian context do not always have a well defined conflict management strategy. This Mwagiru says has tended to affect the ability to produce long lasting results.<sup>13</sup> An interview with June Nderitu the Officer In charge of Advocacy at ACK-DOSS reveals this fact. At ACK-DOSS there are two sections that can be said to be related to conflict management; that of advocacy and that of emergency response.<sup>14</sup> The department's interest in conflicts management is because conflicts reverse development. Since the department has done a lot in development work like for example in providing communities with water bore holes and initiation of agricultural projects like grass framing amongst the pastoralist, conflicts erodes all this gains. The other reason why ACK-DOSS is involved in conflict management is because the church sees it as its heavenly mandate. The mission of the church in the world is to preach peace. The prayer for peace is in the Anglican liturgy (the order of church service).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Mr Justus Kinyua interview NKRIDCCS 9<sup>TH</sup> Sep 2011 at Imani Guest House Naikuru Kenya.

<sup>14</sup> M. Mwagiru (2006) *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institution of Management*. (Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research) pp. 137

<sup>14</sup> June Nderitu Interviewed on 6<sup>th</sup> September 2011 at Upper Hill

<sup>15</sup> *Our Modern Service Book*, 2006 (Nairobi: Uzima Press) pp. 16

Behaviour change has become a preferred communication channel encompassing a broad range of activities and approaches, whose goal is to help individuals and communities select and practice behaviour that will positively impact their lives. This is curved around the most important issues in a given community.<sup>16</sup> DOSS intends to be an enabler and facilitator in mobilizing the church for social transformation. This is achieved through the use of participatory methodologies, facilitating the church implementing organs, networking internally and externally and internal resource mobilization.

#### **4.3 The operation of NKRIDCCS.**

The CCSs are concerned with the holistic development of the human being. For the CCSs this includes the development staff and the community at large. Conflict reverses development. Violent conflict erodes the gains made through development, peace on the other hand is a sign of good governance. As noted above concerns were raised particularly by the donors of the need of maintaining manageable structures. The challenge being that the Dioceses were increasing as time went by. This division of the dioceses was occasioned by either church growth or conflicts where by people from different communities disagreed resulting to the decision to having their own church leaderships. The area of conflicts within the church community is ripe for further investigation. Every Inter-Diocese Region has a board of directors that is chaired by a bishop (who is the chief pastor within a Diocese). Other Bishops from within that region are members. The chairmanship is rotational after every two years. It is important to not that Bishops within the ACK church are male an issue that raises concern with some of the Donors who are gender sensitive. The issue of male Bishop is ingrained in the ACK church constitution and this falls

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<sup>16</sup> Ministry of Abundant Life, ANGLICAN CHURCH OF KENYA– DIRECTORATE OF SOCIAL SERVICES ISSUE 82, JULY 2011

Out of place with the UN- Charter and the Kenyan New Constitution which requires one third of women in leadership position. The change of guard happens after every Synod meeting which is similar to the annual general meeting in the cooperate world. This happens every two years. The board of directors has a maximum of four members from every diocese. The vice chair is a lay person. The chairman and the vice chairperson are usually from different dioceses. The function of the board of directors is to make up polices that govern the organization. They also make important decisions on the issues that affect the community. The church takes a very strong stand on the issues that touch on matters to do with their religious values. Issues like condom distribution and same sex marriages are among the hot topics within the Anglican Church especially where their views conflict with those of the Donors. Some of the donors have opted to withdraw their support since the church is not willing to compromise.<sup>17</sup>

The CCSs has various sections that the finance and programs committee deals with. They ensure accountability, they also meet after every three months to discuss emerging issues. Other sections include professionals in Education, Agriculture, Health, Water and theology. The theological section ensures that the biblical principles are adhered to. The staff of the NKRIDCCS are stationed in respective Diocesan head quarters and they meet monthly. The annual budget is about 30 million and sometime up to 50 million in times of emergencies. In all the activities of this region there is an element of peace building. Initially there was fire fighting approach where by the organisation would be seen within the community when there is an emergency. But this was not good for the development work that they were doing within the

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<sup>17</sup> Joyce Kanyari *The NKRIDCCS HIV/AIDS Worker NKRIDCCS*, interview on 16<sup>th</sup> September 2011.

community.<sup>18</sup> They realized that for development to happen the conflict within the community had to be managed not to become violent.

#### 4.4 Conflicts within the Central Rift Region

Borrowing the words of Peace net the Central Rift Region has continued to experience intermittent conflicts of different nature, magnitude and intensity depending on special circumstances underpinning the conflicts and the environment in which they evolve.<sup>19</sup> The following are some of distinct conflict environments that exist in central rift: Governance related conflicts- this is when as described in chapter two the government makes policies that fail to ensure equitable distribution of the national resources. Different regions within the country are developed at the expense of others. This creates an impression that one ethnic community is suffering because of the way the other has taken advantage. Conflicts in pastoral areas are another type of conflict found in this region. These happen when the pastoral communities migrate in search of food, water and pasture. This kind of conflict is mainly found in the northern part of the central rift amongst the pokots, Turkanas, Tugens and Jemps.

