

## **Analysis of Interethnic Conflicts and Peace Building between 1992 And 2010 In Molo District, Kenya**

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**Abstract:** *There have been recurring violent inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo District every five years since the dawn of multiparty democracy in Kenya in 1991. The need for peace in Molo region of Kenya has been recognised in various Church Reports especially in the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru (CDN). The CDN started the Programme of Peace Building in Molo District to assist people from different communities appreciate their roles in human development and develop positive attitudes towards peaceful co-existence and harmonious living. In spite of this, inter-ethnic conflicts have persisted in the District, especially during general elections. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the genesis of interethnic conflicts in Molo District 1992 and to examine the role of the CDN in peace building and conflict resolution in the area. The study relied on qualitative research design and used purposive sampling procedure to identify a sample of 105 respondents who were among the beneficiaries of the resettlement programme in the District. These included priests and leaders of the CJPC from both Diocesan and Parish levels. The study was informed by the theory of functionalism which explains the structures of the society and thus used the symbol of 'brotherhood' to explore the role of the CDN in peace building. The study focused on the strategies used by the Catholic Church and their effectiveness in dealing with peace building challenges. The key findings of the study are that the interethnic conflicts in Molo District are mainly caused by among others factors: politically representation, land and other economic activities. Furthermore, the study established that the CDN is playing the role of peace building in the District by empowering people economically and emphasising on equality of all people.*

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### **I. Background to the Study**

Many people in Kenya have been affected by political tensions, violence and interethnic conflicts since the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in 1992. In this context, peace building and access to justice have to be understood in a very broad sense. Procedurally, peace building comprises not only access to justice in the courts of law and other state institutions but also to religious, traditional or other non-formal mechanisms of dispute resolution. In substantive terms, peace building and access to justice implies that effective remedies are not only available on paper, but also provided in a concrete situation.

A 2006 Internal Displacement Monitoring Center report noted that 431,153 people had been forcefully displaced from their homes, (Reuters News report, 2008). This is consistent with information received by the KNCHR in its interviews. For example, on 9th November 2006, attackers from Ogilge burnt houses in Mwaragania Molo District and killed a businessman in the area. Police did nothing to stop the attack. Further in the report a witness also told the KNCHR that the 2007 post-election violence was related to the 2006 clashes during which leading politicians in the area including the former Member of Parliament said the Kikuyu community would be evicted from the area.

On the basis of the interethnic animosity in the Molo District that had resulted in violent clashes between them in 1991/2, 1997 and 2006, it can be surmised that the violence following the 2007 elections was not as spontaneous as it initially appeared. In other words, the conditions that had sparked the previous incidents of violence remained intact and it was therefore predictable that with the stoking of the flames of ethnic hatred in the 2007 election campaigns similar violence would result only this time with a new vengeance and magnitude.

This assertion according to the study confirms that the clashes broke out in Kuresoi following the referendum that split the country between supporters of the Kibaki government's NARC party and the breakaway opposition movement, the Orange Democratic Movement, ODM. These clashes involved the expulsion of the Kikuyu community and Kisii from Kuresoi.

Similarly, some of the flashpoints of violence in the Molo District have been characterised by claims by the Kalenjin of Kikuyu encroachment of their land; Kikuyu monopolisation of businesses including retail and transport businesses in the Rift Valley as well as the choice by the Kikuyu community to belong to political parties that were not those of the people of the Rift Valley had chosen to belong to. Political meetings during election time in the Central Rift particularly those attended by Kalenjin politicians often became avenues for

preaching ethnic hatred against the Kikuyu particularly through the long held debate on Majimboism that leaders in the Rift Valley had adopted. Majimboism for these leaders was supported particularly in the

run-up to the 2005 referendum on a new Constitution to refer to the policy of ethnic exclusivity of the Kalenjin and Maasai in the Rift Valley and the eviction of the Kikuyu community, Kisii and other non-indigenous groups from the Rift Valley.

Molo has been the epicenter of intermittent violence since early 1990s. According to the report by the KNCHR, violence in the region was planned long before the elections and pitted the Kalenjin against the Kikuyu and the Kisii who are the dominant communities. The communities live in neighboring farms which are either mixed or homogeneous. In places like Olunguruone and Keringet of former larger Molo District there were reports reminiscent of those in earlier periods of violence that Kalenjin youth from outside those areas were brought in lorries before violence broke out and they were kept and fed in homes of well-known Kalenjin personalities. This is consistent with the pattern of violence in 2006, 1997 and 1992 particularly because Molo unlike other areas of the Rift Valley is predominantly Kikuyu. In response, the Kikuyu and the Kisii staged counter attacks against their assailants. There are credible allegations that a significant number of raiders were from outside the region to buttress the local organised gangs.

The raiders were transported in vehicles provided by politicians and wealthy businesspersons from the region. The KNCHR investigation team obtained several registration numbers of the alleged vehicles. The vehicles were allegedly fueled using funds provided by leaders and businesspersons and through fundraising from ordinary *wananchi* (citizens) from the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities. The vehicles were also used to ferry the injured to hospital and to transport food and other supplies to scenes of attacks. The investigation team was told that the raiders were paid varying amounts of money for the burning and killings. It was not possible to establish the exact amounts paid but it varied from Ksh200 to Ksh500. The KNCHR team interviewed several police officers in Molo who confirmed that several of the raiders who died during the attacks came from outside the district. This was verified through their identification documents.

Kuresoi was the worst hit area where violence had been recurring particularly after the 2005 referendum. Investigation statements suggest that there was a plot to evict members of the Kikuyu and the Kisii communities who were perceived to be anti-ODM. Numerous interviewees<sup>292</sup> from Kuresoi recounted regular attacks albeit on a lesser scale throughout 2006 and 2007. The violence began rising in November 2007 and reached its peak on 30/12/07 after the announcement of the presidential results and quickly spread to other constituencies. By the time the violence subsided in March 2008, large sections of communities, mainly members of the Kikuyu and the Kisii communities had fled their farms. Their property was burnt, damaged or looted by the raiders. An unknown number of people had been killed and scores of others maimed.

