DYNAMICS OF PEACE-BUILDING IN POST-CONFLICT COMMUNITY AND IMPLICATIONS ON COHESION IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY, NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree or any other award in any other University. Except for the advice of my supervisors, this is my unaided work which is submitted for the first time at this University in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies. I hereby cede copyright of this work to St. Paul's University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACCs	Assistant County Commissioners
BBI	Building Bridges Initiative
CIPU	Critical Infrastructure Protection Unit
CNN	Cable News Network
DCC	Deputy County Commissioner
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KAF	Kenya Armed Forces
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KARI	Kenya Agricultural Research Institute
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNFP	Kenya National and Focal Point
KTN	Kenya Television Network
MCA	Member of County Assembly

MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
MP	Member of Parliament
NACOSTI	National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGCDF	National Government Constituency Development Fund
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PC	Police Constable
PCEA	Presbyterian Church of East Africa
PNU	Party of National Unity
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SCPC	Sub-County Police Commander
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TNA	The National Alliance
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNICEF	United Nations International Children Education Fund
URP	United Republican Party
US	United States
USA	United States of America
WFP	World Food Programme

ACRONYMS

D.R. Congo: Democratic Republic of Congo

ABSTRACT

Violent conflicts are on the rise both at the interpersonal and communal levels. In Njoro Sub-County of Kenya, the context of this study, similar to the global and continental levels, communal violence is a common phenomenon especially prior to and during election periods. These violent conflicts have socio-economic and political impacts with adverse impacts on sustainable developments. More importantly, despite the peace-building interventions, communal violence is unabated. This raises pertinent questions as to the effectiveness of the peace-building approaches in study location. This study was guided by the constructivist philosophical stance and informed by the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory that emphasises on the importance of engaging the subjective narratives of the grassroots communities. Furthermore, the study adopted mixed methods with a bias to the qualitative approach. In ensuring reliability and validity, the researcher was reflexive throughout the research process. Equally, a cross sectional research design and multi-stage sampling of data were considered appropriate for the study. For the survey questionnaire, a sample of 399 respondents was picked using Taro Yamane's formula. Since this was a sensitive research, anonymity, privacy and 'the do no harm principle'ethcal considerations were applied. The key research findings were first; the top leadership tended to apply the liberal peace-building approaches which are top-down and generic thus marginalising the voices and participation of the grassroots population, in this case, those at Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, Kenya, a key component to suatainable peace-building. The study argues for a peace-building approach that will engage the subjective narratives of those at the grassroots level. Second, the causes of communal violence are multifaceted and entrenched in the different communities' culture. This highlights the importance of inclusivity of all in the affected communities in the peace-building processes. The youth, women, community and church elders are key in ensuring sustainable peace-building. Third; human security entailing freedom from want and fear as well as community cohesion were identified as the key threats in the communities' efforts to sustainable peace-building. Thus, the need to address the key triggers such as segregated settlements, incitement by politicians, animosity and negative aspects of traditions and beliefs among the different communities. The 'Nyumba Kumi' (a security peace initiative made of 10 households) and grassroots peace committees are key components of community peace-building interventions to the realisation of sustainable peace. Also, of importance is addressing the problem of proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the structural issue of land for community cohesion to sustainable development.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter commences with the overview of the chapter. Next is the background of the study that discusses the concepts of communal violence and peace-building. Manifestations of communal violence, the factors causing it and their impacts are also highlighted. The chapter introduces the peace-building approaches that this thesis advances which include the subjective narratives of the people at the grassroots levels who experience and/or observance of the communal violence ~~as~~ opposed to the often adopted liberal peace-building approaches which are top-down and generic. Next is Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the Study, Research Objectives and Justification of the Study. The core argument~~s~~ in the justification of the study is that communal violence in Kenya is on the increase and is also intractable. Despite the interventions in place, the violence is unabated. Hence, the need for adoption of the peace-building from below advocated by the peace practitioner and scholar, John Paul Lederach. The next section contains the Limitations of the Study where confinement to Njoro Sub-County and the impact of COVID-19 to the study location is discussed. The Assumptions of the Study forms the next section and the assumption is that the adoption of liberal peace-building approaches alone cannot address conflicts such as communal violence. Equally, that adopting the peace-building from below approaches by incorporating the narratives of those at the grassroots on their experience and/or observation of communal violence is the foundation for achieving sustainable peace. Peace-building is to a large level dependent on the degree of peace and/or violence in the society. The final section contains definition of key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