Agro-Pastoralist conflicts happens where the pastoral communities borders agricultural communities. Again famine that causes food and water scarcity is a major contributing factor. Conflicts over land have been a major challenge. The indigenous people are usually hostile to the people who are considered to be from outside the community. The problem of new settlers is as a result of people from other communities buying land from the indigenous. The Kikuyus being agriculturalist value land than the Kalenjins whose land traditionally belongs to the community. The land conflict therefore has a cultural aspect. The colonial legacy related conflicts also brings in the issue of land. The white settlers imported labourers from the central Kenya to their farms.

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<sup>18</sup> Joseph Kioko The staff incharge of Peace Desk Laikipia Diocese, Interviewed on 20<sup>th</sup> September 2011

<sup>19</sup> PeaceNet, *Healing the Nation: A Peacebuilding Manual for Kenya* (2008 Nairobi)

After independence resettlement was not done and they became squatters. One of the most protracted conflict is that of cattle rustling among the Pokot. The root of this conflict can be traced in cultural altitudes. The bride price for the pokot is very high and it has to be cattle. So it brings in the aspect of cattle rustling. Other root causes of conflict include: institutional conflicts, environmental and natural resource use conflicts , conflicts arising from social and political alienation, role of political elites, small arms and light weapons, media related conflict. One of the ICC (International Criminal Court) suspect is a media presenter, three of them are politicians while two are government officials.

A peace meeting held on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008 at Maai Mahiu in Naivasha District the two communities namely the Maasai and Kikuyus identified their main issues as: livestock theft especially sheep and goats, scramble for pastures, trespass to individuals properties – land, laxity on administration especially in prosecuting convicted persons, lack of respect of cultural norms, absentee landlords who employ arrogant youths to look after their property, drunkenness and idleness especially of the youth<sup>20</sup>. The above scenario is common in most of the other affected areas. NRIDCCS has identified 10 hotspots within the region where a peace initiative through the peace committees is being implemented. In addition there are widespread rumors that there will be further chaos in August OF 2012 a fact that NRIDCCS has taken up very seriously. Though many politicians have been citing historical land injustices as some of the main causes of conflicts it didn't come out during the community meeting. All the communities seemed to have lost trust with the local administration whom they were accused of receiving bribes for the amnesty of well known criminals.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kimpamet Kantim of Logonot Division Interviewed on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2011

<sup>21</sup> Justus K Kinyua, The Anglican Church of Kenya, NAKURU REGION INTER-DIOCESAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY SERVICES , *Report On Peace Building And Conflict Resolution , Within Nakuru, Naivasha, Molo, Uasin Gishu And Laikipia*

## **4.5 CONFLICT INTERVENTION IN THE CENTRAL RIFT**

### **4.5.1 Intervention At Timboroa**

As a part of pre-negotiation phase, the first four months after the election violence were mainly focused on provision of famine relief whereby over 30,000 Internally Displaced Persons were assisted.<sup>22</sup> The Nakuru Region IDCCS together with DOSS, Tumaini Na Undugu and Diakonie Humanitarian Aid of Germany assisted the affected communities with over Ksh.40 million worth of relief assistance. This would help in softening the hearts of the victims of violence. NRIDCCS also carried out training on peace building and conflict resolution to ten peace committees within the hotspots of the post election violence as indicated below. The purpose of the training was to enable the peace committee members to understand their roles and responsibilities in peace building in their areas of operation. The training covered the following:- understanding conflicts, the fundamental test questions on managing a tragedy, handling behaviors of conflicts, tools for conflict resolution, principles for relationship building and problem solving,

<sup>22</sup> Rose Muoki, (2008)ACK- Doss Report On Emergency relief, Nairobi pp. 13