The displaced people fled to IDP camps in major towns like Molo, Kisii, Elburgon, Nakuru, Naivasha, Nyeri, Limuru and Muranga while others sought refuge from their relatives and friends in these towns or in Central province and Kisii. In this region, displaced members of the Kikuyu community camped at the Show Ground in Nakuru and in the Municipal Stadium in Naivasha. The Luo community camped at the Afraha Stadium in Nakuru and in Kedong in Naivasha.

Although the effects of interethnic conflicts in Kenya and especially in Molo District are little understood and hardly examined, its negative impacts are increasingly recognized hence the need to build peace among the people. Interethnic conflicts also undermine the legitimacy of the state and its government, both at the domestic and the international level especially the displaced. Often, perpetrators are an expression of the weakness of the state and its institutions such as courts of law, police departments and prisons, which become unable or unwilling to impose its monopoly of power. An interethnic conflict brought by impunity affects the rights of people and communities and undermines good governance. The Catholic Diocese of Nakuru is one of the Dioceses of the Catholic Church in Kenya. It was created in 1968. Until January 1996, the Diocese covered the area that is now under the new Catholic Diocese of Kericho, (Kimotho, 2004). Priests of St. Patrick's Missionary Society were the first missionaries to evangelise this area followed by Comboni Fathers (Kimotho, 2000). The Spiritan Fathers, Franciscan Friars and the Contemplative Evangelizers of the Heart of Christ (CEHC), and the Apostles of Jesus successfully joined them. According to Fr. Muraya Report (2005), these early initiatives have blossomed into a Church that is now predominantly local with a total of 350,000 Catholic faithfuls.

According to a Settlement Strategic Plan document of the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru secretariat, the Kalenjin claim that Molo District and other larger portions of Rift Valley is their ancestral land (Alumina Report, 1996-2006). They view the Agikuyu as 'African settlers' who took their land when the colonisers left the country at independence. The Agikuyu on the other hand argue that they came to the Rift Valley to work in white settlers' farms during colonial period or they were settled by the colonialists when the latter were detaining the Agikuyu to limit the activities of the Mau Mau in Central Province (Macgoye 1986). Macgoye further asserts that while in the Rift Valley, some Agikuyu formed co-operative societies after independence in 1963 and bought land from the colonialists. Some also were settled by the government in its effort to balance the

inequality of land ownership brought by the Europeans under the Settlement Schemes Policy (SSP). In addition, the conflict between the Kalenjin and Agikuyu communities is brought about by the question of land ownership which to the Kalenjin is perceived as deprivation and as a historical injustice, but to the Agikuyu is perceived as theirs by right. The conflict keeps on recurring often despite the Church's numerous efforts to reconcile and make peace during and after the general elections.

The Molo region has been a theatre of cyclic ethnic-based violence that first erupted in 1991 upon the reintroduction of multiparty democracy. Although the violence intensifies during elections, it has its roots in historical socio-economic grievances, unchecked impunity and flawed governance that run deeper than electoral politics. The Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii communities are the main occupants of this region.

A report of the Judicial Commission appointed to inquire into 'tribal clashes' in Kenya, 1999 posits that, in the 1991 clashes, for example, non-Kalenjin and non-Maasai ethnic groups were "attacked, their houses set on fire, their properties looted and in certain instances, some of them were killed or severely injured with traditional weapons like bows and arrows, spears, pangas, swords and clubs." According to the brink of the precipice: a human rights account of Kenya's post-2007 election violence witnesses told the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, (KNCHR), that violent clashes between the Kalenjin, on the one hand, and the Kikuyu and Kisii on the other began in 1992. These clashes pitted these groups along ethnic lines as well as on political lines. Following the clamor for the restoration of multiparty politics in early 1990s, violence broke out in the Rift Valley Province especially in Molo District targeting the Luo, Kikuyu, Luhya and Kisii communities perceived as opposition supporters. Rift Valley is predominantly home to the Kalenjin and Maasai communities whose members in the 1990s supported then President Daniel Arap Moi. The violence was preceded by threats by politicians allied to then President Moi that members of communities seen as sympathetic to multiparty politics would be expelled from the province if the agitation for reforms did not stop, (National Christian Council of Kenya, 1992)

In 1992, the Kalenjin were overwhelmingly members of the then ruling party, the Kenya African National Union, (KANU). President Daniel Arap Moi, a member of the Kalenjin community, was the President of KANU and the country. He was opposed to the introduction of multi-party politics in the country and the existence of opposition political parties particularly in the Rift Valley. Many non-Kalenjin and non-Maasai or the KAMATUSA (Kalenjin Maasai Turkana and Samburu) communities in the Rift Valley supported the then budding opposition parties.

The Akiwumi report on the 1992 clashes reported that the provincial administration was partisan in its support of the then KANU government and against those considered to be opposed to KANU in the Rift Valley.<sup>270</sup> In 1992 the provincial administration also showed open partisanship in favor of KANU. In the 2007 post-election violence however, the provincial administration and the police showed partisanship by their inaction as various ethnic groups were forcefully and violently evicted from their homes in various parts of the Central Rift including in Kuresoi, Narok, Molo, Nakuru and Naivasha.

The study noted that inter ethnic clashes occurred in the Central Rift in 1997 as well. 1997 like 1992 was a General Election year. Thus the ethnic clashes in 1992, 1997 and 2008 had the common feature of having occurred preceding or following a General Election. The pattern of attacks particularly in Molo in 1997/1998 showed that Kalenjin raiders first attacked and killed the Kikuyu community before burning their homes. In retaliation, the Kikuyu community organised themselves and launched counter attacks in which they killed the Kalenjin and burnt their homes.