From the onset, it is important to unravel communal violence and the approaches in place of addressing this violence from a global and local context. This is key to this thesis as it will assist in filling in the gaps on the best approaches to deal effectively with communal violence especially in the context of Africa, and specifically, Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, Kenya. Of interest is the fact that despite the interventions by the government and other peace-building stakeholders, the violent conflicts in the Kenya context, more so communal violence is unabated. For decades, both globally and locally, the approaches undertaken in addressing violent conflicts in their varied forms have adopted the liberal peace-building approaches that tend to be top-down and adopt a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to address violent conflicts. In the Africa context, with the increase in incidents of communal violence, the authorities deploy Security officers to address the violence who often use brutal means eroding the confidence of the citizens. This has been the case in Njoro Sub-County as indicated in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Thus, to ensure sustainable peace, the factors causing communal violence as well as the peace-building approaches for stemming down the violence need to be understood from the context in which the violence is taking place. Equally, the level of peace/violence does to a good extent determine the success of peace-building.

Communal violence as a concept has different interpretations. However, there is a general consensus among scholars that it is a collective form of aggression perpetrated across ethnic or communal lines. Najar (2014) for instance refers to communal violence as a form of riot where people with common political, economic, social and cultural interests fight to protect their interests. On the other hand, Brosché (2015) and Elfversson (2019) associates communal violence to conflicts that are organised along communal identity and revolve around non-state actors. The violence manifests itself in different forms, which include ethnic conflicts, as is the case in many African countries; religious conflicts in the case of Asian and some African countries and racial conflicts in Asia, Europe and the Americas. The violence stifles efforts of sustainable peace-building and leads to division among communities. Napoli et al. (2010) contend that communal conflict is an evil that not only impacts negatively on the economy, but to

some extent are responsible for the slow pace in development especially in the Africa context. More importantly, when two or more groups that term themselves as communities confront each other or individual members, the ensuing reaction determines whether or not communal violence will take place.

In this study, communal violence refers to threats and actual fighting by members of communities against their neighbours. This includes acts of omission or commission by a community or a person on behalf of the community that causes fear or harm to another community. It entails situations where communities participate in fighting other communities for the gains of the larger group. Individuals feel obliged to participate in perpetuating violence against other(s) since they are part and parcel of the community involved. It is, therefore, of essence to identify the key factors that lead to this type of violence in aim of addressing them for sustainable peace.

There are ample factors that are associated to communal violence both globally and locally. In this study I will highlight some of the key factors and later discuss the impact and approaches that are in place in aim of addressing them. Wangeci et al. (2014) points out that some of the factors that lead to communal violence include competition for scarce resources, land, poor governance, identity based rivalries, exclusion and political incitements. More so, the authors accredits it to weak State structures which allow little or no room for local participation in the peace processes. However, weak State structures alone cannot explain the intractable conflicts that have paralysed development in mainly the Africa continent. Additionally, Sambe et al. (2013) referring to the case of Africa contends that the communal violence is ethnically instigated posing threats to the different spheres of life, including efforts at peace-building. On the other hand, Richmond (2013) attributes communal violence to the differences in customs, traditions, religion and identity coupled with material inequality. The detailed causes of communal violence are discussed in section 2.3.1 of the next Chapter.