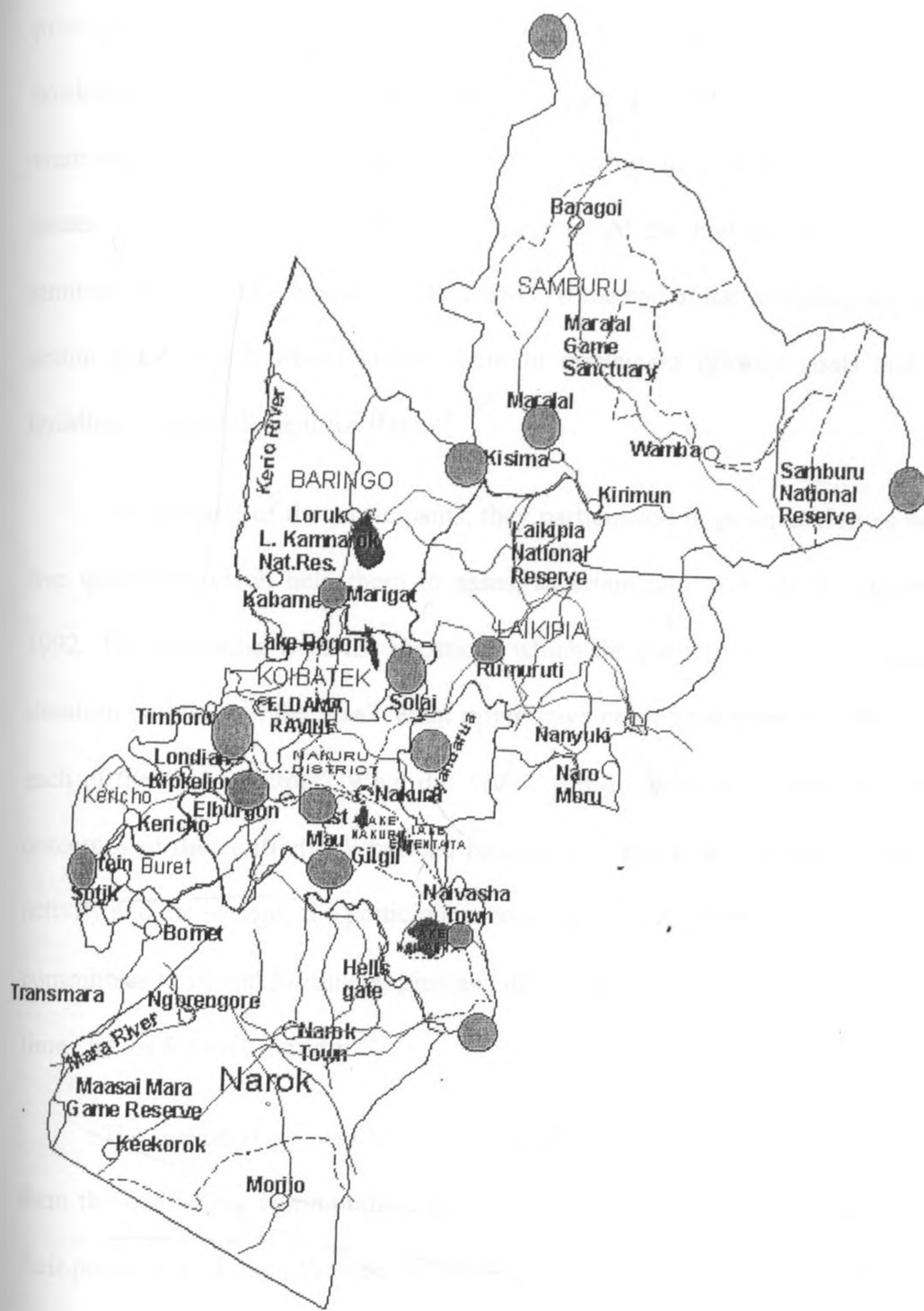


Fig. 3 Nakuru Region Hot Spot

principles for effective leadership and the role of responsibilities of peace committee. The workshops were conducted using experiential principles for adult learning. Interactive inclusions were employed and the participants worked in groups to discuss and reflect together on pertinent issues of advocacy and conflict management. At the end of each day lessons learned were summarized and the day's work concluded. At the end of the workshop the participants prepared action plans which would enable them to implement priority goals and activities of peace building and resettlement for IDPs<sup>23</sup>

On the part of the participants, they participated in group activities where they answered five questions which help them to assess, ascertain and evaluate the recurring conflicts since 1992. The following were the questions which the participants asked themselves: What is the situation currently in the area? What might have caused the problem? What is the root cause of each of the above factors? What did / have you do /done to handle the conflict? What are the outcomes of the conflicts? What can be done to correct the situation? As a result of the group activity and the lessons, the participants came up with action plans. They created implementation committees to sit and formulate, plan and deliberate on the processes of peace building by setting time tables for each activity.<sup>24</sup>

The second stage was for the NKRIDCCS to organize a meeting with the Church leaders from the conflicting communities. This is track II according to Lederach's Theory. Because of their positions and the influence within the community their presence in the negotiation meetings helped the people at the grass root to be willing to also interact with each other. Because of the

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<sup>23</sup> John Masas (Facilitator), *Report of Conflict Management and Peace Building workshop For IDPs Representatives from ACK Diocese of Nakuru (A Peace Building Programme of NRIDCCS of ACK Nakuru Diocese) May 2008*