According to Africa Watch, Divide and Rule (1993) the violence that began in 1991 left an estimated 1500 Kenyans dead and about 300,000 internally displaced by the time it abated in 1994. The violence recurred in smaller dimensions during and after the 1997 elections, this time spreading to the Coast Province. As in the Rift Valley, the 1997 Coast Province violence, targeted members of ethnic communities perceived to be hostile to President Moi and his ruling party KANU. A 1992 Parliamentary Select Committee (Kiliku Committee) concluded that the violence in the Rift Valley had been planned and instigated by senior politicians in the government of President Moi, (Republic of Kenya, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee Nairobi: 1992). A Judicial Commission of Inquiry, (Akiwumi Commission) in its report of 1999 similarly concluded that the violence was the work of senior politicians, (Republic of Kenya, Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee Nairobi, 1992). Other inquiries by civil society groups had reached a similar conclusion. Nevertheless, no one was ever prosecuted and punished for the violence.

According to Peacenet Kenya, Elections Watch Kenya 2007, Issue No. 4, states that well before the December 2007 elections, violence was already raging in Kamwaura farm in Molo District. In Western Province, Mt Elgon was already engulfed in violence with an outlawed group, the Sabao Land Defence Force (SLDF) staging attacks on members of the local population perceived as hostile to their cause. The Independent, September 21, 2007. In the violence of the 1990s in the Rift Valley and the Coast Provinces, the violence in Mt Elgon was wrapped up in the politics over land and electoral demographics. Moreover, in the capital Nairobi as well as in neighbouring Central Province, since 2006, the outlawed Mungiki group had been engaged in violent

killings that seriously challenged the state's assumed monopoly over violence. As in the case of the other organised gangs there was evidence that politics was wrapped up in the activities of the group. As in the 1990s, the government in the 2000s appeared reluctant or uninterested in decisively dealing with the problem of political violence

Besides, entrenching a culture of impunity for political violence, the violence of the 1990s also laid in place the infrastructure of violence in many parts of the Rift Valley. The Moi government had explained away the 1990s violence as "ordinary insecurity" subsuming ordinary crime into political violence. Over the years, this "ordinary insecurity" cover has allowed violence to emerge out of the infrastructure to become almost a regular feature of daily life in certain parts of Rift Valley. As Nic Cheeseman (2008), has noted three months before the December 2007 elections, about 600 people had already been killed in this kind of violence.

The Republic of Kenya, Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Illegal and/or Irregular Allocation of Public Land (2004) points out that the failure of the Kibaki government to address the land question meant that yet again in 2007 the unresolved land question was an election agenda especially for the opposition ODM. A 2004 commission of inquiry on irregular allocations of public land (Ndung'u Commission) appointed by the NARC government of President Mwai Kibaki detailed the corruption in land allocation. However, even after the report was handed to the president, the government failed to act on it, dampening public hopes for land reforms.

Further, HRW, (2008) notes another important underlying factor in the violence is the widespread poverty and radical inequality. Prior to 2007 post election violence, Kibaki government managed to resuscitate the economy that had been ailing under the Moi government to record a respectable 6 to 7 percent growth by 2007. However, the benefits of this economic growth did not translate into improved real incomes especially for those Kenyans living in extreme poverty in urban slums. At the same time, public perceptions that the political leaders were much more interested in their own personal welfare and the pursuit of lavish lifestyles cemented the view that the government was out of touch with the economic reality of the most vulnerable. The opposition ODM ran an effective campaign painting the Kibaki government as removed from the daily realities of the poor Kenyans. The fact that Members of Parliament from across the political divide had in reality voted large benefits for themselves appeared lost in the heat of political campaigns. To many of the poor Kenyans who had invested hopes for a better future in the NARC government of 2002 this represented the betrayal of those hopes. Consequently the ODM message of itself as the saviour from the "corruption" of the Kibaki government resonated with many of the poor- the complicity of ODM members in the profligate spending of public resources notwithstanding. In the battle of perceptions, the Kibaki government had lost.

Related to the politics of "ethnic mobilisation" and the clientelism is the question of citizenship rights and practical implications of the of the "outsider" and "indigenous" discourses in the multi-ethnic parts of the country. Whereas the Kenyan constitution recognises the rights of every citizen to live and own property anywhere in the country, it co-exists with the sociopolitical reality that membership to an ethnic community grants access to certain rights, particularly with regard to land ownership. As Mahmood Mamdani (1996) has argued, while the post independence African state de-racialised the sphere of civic rights, ethnic citizenship-and more specifically, clan membership- remained the only means the poor people could access land.

Where civic rights have opened the doors for acquisition of land, they have often come into collision with the rights granted by ethnic citizenship. This is what frames the discourses of the "foreigner-Indigenous", "outsider-indigenous", or "us against them" in places like the Rift Valley and the Coast Provinces. Even where the "foreigner/outsider" might be allowed to continue holding the land they might have purchased, "indigenous" sentiments have been strongly opposed to any attempts by the "foreigner/outsider" to seek political leadership. In Rift Valley for instance, the failure by the Kikuyu, Kisii, Luo, Luhya and other "foreigner/outsider" communities to support then President Daniel Arap Moi in the 1990s were perceived as an "abuse of the generosity" of the "host" Kalenjin community. In 2007-2008, it is the groups that were perceived as having gone against the political grain of support to the ODM, that were the target of political violence and yet again they were in the Rift Valley and Coast Provinces. Retaliatory violence in Central Province on the other hand, targeted members of ethnic groups seen as ODM supporters and "aggressors" against the Kikuyu.

## **II. Role of the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru in Peace Building**

Since the establishment of peace building programme in Kenya by the Kenya Episcopal Conference (KEC), there have been efforts to establish and strengthen guidance and counseling programmes to respond to the new wave of inter group conflicts. The Kenyan Catholic Church has several Dioceses among them the Diocese of Nakuru which is the focus of this study. The Diocese was once under the ecclesiastical territory of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile. The Mill Hill Missionaries arrived in Western Kenya in 1904 where the Church grew rapidly among the Luo, Luhya, Abagusii, and later the Kalenjin people (Macharia, 2010). In 1928, the first mission station was opened at Nakuru. The mission however, catered primarily for European and Goan Catholics and their migrant African employees. This mobility of the African population limited progress of evangelisation within the white settled areas referred to as "white highlands".