<sup>24</sup> John Masa Facilitator of peace building Workshop. *Interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2011.*

ethnic undertones bringing together the church leaders was sometime proving to be a hard task yet when it happened it made the work very easy for the facilitators.<sup>25</sup> The challenge was that people from all walks of life were affected by the 2007-2008 post election violence. The NKRIDCCS called all the church leaders who could not see eye to eye. When the workshop brought the leaders together, it was experiential in that they shared their experiences. It gave them a psychosocial effect that brought about healing. After bringing the leaders together the leaders went back to their communities. The other people that were involved in this pre-mediation phase were the community leaders from all the age groups. Out of those trained the peace committees were formed. The objective of this session was to equip the participants with knowledge and skills for effective human relation and problem solving. At the end of the session the participants said that they had understood the principles and they will apply them while working and helping people in their respective communities. The basic principles learned included: to focus on the issue, situation and behavior not on the person, maintain self-confidence and self-esteem of others, maintain constructive and responsible relationship, take initiative to make things better and finally lead by example – this is leading by your lifestyle not merely demonstrating what you want people to do. This second level seminars help to shift the adversarial approach to conflict towards a joint search for mutually acceptable solution and result in cooperation initiatives of such as mediation activities programmes.<sup>26</sup>

#### **4.5.2 Mediation Activities Programme**

At what can be considered as the mediation stage, the facilitators identified open air meetings as their approach. The following is an account of what happened at Timboroa. The trained members of the community first went to what is commonly known as house to house

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<sup>25</sup> Subeiyo Kiptanui, ACK diocese of Eldoret interviewd 26<sup>th</sup> September 2011

<sup>26</sup> Zartman William (ed)2007 pp 245

evangelism. The team contained members from both communities that is the Kalejins and the Kikuyus. One of the challenge that the community were facing is stereotyping. Over the years the Kalejins have developed a negative attitude towards the Kikuyus that all Kikuyus are thieves, while the Kikuyus saw the Kalejins as hostile and uncivilized. According to Mr Kinyua the Director of NKRIDCCS each community has its Gate Keepers- he describes them as a gang within the community that will never attend the peace building meetings and are there to maintain the status quo. They are what is referred in mediation as constituents and it matters a lot if they accept what has been agreed as the way forward. Usually the hardliners are ready to continue with the conflict regardless of what has been agreed. The facilitators being from both communities knew about them and were conscious of the role that they play.<sup>27</sup>

Processing the enemies' image and breaking down prejudices about the other side is a classical mission for peace organizations. It includes breaking stereotypes held by one party against the other. In one of the meetings small groups of up to five people from each community, were given a chance to meet and get to know each other, share and reflect together about social stereotypes.<sup>28</sup> This unofficial processes provide an opportunity to build trustful relationships. Such a forum referred by Akerlund as peace quest could pose a problem since it can easily strengthen a group identity. Care must therefore be taken such that while taking sensitive themes they don't constitute threats and actively search for things that unite directly over the dividing lines.<sup>29</sup> The challenge of dealing with such stereotypes within a particular location is that some times the location covered is too small and the group involved are too few. Usually the stereotypes are ingrained within a whole community including those not involved in the conflict. As Akerlund puts it the peace quest projects only reach those who participate (have already seen the

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<sup>27</sup> Justus Kinyua NKRIDCCS Director Interviewed in 14<sup>th</sup> September 2011

<sup>28</sup> Alice Kiplagat ACK diocese of Naikuru Interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> September 2011

<sup>29</sup> Akerlund

light). Such are the people who are ready to or prepared to reflect critically on their own assumptions of social prejudices.<sup>30</sup> A follow up by the peace committee that was formed by NKRIDCCS at Timboroa indicate that there are still tendencies of the two communities to compete and take advantage of each other whenever a chance present itself.<sup>31</sup> Yet when they realise what that means to the peace of the whole community they are quick to retract from the wrong. It a the case of the old habits that are difficult to leave behind. This is according to one of the respondent Rev Alice Timbomai of T Hill in Timboroa location.<sup>32</sup> There is a big challenge in reaching those people of a given community who are not willing to soften their stand or to compromise. Such people have a strong attachment to their cultural values of the community that they come from. They also have strong attachment to their African Traditional religion (ATR) beliefs and they draw their motivation from these beliefs. Some of this people are in organized groups that sometimes become gangs of terror even to the members of their own community. Sabaot land defence group and the Mungiki militia group can fit well into this category. This is according to Kiplagat Meli a peace committee facilitator.<sup>33</sup> The facilitators of all the peacecommittees were drawn from the communities that were involved in conflict and came together to do the facilitation as a team. This helped in building confidence with the groups that they were facilitating though it took them a lot of effort because there was a lot of suspicion at the beginning of the process.

The peace committees that were composed of the local administration like the chiefs and sub chiefs, church leaders, local leaders and youth leaders formed the peace structure. The main challenge was to make the team to work together because of their different interests and the

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid 2001 pp. 57

<sup>31</sup> Peace Community Report To The Office of the Diocesan Bishop Of Nakuru. Jan 2009

<sup>32</sup> Rev Alice Timbomai A peace committee leader At Timboroa.

<sup>33</sup> Kiplagat Meli Peace Committee facilitator based in Eldolet Town. Interviewed on 14<sup>th</sup> sep 2011

interests of their constituents. The function of the peace committee is to educate the community on the need to maintain peace on a day to day basis. They also convene community dialogue based on the training that they have received. They also monitor the situation in terms of the emerging issues which can bring tension. At the time of this research they are on high alert because of the ICC process that is going on at The Hague. This is bringing a certain amount of tension. They also encourage people to avoid violence and encourage them to use peaceful means while handling conflicts. They therefore have become the voice of reason especially when other leaders want to insight them for their own reasons. They are able to refocus the attention from the national arena and help their community to think about themselves at an individual level. They also train people within the community on the peace building approaches. To help them get motivated they have established peace committee network. They are committed to meet and connect with other peace building agencies and the government. The peace committees help the region to have a different view from that of the politicians. The use of information technology and telecommunication has greatly helped them in disseminating the information to those within their network and even to the community.<sup>34</sup>

#### **4.6.1 Mediation Through crusades**

There are peace activities that focus on the community. In his action plan for peace Boutros Ghali wrote about peace building after conflict as an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.<sup>35</sup> Today the concept of peace building is used to refer to the building of structures for peace in all phases of a conflict not merely after a violent phase has been replaced by a fragile peace. Structures that contribute to strengthening and solidifying peace can be institution that

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<sup>34</sup> Peace committee report to the Diocesan Bishop of Nakuru Diocese. 2008 unpublished

<sup>35</sup> Boutros Ghali (1992)

offer peaceful conflict resolution or that prevents violence, they can also be norms. Peaceful buildings consist among other things of the construction of an institutional framework that support the peace as well as the building of a culture of non violence.<sup>36</sup> One component of peace building, which far too often ends up in the background, is a set of measure to remedy the structural causes of conflict, that is the indirect underlying causes. This is not the same as dispute or the direct cause. If the direct causes of conflict which degenerated the conflict to the results of the general election of the year 2007, which were political conflicts, the structural causes was lack of land, an effect of population growth and probably negative altitude of the two communities against each other.

NRIDCCS in consultation with the Bishops of Nakuru, Kericho and Eldoret Dioceses organized a three day mission in Timboroa starting from the 22<sup>nd</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> August 2008. The mission's theme was "And Who Is My Neighbor" which has been the theme of the Nakuru Diocese since after the Post Election violence. The Mission involved door to door evangelism of both the clergy and the lay persons. The climax of the mission was on Sunday the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 2008 when the Bishop of Nakuru and Dean of the Province and the Bishop of Eldoret Diocese gave a powerful reconciliatory message to over 1000 people from both the Kalenjin and Kikuyu Community at Kipkorosiyo Primary School in UasinGishu District. It was great Joy to see both communities jumping and dancing together after a long time of suspicion and fear.<sup>37</sup> This intervention was magical in that the church leaders of the two different communities were seen together the different communities stated talking. There were testimonies from people from the

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<sup>36</sup> Wirmark Bo (ed) 1997 Government- NGO relations in preventing violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace; Report from a cofrence in meriefred,Sweden September 4-6 peace team forum) pp.11

<sup>37</sup> Justus K Kinyua, The Anglican Church of Kenya, NAKURU REGION INTER-DIOCESAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY SERVICES , *Report On Peace Building And Conflict Resolution , Within Nakuru, Naivasha, Molo, Uasin Gishu And Laikipia Districts* , SUBMITTED TO THE DIROCTORATE OF SOCIAL SERVICES, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2008

two communities calling upon each other to agree to resolve out their differences in a pacific manner.<sup>38</sup>

One of the most powerful tool that was used in this crusade is a skit that was used to encourage behavior change. One of the elements that make behavior change difficult is culture. Therefore the training had been aimed at culture-inspired behavior change and developing skills and attitudes that help active citizens to cope with a changing environment of the new constitutional dispensation. Culture has a big and role to play in conflict resolution cannot be overstated. That UNESCO ran a global campaign for peace and nonviolence through promotion of constructive culture or designing culturally appropriate programs can only stress the point further. drama, arts, music, multicultural weddings and marriages, sports, literature, photography, cinematography, psychosocial support, pseudo-spiritual have been used successfully in Kenya since the early 90s when the first clashes happened in the Rift Valley, Nyanza, Coast and Mt. Elgon.<sup>39</sup>