Further, Macharia states that, the National Justice and Peace Commission was launched in Kenya on 1st January 1988 by the Catholic Episcopal Conference (KEC). The CDN established the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission as one of the programmes in April 1991. According to the Justice Commission's Strategic Activities for 2004-2007, the overall objective of the commission was and has been primarily to initiate programmes for education of all people towards a stronger sense of justice. The goal is for people to apply the requirements of justice in their own life and to the social-economic, religious, cultural and political structures of the society. The CDN fulfils the vision of endeavouring to be a community of Christian love where every human person is respected and dignified, and its principles and values are guided by the Catholic dogmas. The Plan further states that the mission of CJPC is to promote peace so that people can take control of their lives, to create mutual understanding, respect and protection of their rights through best practice and advocacy in human rights, good governance, conflict resolution and peace building.

As per the Strategic Plan of the Diocese (2007-2012), the CJPC is involved in training, advocacy and lobby on issues of human rights, governance, civil education, conflict management and gender mainstreaming. Relevant to this study, are the activities of this organisation in its efforts to prevent violence and politically instigated hostility between different ethnic groups in Molo District. These conflicts resulted in thousands of people seeking refuge on church grounds or other safe premises. The CJPC together with other departments such as the Order of Franciscan Brothers (OFB) of the Diocese were immediately drawn into fundraising and in emergency relief for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), in what at that time was considered a "temporary" resettlement scheme.

The Justice Commission's peace building programme was initially a component of civic education as well as that of human rights programmes (Kimotho, 2004). Later, the CJPC took upon itself to support the resettlement of families in the following farms; Muchworwe, Jogoo, Kangawa, Baraka and in Total trading centre. The plan aimed at empowering the lay Christians at the parish and the community levels with knowledge and expertise to know and demand for their rights. It is from this background information that the study evaluated the role of the CDN in peace building and its accomplishment in Molo District. CJPC put in place activities that the CDN used to address the causes of conflict in Molo District. Such causes included idleness, unemployment, pride of some community members, ethnicity pride, poverty, allocation of the CDF money and school bursaries, political representation, theft, utterances of the leaders, location of educational and health facilities, drug taking, cattle rustling, employment disparity, stereotyping, boundary demarcation, socialization and prostitution.

### **III. Micro-Economic Activities in Development**

To address the issue of unemployment, poverty and unequal distribution of resources which were cited as the causes of conflicts in the District, the study found out that the CDN had initiated economic activities to deal with peace building in the District. The study observed that the CDN had Lay Apostolate Department which co-ordinate all economic activities to ensure sustainability and capacity building which aimed at minimising the conflicts which the study had established were brought by competition over the scarcity of natural resources.

The CDN in its roles in peace building in its jurisdiction and especially in the District had initiated *Makao* programme. This programme involved buying land and re-selling it at affordable price to the people in installments with the intention of empowering the people economically, alleviating poverty and restoring human dignity. The CDN had introduced micro-economic development to empower people economically and minimise the conflict emanating from the competition over the scarce resources. Initially, most of the people who benefited from this scheme were those who were affected by the 'land clashes' of 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008. These people lost their properties either through theft, fire, vandalism or those who became Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Later the programme opened the door to all people who wanted to own land and had capacity to pay in installment, both Catholic faithful and non-Catholics, religious and non-religious. In an attempt to promote peace all communities in the area were involved and assisted.

Farmers were initially given farm input like seeds, fertilizers and farm implements such as hoes. Those who did not have starting capital were aided and monitoring done till harvesting time. This capital was not to be repaid because it was assistance aimed at jumpstarting a new economic order. Businessmen and women were also given free capital to restart their businesses. The main goal of the project was to improve the socio-economic environment for the poor and vulnerable people by establishing village, based micro-institutions and cooperatives. Merry-go-rounds and monthly savings had been encouraged and later registered to *Ukarimu* SACCO and the fruits were evident. The study established that the project provided an opportunity for the people to gain knowledge needed to establish, manage and successfully sustain micro-economic institution. The (*Makao* Initiative Plan (2008-2013) summarised the programme's objectives as follows:

- i) To help people to have enough to eat by themselves.
- ii) To bring people together to participate and cooperate in development activities.

- iii) For the village to have their own community funds.
- iv) To improve the livelihood of the people who are healing.

The project activities in the *Makao* Initiative Plan (2008-2013) included:

- i) Providing training and education for the people living in the village.
- ii) Providing and establishing community saving groups.
- iii) Developing the saving groups to SACCO.
- iv) Providing opportunities for leadership training in co-operative accounting.
- v) Servicing support low interest loans for the member occupations.
- vi) Visiting, meeting and learning from other groups and communities.

#### **IV. Youth Empowerment**

In response to the idleness among the youth as the cause of conflict in the District, the Church had realised that involving and engaging the youth in productive activities would bring peace in the area. The study contended that the challenges the young people regularly faced were many, and required, among others numeracy and literacy skills hence the CDN had included life skills as a learning basic need for all young people in the area. It adopted Life Skills-Based Education (LSBE) as a means of empowering young people in challenging situations. The LSBE was an interactive process of teaching and learning which enabled learners to acquire knowledge and to develop positive attitudes and skills which supported the adoption of healthy behaviours. Furthermore, the study observed that if the youth were not fully involved in programmes they can engage in sexual immorality which increases the chances of contracting the HIV/Aids. To combat HIV and Aids the CDN focused on the training and involving the youth to work with adult and the government agents to promote primary prevention, identify orphans and vulnerable children, promote message on preventing mother to child transmission and create programmes to empower girls and young women and educate boys and young men to promote gender equality. Involving the young people became a strategy by the CDN to minimise the idleness and a room for politicians to incite them to turn against members of other communities.

To impart the value of education, the study established that the CDN had put more emphasis on basic education and gender equality as a strategy of empowering the youth. This helped to promote community and family care practices, to help children to be ready to start primary school on time, especially marginalised children and indigenous people. The programme put more emphasis on young people, to build a human community of peace and reconciliation for the fullness of life for all. The programme worked for the spiritual, intellectual and physical well-being of all people and communities, irrespective of religious beliefs, political affiliation or cultural background. As mentioned earlier, retreats were organised to help the youth retrospect themselves. Further, the benefits of the programme stated that young people from poor background had been given vocational training like carpentry, tailoring, and masonry while those who were academically able had been sponsored through the high school education, middle level colleges and university.