At Tiboroa a skit was performed by the members of the both communities portraying the members of different communities working together for the growth and development of the same nation. The immediate effects of the mediation crusade were seen. First the leaders that can be seen to be operating at track II level were seen together championing the same cause. Second the members of the community that could not welcome those who are not from their community to their homestead during the door to door session were seen to be talking as they discussed the challenges each other were facing as demonstrated by the skit. The work of peace building that focused relationship building between the neighboring communities was achieved in only two days. At the end of the two days, each of the two groups resolved that hence forth they were

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<sup>38</sup> Jenet Kiptanui, A pe

<sup>39</sup> PeaceNet, *Healing the Nation: A Peacebuilding Manual for Kenya* (2008 Nairobi)



going to work for peace for their area –Together they resolved that from the time of the meeting they will not allow anybody from within or outside to bring about conflict and displacement in the area. At the end of the meetings the participants made action plans that would help them implement the planned activities.

#### 4.6 Mai Mahiu Case Study

The community around Mai Mahiu, Longonot, and Hells gate has a number of challenges. These challenges include poverty due to low employment and low production of food. These also translates to lack and hunger where by the local families are not able to have more than two meals in a day. The existence of conflict within the communities has produced tension and fear. This has also led to reduction in school enrolment. Those who were displaced have not yet returned to their homes. Despite that there is no fighting going on there is a lot of suspicion between the different ethnic communities.<sup>40</sup> Nduta also concur with the same sentiment as those of Kantim.<sup>41</sup> The areas is occupied by the two communities Kikuyus and Maasais ; the former are farmers and the latter pastoralists. The identified causes of conflict have mainly been sighted as bad politics where leaders from the Maasai community insist that the Kikuyus invaded their land. Other causes of conflict were identified as corruption, selfishness disrespect of the culture of the other ethnic group, the gap between the rich and the poor, conflict due to land ownership and unclear boundaries both administrative and even the farm boundaries. This is according to John Masas a facilitator of a peace building training for leaders from Longonot Division.<sup>42</sup> Members of the community agree that poverty is the main issue of the conflict. During famine the herders allow cattle to graze in farms due to shortage of pasture, all efforts are made to rescue

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<sup>40</sup> Kimpamet Kantim of Mirera Location Logonot Division Interviewed on 26<sup>th</sup> sep 2011

<sup>41</sup> Pauline nduta of Menengi Location Longonot Division Interviewed on 26<sup>th</sup> sep 2011

<sup>42</sup> John Masas –NKRIDCCS Facilitator Intervied on sept 27<sup>th</sup> 2011

the cattle. There are also cases of theft of livestock between the two communities which has an aspect of heroism. In all this water plays a major role and when the resources become very scarce the communities have been involved in fighting and sometime death has occurred in the process.

During the colonial period there were a number of Dams that had been constructed. These dams used to be of great help to the community. Over the years the dam have silted and the population of livestock have increased. With livestock as the only source of livelihood a lot of water is needed by the Masaai community. The resources among the Kikuyus is less better managed since they are small scale famers with only a few cattle each. This means that at the end of the day water will remain in areas occupied by the Kikuyus when It is depleted among the Maasai's community. Water among the kikuyu attracts Masai where water bore hole and Dams are better maintained. The Kikuyus who have lesser movement are able to organize themselves as a community and contribute money that help them maintain their Dams. To access the water the masaai buy from the kikuyu but when they are not able to buy any more they burst the pipes and this triggers conflict that is violent in nature leading to death of some of the community members and leaves the two communities with a lot of tension between each other. Whether the water is bought or the pipes are burst the effect is the same the resource get depleted and this only make the crisis worse for both communities who at this point are bitter with each other.

To manage the conflict the NKRIDCCS facilitated dialogue first between the two community elders and leaders of the two groups. During the meeting they agree to persuade their morans and the Kikuyus youths to stop fighting and show them the need of using pacific methods of resolving the conflict as discussed in their first meeting. The second phase of the meeting is to identify what the root causes of the conflict are. They mentioned resource scarcity especially water as the main cause for both communities. They also mention lack of

employment. They discovered that the conflict escalated when the masai Morans were restricted from accessing water which was within the areas occupied by the Kikuyus. They noted that both of the communities used youths as the community soldiers and they were readily available because they are idle and with low level education. The facilitated dialogue agreed that the two communities will endeavor to leave at peace with each other and work for the common good of the whole community. They needed to be united since they discovered that they have a common enemy and they are better off addressing the challenges they have together. They agreed to be more accommodative of each other's culture. The elders also they agreed to model to the youths how to live in harmony and respect each other despite the community they come from. They agreed to work together as one community to ensure there is enough water within the whole community both for the animals and other uses. They welcomed programmes that would help development by fighting poverty, ignorance and diseases. In case of a future conflict they agreed to use pacific means instead of turning to violence.<sup>43</sup>

The NKRIDCCS also noted that the conflict would be better managed if they worked with the youths also. Because of unemployment and poverty it had become very easy to engage the youths from both the communities to fight each other. To rescue the situation the NKRIDCCS has helped the youths to start joint community self help groups that explore other means of livelihood like sand harvesting. With such activities they are able to access the youth fund and the Community Development Fund (CDF) that are made available by the government. This has helped them to work together. Livestock is no longer the only source of livelihood.