The study established that the youth actively participating in peace building they must understand the cultural diversity among them and work together on commonalities. The youth have this capacity to work and are very enthusiastic. However, the leaders and elders have to create an environment for them to understand and coexist in peace and harmony. The youth can change things; they can either make or break and therefore, they need to be listened to but not to be condemned. On the other hand, one of the respondents argued that the youth are adventurous and energetic and as such, they can think of new ideas and relate easily with others in the community. In addition, the youth can break the barriers easily, unlike the adults. As such, the youth should be given a chance in building peace. Similarly they are the backbone of a community or the country and should be given opportunity since they had done well in the positions they hold either in the church or in other areas. Moreover, the youth think differently and are creative, enthusiastic and more reliable to carry out certain tasks. At the same time the youth are vulnerable and could easily be manipulated in a conflict situation but positively they can play an important role in peace building.

#### **Proper Use of Land**

Most of the Molo residents according to the study associated tribal clashes to historical injustices, land and settlements. The task of addressing the land issue should entail a re-thinking of land relations in the country from independence to the present. This would make it possible to lay a firm foundation for the future on the basis of which land as a resource and national heritage may be used in a productive, efficient, equitable and sustainable manner. It is the heritage value of the land which gives the state and the citizens as a whole the right and the duty to ensure that no one individual or community can use the land in a manner that is detrimental to the present and future generations. The study further pointed out that the CDN should advise the government to formulate a forward looking land policy that aims at systematising and modernising the laws, policies, and institutions that have hitherto regulated dealings in land. For example, archaic laws and systems will have to be

discarded while new and more relevant ones are formulated to eliminate improper allocation of land. The National Land Policy should therefore be responding to the social, economic, ecological and political challenges facing the country as it seeks to harness its scarce resources for developmental needs in a rapidly globalising world.

The CDN has continuously challenged the law makers and those who formulate policies that some people would be tempted to question whether addressing land related historical injustices would be a preoccupation worthy of a policy formulation exercise. The study also argued that forty years of independence is a long time during which any historical injustices regarding land and others deep rooted injustices in Kenya should have been resolved. The Government's post independence land policies have not resolved or fundamentally addressed these injustices. The politically ignited land clashes of the 1990s are a manifestation of deep rooted grievances which cannot be glossed over in a reform process. The new Constitution of Kenya 2010 recognises this fact and requires the Government to embark upon the task of redressing historical injustices. What is not clear or agreed upon is the nature and extent of these grievances and their possible long term solutions.

The squatter problem is a direct consequence of the colonial land policy and law. Ever since the Supreme Court declared Africans as "tenants at will of the Crown" following the promulgation of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, the problem of landlessness has never really been resolved (Kisiero, 2007). The dispossession of many Africans from their lands meant that only a massive resettlement programme could provide a solution to the problem of landlessness. The political realities at the time however meant that a radical one track land restitution and redistribution program could not be undertaken without upsetting the platform upon which independence had been negotiated.

On the other hand, land market- based and hybrid system of resettlement was preferred to a wholesale and massive land restitution program. This meant that land which had been lost to Europeans and other settlers could not be entirely repossessed for restitution by the Government. The study further observed the post colonial governments adopted certain colonial policies and laws that had been introduced into the colony. These policies and laws had fundamentally affected the land rights of certain communities in Molo District and in many parts of the country in a variety of ways. The decision by successive governments to continue with this colonial legacy has meant the intensification of these problems over the years. In addition, one of the respondents pointed out that that the National Land Policy should be categorical that the government should in consultation with local communities, civil society, religious sector and Parliament and other stakeholders embark on comprehensive and realistic programme of resolving historical injustices once and for all. In so doing, the government should pay due regard to the rights of other communities which have been acquired over the years. The main objective should be to devise mechanisms of redressing the historical wrongs. Many European settler farmers who had opted to remain in the country retained their lands. However, many peasants whose land was alienated never got back their land.

The Kenyatta Government chose to resettle the displaced peasants through the settlement scheme programme mostly outside the settler's zones. But the settlement scheme program had its own limitations. While it may not be realistic for the government to avail land to all the landless, a clear policy statement on the squatter problem is required. For example, the Ogiek people are one such community that is dependent on forest habitats. In Molo District this community inhabits what is now referred to Mau Forest. Over the years, they have lost their forest land through governmental action. Either the government has gazetted certain forest areas thus making them public land or the areas have been allocated to individuals not ordinarily residents in the area. Such individuals have acquired title to the lands in question. Moreover very often the land has been occupied by other communities who are not necessarily forest dependents.

Minorities such as the Ogiek are now recognised internationally as deserving special protection by the state so that their rights over forest land are not compromised. The cultural practices of the minority groups are protective of the environment and should be encouraged. Moreover, forests are habitats to some rare flora and fauna which are important components of the country's biological diversity. Some of these flora and fauna are foreign exchange earners. The minority communities have conserved these species for centuries yet have not benefited from them financially. The Convention on Biological Diversity does recognise the rights of such people over the genetic resources found in their habitats. The respondent thus recommends that: The government should always provide broad based land claims mechanism for mediating any future land related disputes. Further, the Restitution of Land Rights Act should be drafted to enforce redress of historical land claims/restitution. The wholesale alienation of land and the displacement of the African population created a situation in certain areas of the country that has led to incessant conflict between neighboring communities. The communities usually clash over scarce resources, such as water and pasture. Some of the conflicts arise from different land uses. The conflicts have not been resolved permanently. The potential for armed conflict between communities has remained. Thus armed conflicts often erupt between the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin. The government in consultation with local communities should devise land use programmes that minimise conflicts

between them. In addition, all the root causes of armed conflict between communities should be identified with a view to reaching long-term solutions through an all-embracing consultative peace building process.