The other approach used to address the same conflict was through Administration Chiefs Barazas. In these meetings facilitators are invited to help the communities to understand each

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<sup>43</sup> Paul Maina Peace Committee Member Longonot Location Interview on 29<sup>th</sup> sept 20011

other through speeches of peace and coexistence. They point that unity will help them to improve their social amenities. Other topics handled in such meetings are conservation. Through the conflict management efforts the two communities are now able to work together for the common good. They have learnt to join efforts to maintain the resources like water and trees that they have. They are also able to respect others properties. Political incitements have remained a challenge to peaceful coexistence in the region. However the new constitution has addressed quite a number of those issues.

#### **4.7 The Gaps In The ACK-NKRIDCCS Conflict Management Approach**

The initiative that the NKRIDCCS has done in peace building is quite commendable but there is a lot to be done for its work to be effective. Comparing it with the LPI's approach of bottom up peace building in Somalia there are a lot of gaps that need to be filled .The life and peace institutes have what Paffenholz called the basic philosophy of LPI's approach to peace building which has the following elements; one sustainable peace building is a long-term process that can only be achieved from within the society at conflict<sup>44</sup>. This was the initial objective of the NKRIDCCS but the organization lacked the capacity to sustain and fulfill this objective. The reason behind this was because of lack of enough funds and lack of skilled human resource. However the structure of the organization being church based with the people on the ground having knowledge then it has the capacity to implement. The second element is that of sustainable peace building as a process that involves the entire society and not only the elite<sup>45</sup> The NKRIDCCS have peace committees that have involved the entire society including the Governments administration officers, politicians and church leaders both at track II and track III.

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<sup>44</sup> Paffenholz 2006, pp. 47

<sup>45</sup> Ibid pp.47

<sup>46</sup>at most of the peace committee are not working. The leaders are engaged in other activities within the organization that overshadowed the activities of the peace committees. The committees also lack the incentives to continue with the work due to lack of enough coordination from their leaders <sup>47</sup>The third element in LPI's philosophical approach is that of suitable peace

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<sup>46</sup> Kiplangat Meli 14<sup>th</sup> September 2011 interview

## Chapter Five

### CONCLUSION

Conflict in Kenya that has been manifest at various occasions. This conflict has existed for a long time without any attempt to address it comprehensively by either the church, the government or any other organization. The constitution of this country Kenya has over the years made it possible for those in power to abuse it and use their offices to exploit others without any meaningful opposition. Despite that many commissions were put in place to look into different incidences that happened like the assassination of prominent politicians; it was only a way of cover up and a false consolation of those who were affected directly by such deaths. The political regimes that have been in Kenya have been successful in bringing division in the country along ethnic lines. The intention of this is that they will be able to rule without much opposition. In so doing Kenya has been divided along tribal and religious and some time denominational lines where some Christian denomination have been seen to support the existing government and other were seen to oppose it. At one time the then church of the Province of Kenya (CPK) was sarcastically changed to mean Church of the Politics of Kenya and this is what made the Anglican Church to start using the Name the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK)

The dawn of the multiparty era in Kenya seemed to create in an environment conducive for violent conflict. People from different communities seem to have gotten reasons to harm each other on political grounds. Yet it can be observed that there were many other hidden reasons of which if they were addressed the bloodshed, displacement of persons and other challenges to the Kenya population could not have happened. The lack of development in terms of learning facilities, healthy facilities and lack of diversity

in source of livelihood can be seen as the reason why resource based conflicts have been persistent in Kenya.

Conflicts are good in that they can help those in authority and those interested to know how to best address the needs of a given people. The main challenge is that those who engaged in violent conflict are not primarily motivated by grievances but essentially by greed and selfishness. Some of the conflicts can even be motivated by jealousy. Whatever the motivation to the conflict, there is the need of those intending to manage it to first understand in before taking any other step otherwise it will be a case of misdiagnosis that eventually leads to wrong medication and hence the intended result are not achieved.