### **V. Education, Training and Workshops**

To address the issue of ethnic pride, ethnic stereotyping and negative socialisation cited as the causes of conflicts in the District, 71.4% of the responses agreed that the Church uses education, training and workshop as method of peace building in the District. The study established that the CDN is building peace using its two organs namely, the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) and the Order of Franciscan Brothers (OFB). The OFB in Baraka engage in farming activities while dealing with agricultural development with more emphasis on the value of peace. They base themselves on the traditional African attitude on peace.

According to a social worker in OFB community, among all the African communities who reside in District, peace is equated with 'refreshment' health, wellbeing, harmony, calm and tranquility. This was in agreement with the foregoing argument that the absence of such qualities is seen as the sign of conflicts which could be either latent or overt (Kymlicka, 1995). It is that harmony and freshness which provide farmers with good harvest, fishermen with abundant catches and hunters with game. When there is enough food for everyone, peace reigns in homes, families, clans and communities, nobody has any reason to be envious of anybody else. As such neighbouring communities can live in peace, visit one another during the off-seasons and participate together in social activities such as weddings and funerals. It is worth noting that during the study the respondents from all the mentioned communities confirmed this notion.

The study pointed out that the OFB had established programmes which incorporated all the communities. These programmes included environment conservation through tree planting in the farms and on hilly places, to conserve water catchment areas, to help the residents obtain firewood, and to increase grazing area so as to minimise the tension emanating from competition for water and grazing land for their animals hence promoting peace and co-existence. The principal of Baraka Agricultural college further, stated that the programme had also established tree planting nursery where the youth from different communities participated in planting, managing and taking care of small trees. The researcher noted that all employees in this sector form a multi-ethnic community. This fact had helped the people to heal up and live in peace. This was confirmed on the ground by programmes undertaken under the Catholic Relief Services as taught by the Universal Catholic Church.

Baraka Agricultural College main aim was to train farmers on good farming methods for a pay, as a way of promoting and continuing with peace building initiatives, the OFB had decided to train the vulnerable groups for free. People from different communities were invited in groups and were trained together, facilitated in interaction and sharing of their experiences. On completion of the training session, the participants were issued with certificates of participation. This according to the principal was to enhance people's economic gains and minimise jealous and suspicion that some people have taken other people's land and that are better placed than the others economically.

The study established that the OFB had introduced a programme of spiritual experience where different groups such as, youth, women and men from all communities came together for a spiritual retreat. During such period the participants meditated on their lives and many blessings they had received from God. Director of the retreat centre posited that the participants were also guided to introspect their feelings and also were helped to demystify the stereotypes that they had been socialised into. The main reason for this experience was to help the participants feel born again in full understanding of the changing circumstances and develop a non-violent heart.

The study noted that a youth office had been created because the young people were the most influenced by the politicians and those who instigated 'land clashes' in the District. According to Retreat Centre Director, it was through this office that the OFB gathered information on what was happening on the ground. Issues like increasing tension and rising political temperatures were discussed and clarified in this office. If need be, the information would be given to the local administration like the area chief, DO or the DC and the security patrols were intensified in the area. It is also through this forum that any rumour would be dispelled or any mis-information would be corrected. The Director further cited to the researcher an example of the campaigns during the 2010 referendum on the then proposed new constitution, where some people claimed would lead to loss of land a statement which was popular among those who were opposed to the New Constitution.

To address ethnic stereotyping and pride as a cause of conflict in Molo District, the CDN involves women in its efforts to search for and promote peace in its jurisdiction. Women play a very integral role in the evangelization in the Roman Catholic Church. According to one of the respondents, a businesswoman, the CDN has realised the key role women play in peace building through childcare. African communities such as the Abagusii, Luhyia, Kalenjin and the Agikuyu traditionally assigned to the women the role of inculcating moral values to children. Such education started at the cradle and was effected by a variety of activities in which the children participated. This noble mission of the women was lost or interfered with by modern economic and



political activities. However, the most general implication in this study was the understanding of the OFB that peace is not born but made and that the culture of peace should be imparted in a child through responsible upbringing and socialisation undertaken and supervised by mothers. The residents of Molo who comprises the above communities could reclaim traditional African values hence the CDN perception to involve the women to reach the wider society.

Another respondent, a civil servant, while commenting on the need to empower women in peace building initiatives, observed that the programme was necessitated by the fact that when the conflict or the so called 'land clashes' occurred the most affected were women and children. She contended that women had taken peace building seriously to establish the value of peace established little by little, in young minds to mould in behaviour and personality. In particular, women had taught their children some skills, duties and responsibilities. According to her asserted that children were being brought up as Kenyans and that difference in culture was the richness in humanity.

On the other hand the chair lady on the Catholic Women Association (CWA) pointed out that from early childhood each child was exposed to a variety of peace songs, stories, proverbs and sayings by mothers, teachers, social workers or people with authority in the society. Such teachings were conveyed at the fire-place, after evening meal. Today schools or churches would be useful in reducing conflict, tension and suspicion between communities. These modes of conveying messages contained clear messages and moral teachings. Interestingly to the researcher was the fact that watching the children giving stories and singing these songs projected what the society expected from them as sons and daughters in the family and in community relationships. The study established that basically the themes of such songs and stories demonstrated what was expected of these children such as:

- a) Responsibility through reciprocity.
- b) Honesty and loyalty through mutuality and difference.
- c) Faith and compassion through inner strength and self control.

To support the fact that to avoid war is a sign of leadership, one respondent noted that, one of the Kalenjin songs taught to children had the following message:

Children live in the home of their birth, observing what is done, watching their parents and elders and following their examples. This period of extended observation is supervised by the mother who has her young children constantly at her side, giving them punishment scaled to their years, so that from the early age, children come to acquire appetite for those human qualities, immensely valuable to the society that denotes a good upbringing.

Furthermore, the respondent observed that disciplinary measures existed, even for the very young, in order to set them on the right road at an early stage, promote practical actions and moral teachings. Women have always been promoters of harmony in the community which can be referred to as the "culture of peace". One principle revelation from the study was the idea that peace germinates and flourishes only on the manure provided by the presence of key African family cultural values. These values included: patience, tolerance, honesty and respect for elders, communality and mutuality, compassion, consideration for the neighbours, gentleness, modesty, self control, flexibility, open mindedness, inviolability and respect for human rights. The study has confirmed this assertion on the ground and is evident in women's participation in communal work.

## **VI. The CDN Amani Radio Station**

In teaching the value of peace, forgiveness and reconciliation the CDN launched Amani Radio station to reach many people in a wider geographical area. According to Reverend Fr. Muraya, the CDN communication director, 'AMANI' Radio Station which transmits at 88.3 Khz on the FM dial was launched in 2009. Most of the programmes transmitted are Christian in nature. Fr. Muraya pointed out that in the aftermath of the post –election-violence (PEV) of 2007 and 2008 there was an outcry across the country that the media played a role of heightening the tension which culminated in the violence that left over 1,133 people dead and about 650,000 people displaced countrywide, (Ministry of Special Programmes, 2008). The OFB report showed that Molo District registered 60,000 displaced persons who moved to IDPs camps in Molo or other places.

The Nakuru Diocesan Procurator, argued that it was from the role played by the media which rather than uniting Kenyans disunited them along ethnic lines following the announcement of the presidential results of the general elections of 2007 that the Church opted to use the media to spread the need for reconciliation, peaceful-co-existence and national cohesion. He explained that the CDN emphasised professionalism and ethics in the media fraternity. To avoid the mistakes done by presenters of misrepresenting facts during votes tallying, the Church involved the journalists in peace building programmes. These journalists were taught on how to report on conflict and how they can use their influence to build peace. This was to counteract the then ongoing major debate amongst journalists on how conflict and war should be reported.

One of AMANI radio presenter is one of the chief proponents of what is called the “peace journalism option” in the CDN. He posited that during conflict or war journalism is largely about highlighting events at the expense of analysing the complexities which make war far more than a simple “them versus us” struggle, “goodies versus baddies” in which one side wins and the other loses. This is very critical to the traditional defence of journalists. But Radio journalists have to report the truth objectively. Journalists should always remember that they do not get involved in the conflict. He observed out that the media played a role to spark off the PEV. Radio Amani calls on for journalists to be more professional. Journalists should be aware that they are involved in the dynamics of conflict, and they should understand the subtleties of the situation and report accordingly. This is not easy in this age of personality led, entertainment skewed, and real-time TV news reporting, but it is a duty all journalists are called to perform in order to influence the society positively.

Furthermore, the presenter pointed out that to preach peace among the people, Radio Amani prepared a programme called “The Neighbour” after the PEV that affected many Kenyans in 2008. The objective was to help people make sense out of the chaos which resulted from the disputed presidential election. It aimed at giving people the much needed hope to reconstruct their communities in a peaceful manner. The CJPC and OFB were involved in the development of the programme and coordinated the groups that created the story. The neighbour *was* a story about the living conditions faced by the victims of the PEV in the camps and temporary housing. It also addressed the causes of conflict and people would suggest the possible solutions. The plot recounted day-to-day life and how inhabitants were transformed by their experiences.

In addition, the presenter noted that a total of 120 episodes of the “Neighbour” were broadcast over eight months on Amani Radio. This radio programme reached audiences from the CDN and beyond affected by the violence between 8 pm and mid-night. The success of the project was attributed to several factors. These included: The relevance of the issues the programme dealt with for instance, in the camps, people said that they had come to understand the importance of dialogue for resolving their differences. “Like in the ‘Neighbour’ people had to work together, to rebuild their homes and their lives.” Others stated that the radio soap opera gave them tools to organise the community and to improve their living conditions. The farmers, the businessmen, and the professionals all were victims of the PEV. Most of them lived in the camps. The team which created the programme was supported by conflict resolution experts, sociologists, psychologists and other professionals. The sound quality - the atmosphere created was realistic, the voices were not those of professional actors, but of community members.

The study established that The ‘Neighbour’ was an example of a creative media project that contributed to social reconstruction, peace building and bringing communities together. It also demonstrated that positive results depend on the partnership between commercial and community media, the community and other organisations. One of the listeners of AMANI programmes, observed that through the perspectives of peace building initiatives aired by the CDN Amani Radio in Molo and the entire Diocese of Nakuru, there was hope, though this could be achieved if participants acknowledge the validity of the other point of view and reconsider the content of information, emphasised tolerance and removal of negative references and stereotyping.

## **VII. Use CJPC as an Institution of Peace Building and Healing Emotional and Psychological Trauma**

To address inadequate political representation which the responses had indicated as a cause of conflict in Molo District the CDN established institutions like the CJPC and OFB in order to reach many people and offer civic education in perspective of the gospel values.

The chairman of the CJPC contended that the overall objective of the Commission was and has been primarily to initiate programmes for education of all peoples towards a stronger sense of justice. The goal is for the people to apply the requirements of justice in their own life and to the socio-economic, religious, cultural and political structures of the society. The CJPC has faced a lot of challenges such as lack of well defined structures on peace building. What the Commission did was to source for funds to evacuate the victims, and to give them food, medicine and shelters. The Commission was only active during the conflict period but there after was dormant. The most active and well structured organ of the CDN was the OFD stationed in Baraka farm in the District. The Director of the OFB stated that apart from their spiritual life, and running the Baraka Agricultural College, the Brothers have established a social work department which is in charge of peace building programme. This office inspired by its mission of a just and humane society dealt with vulnerable groups like the marginalised and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

To address cattle rustling and stock theft, destruction of property and eventual deaths resulting from conflicts which the respondents had indicated as a cause of conflict in the District, the CDN has established counseling mechanisms. According to the director of lay apostolate, many people who went through traumatic experience or suffered repeated trauma were struggling with upsetting emotions, frightening memories, or a sense of constant danger that one just can’t kick away. This trauma left many feeling numb, disconnected, and unable to trust other people. The CDN realised the bad things which have been happening during these recurring

conflicts. The Church begun the process of helping people to get over the pain and feel safe again. The director has argued that with the right treatment, self-help strategies, and support from family and friends, one can speed up the recovery from emotional and psychological trauma. Whether the traumatic event happened years ago or yesterday, one *can* heal and move on. This emotional and psychological trauma can be caused by single-blow resulting from a violent attack. The church helped people to overcome grieving.