Apart from the right diagnosis, there is a need to have the right medication for the problem. Also important is the right tool to administer the medication and giving the right dosage at the right time. In conflict management it is important for the conflict manager to have the right tools. It is not enough to know that a particular problem needs to be addressed, it is also important to know how to address it. If the pre-mediation phase is not done appropriately for example, chances are that both the mediation and the post mediation phase of the negotiation will equally not be successful. It is important for a conflict manager to understand fully the approaches available in conflict management. It is also important to understand the level of intervention of a given conflict, that is whether it is track I,II, or I½. This is mainly determined by the type of actors in every conflict. The outcome desired in every intervention also needs to be clear in the mind of the conflict manager. Is it a settlement, a resolution or reconciliation because that will also determine the method or the approach that will be used in a particular conflict that is

being managed? That conflict can be managed and that it can be of positive effect in the society is not common knowledge. There is therefore a need for the society to know that “not every disease are unto death some are for the glory of God. In other words not every conflict is bad. If conflicts are well managed, they can be of great benefit within a given society.

In most cases the third parties who come to do intervention are from outside. Usually they would come after the negotiations have failed to reach any resolution. There is a shift to the appreciation of the role of the third party. The Anglican Church of Kenya intervention to conflict within the country is in this category. The main challenge of the insider third party is that they can be very partial and very highly influenced by the biases that they have. During the new constitution referendum for example, the church campaigned against the constitution. The fact that it did not succeed despite its effort left it affected in terms of any other move it would make and influence the people in the country. This is because the issue of leverage is important during and intervention to conflict.

The number of approaches in conflict management in track II and 11/2 have a common goal of working on deeper causes of conflict in order to develop long term solutions .Different approaches in this study have been combined to be able to deal comprehensively with the same conflict. In the case of conflict at Timboroa the methods used include facilitation, dialogue, negotiation and peace activities; there is also training of community members on conflict management skills.

The administrative structure of ACK-DOSS enabled by the regions like NKRIDCCSs helps the coordination of conflict management at the grassroots very



possible. The fact that funds are available for the work identified and that there is continuity only help to the strengthen the position of the Anglican Church of Kenya in its endeavor. Despite that there is no much work that has been done in the area of conflict management at the grassroots, what has been done is quite commendable and if they remain consistent there is hope of establishing a very strong faith based peace initiative. The development work that they are doing within the region will also be more established without the fear of being destroyed.

To be more effective there is need for more theories to be practiced. Unfortunately most of the peace practitioners have only attended short courses alongside their line of duty. They confess that they are so preoccupied doing other things and sometimes they have to cover very wide areas yet without adequate knowledge and skills. This is a big challenge in the area. There is also need for stronger alliances with the likeminded. There are other organizations for example that are working within the same line in the same location. If they found a way of working together then they would be much more effective in their effort to manage conflicts.

The experience in our two case studies shows that the ACK has a lot of potential if the right amount of attention is put in the work of conflict management. The two peace projects can be said to be a success despite the gaps identified above. More needs to be done to harness the potential available. It can also be noted during the ongoing work of conflict management a great deal of knowledge is generated. However lesson are mainly learned individually and not by organization. The Director of NKRIDCCS has been in that office for many years and has a huge experience but one wonders what would happen if he leaves the organization. The lessons that he has learned would disappear

with him and the new person would have to learn all over again. When trying to the access archive at the ACK-DOSS head office it was not possible since the person who manned the place had stopped working and they were now looking for a new person who even if he was thorough could not be effective because of lack of continuity. There is therefore a need of building in learning mechanisms on all levels of management of the organization and intervention.

One of the things that lack in this conflict management project that have been studied here is the goal of sustainability which needed to have been incorporated into intervention designs from the very beginning. There is no strategy for exit that is in existence. Because of limited funds and poor staffing the peace project does not seem to be sustainable. One important thing that the peace project has is the monitoring system in the name of peace committees. With the modern technology this are very effective in giving constant feed back which they also do through monthly meetings. This has ensured that the community members own the process which in a way assists in sustainability

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#### List of Interviewees

Charles Ndegwa 6<sup>th</sup> sep 2011 at ACK –Doss Upperhill

John Masas –NKRIDCCS Facilitator Interview on sept 27<sup>th</sup> 2011



Joyce Mwangi interview on 5<sup>th</sup> September 2011 at ACK-doss Office at upperhill.

June Nderitu of ACK-DOOS, Interviewed on 6<sup>th</sup> September 2011

Justus Kinyua interview NKRIDCCS 9<sup>TH</sup> Sep 2011 at Imani Guest House Naikuru Kenya.

Kimpamet Kantim of Mirera Location Logonot Division Interviewed on 26<sup>th</sup> sep 2011

Kiplagat Meli Peace Committee facilitator based in Eldolet Town. Interviewed on 14<sup>th</sup> sep 2011

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Paul Maina Peace Committee Member Longonot Location Interview on 29<sup>th</sup> sept 20011

Pauline nduta of Menengi Location Longonot Division Interviewed on 26<sup>th</sup> sep 2011

Rev Alice Timbomai A peace committee leader At Timboroa interviewed on 26<sup>th</sup> Sep 2011