Similarly, the researcher while visiting the camps and farms where people have relocated observed that whether or not a traumatic event involves death, survivors must cope up with the loss, at least temporarily and of their sense of safety and security. The natural reaction to this loss is grief. Like people who have lost a loved one, trauma survivors go through a grieving process. This process, while inherently painful, was easier to the individuals if they turned to others for support, care, and share their feelings. This was the main reason that made the CDN to use counseling in peace building initiatives. Children were helped to recover from trauma because of the experience they went through. Some saw their parents killed, their homes and properties destroyed or burned and the experience of living in camps under inhuman conditions yet they had a place they used to call home.

In summary the causes of conflict in Molo District were basically economic, political, social, cultural and environmental. Under the political issues study identified some causes as political representation an in administration was imbalanced. People wanted a political leader who came from their own ethnic community. Influential people in the area incited people to turn against other people from different communities. Further, demarcations of civic boundaries were done to favour some members of one community and lock the others from enjoying the government services.

Some of the causes were economic in nature. Among these were land allocations where some members of the community were viewed as foreigners. Poverty where people had small scale farmers and businessmen and majority could not have enough to meet their daily needs. Distribution of resources was another factor where the facilities such as education and health were concentrated in an area dominated by one ethnic community. Employment opportunities were not open to all. For one to be employed on had to come from the community of the leaders of the area. Selective allocation of the CDF money and bursary was done by the leader where it was divided according to the loyalty to the political affiliation. Livestock theft was rampant especially when the elections approaches and in the most case it was the pointer to the insecurity of the area and the resentments of some people.

Social Causes according to the study was characterised by the ethnic arrogance when people used their vernacular languages, and set up their own nursery schools and shopping centres. Further the study established that community stereotyping was common where Agikuyu could call the Kalenjin 'Lumbwa' meaning people from the bush while the latter would call the former land grabbers. Socialization was another factor where even the children at their tender age were meant to be suspicious of other children from other communities.

Under the cultural causes, cattle rustling and animal theft was glorified as a moral cultural value by some people from Kalenjin community. To the other communities living in the District such as Agikuyu, Luo, Abagusii and other view this cultural practice as a vice and insecurity.

On environmental causes competition over natural resources such as land and pastures made the communities to be hostile to each other. The good climate of the area has made it possible for both farm produce and livestock keeping. The study established that this is the reason every community claim to be the owners of Molo District.

In conclusion this paper has presented the summary of the study findings based on my master's thesis entitled "**Evaluation of the Role of Catholic Diocese of Nakuru in Peace –Building Between 1992 And 2010 In Molo District, Kenya**". According to the study the causes of conflict in Molo District as idleness, pride of some community members, ethnicity, poverty, marginalisation, political representation, theft, and distribution of resources. When all these issues are addressed concretely violent conflicts can be minimised and people can live harmoniously. Peace building programmes implemented during crisis or conflict situations can achieve the following positive effects:

- i) Elimination of regional disparities.
- ii) Economic diversification to prevent dependence on export of basic commodities.
- iii) Creation of jobs for young people (of both sexes).
- iv) Peaceful settlement of conflicts over the distribution of available resources.
- v) Socio-cultural integration of minorities.
- vi) Legally correct functioning of public services.
- vii) Promotion of gender equality.

Violent conflict has a negative long-term impact on all livelihoods. Poverty and vulnerability to natural hazards are closely linked to one another. The study established that the CDN is seeking to reduce the consequences of conflict over resources by fostering sustainable use of natural resources, contributing to a safe

and intact environment, and strengthening the mechanisms for coping with the impact. The CDN is playing the role of advocacy for good governance and responsibility. This comprises of a commitment to the fate of the victims and the assuming of responsibility on their behalf. The rights of those who have become victims to violent conflicts and crises must be respected, and the local, national and international communities are to assume responsibility for the victims.

The study established that the church is involved in peace building activities. According to the study, the role of the CDN in peace building in Molo District, the Diocese has recognised that there is recurrence of conflicts after every five years and particularly during general elections. Consequently, it has engaged in various activities of peace building such as education, training and workshops, use of institutions, women and peace building, business and micro-enterprise development, youth and peace building, media and communications, counseling among others. One of the challenges for many people in the District affected by political tensions, violence and conflicts is to ensure that communities possessing legitimate grievances have access to justice. Non-access to justice leads to impunity. Although the effects of impunity are little understood and hardly examined; its negative impacts are increasingly recognisable in the District. Access to justice has become particularly relevant in the context of inter-communal power struggles or conflicts between communities and their members and the State as unaddressed grievances may create frustrations and thus contribute to conflicts becoming protracted. Impunity also undermines the legitimacy of the State and its government, both at the domestic and the international level. Often, impunity of perpetrators is an expression of the weakness of the State and its institutions (such as courts, police, prisons, army), unable or unwilling to impose its monopoly of power. Impunity also affects the rights of people and communities and undermines good governance. When people are displaced and/or there is violent conflict the environment also suffers. The CDN is doing what it takes to respect the integrity of creation and protect the environment and the ecosystem for the benefit of all communities.

On the issue of emergency relief, it is evident that the CDN is involved in saving lives, alleviating suffering, and ensuring survival of the individuals and communities. Damage is repaired as rapidly as possible, and additional emergency measures are taken to help the victims survive. The next step is to re-establish basic supplies and services and to support the afflicted population in the task of reconstruction. The primary objective of emergency relief is to save lives and to cover the basic needs of the victims. This objective comprises a broad spectrum of the following tasks: basic provision of drinking water and foodstuffs; permanent shelter; emergency medical assistance; and the support and protection of refugees and displaced persons. Reconstruction represents the first steps in building a safer future. The reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes of IDPs' and humanitarian aid provide for measures that go beyond emergency relief and disaster assistance. They aim at ensuring that restoration efforts foster conditions for living a life in human dignity, thereby enabling the victims to return to a state of normalcy as rapidly as possible. This is in line with the resettlement scheme initiated by the CDN under the program of *Makao* initiatives.

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