More importantly, peace-building approaches that are employed to address communal violence when it occurs have impact on sustainable peace and development of a given country and her citizens. For instance, in reference to the economy of a place, when this is threatened, the tenets of peace and harmonious co-existence are threatened too as people tend to fight for especially scarce resources (Sambe et al., 2013). Furthermore,

according to Kato (2016), the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is highly affected when violence breaks out. In support of this, his study in Bolivia demonstrates that the conflict lasting for the period 1970-2005 cost the country up to 10% of her GDP. Further, the recurring conflicts and the ensuing road blockades, among other aspects of the violence, put the national economy on a downward trend. Similarly, citing the case of Spain, a developed country, the GDP per capita of Basque region of Spain was lower by 10% in the 1980s and 1990s, when violence took place, as compared to the period when the region experienced calm. Citing these statistics, it is evident that communal violence can be an impediment to human and sustainable development. Despite the structural issues that include the heavy debts, low economic development and lack of democratic accountability, among others, communal violence has caused more than enough problems. Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, is not an exception.

While supporting the views on the link between communal violence and the negative effects on the economy, Cheeseman et al. (2019) advances the view that communal violence creates long term enmity and divisions leading to polarisation and an inability to work together for development. Equally, Najar (2014) while supporting Cheeseman et al's arguments on the link between communal violence and polarisation of communities highlights the fact that communal violence has led to deaths and injuries as well as destruction of property and has left people with bitterness and sad memories. More so, Piccolino (2019) notes that communal violence has adversely affected communities with activities towards reconciliation not achieving much in ensuring sustainable peace. It is no wonder that he terms communal violence 'a curse' within communities. Likewise, communal violence has led to forced migration of people from their settlements (Cilliers, 2018). Widespread migration creates insecurity and in reference to this, Africa is rated the worst continent out of the seven continents. Malawi and Niger have also been singled out as some of the countries that have suffered serious threats on human life. Most importantly, while communal violence is localised, one cannot ignore the fact that such violence has effect on people from all walks of life irrespective of their geographical locations, race, and religious affiliations. Thus, since the world has become a global village, localised communal violence does have ripple effects on international security and stability.

Furthermore, communal violence impacts negatively on the different aspects of life. For instance, communities face displacement and for some individuals who are socially and economically independent, the experience has led to poverty and dependence on others for their basic needs. As a result of communal violence, there is a restriction on people's movement. Similarly, movement and distribution of food and other different essential requirements of the community is hampered by the violence. In fact, communal violence has the potential of affecting not only production and access but also destroying what has been produced (Finnegan, 2014). For instance, in reference to the effects of communal violence and realisation of food security (Bora et al., 2010) opines that the four different but inter-related parameters of food security (accessibility, availability, distribution and utilisation) are hard to achieve in a context of widespread communal violence. Likewise, (Allard et al., 2017) citing the case of food insecurity in the United States of America (USA) and Wangthamrong, (2010) citing the case of Thailand largely apportion blame of food insecurity to the outbreak of communal violence. It is of interest to note that despite the availability of resources and high productivity, the USA and Thailand suffer food insecurity. This case is no different from that of Njoro Sub-County, the case of this study as highlighted in Section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 of this Thesis.

In support of the arguments highlighting the nexus between communal violence and the economy, Sambe et al. (2013), in reference to Africa, contends that communal violence highly compromises economic production and peace-building. For instance, access to transportation, availability and utilisation of materials, suffer due to recurring violence between different communities. Apart from transportation of goods, people too face challenges in transport and also communication as travel is compromised by the communal violence. Jedermann et al. (2014) supports this argument when highlighting the fact that communal violence interferes with logistics as transport routes are damaged, while communication channels are destroyed interfering with interactions, trade and businesses. Equally, communal violence has ripple effect on the countries bordering Kenya thus negatively affecting the relationship (Njogu, 2010). Besides, the regional growth, prosperity and stability are negatively affected.

In reference to the Kenya context and the experience of communal violence, Cho et al. (2015) argues that there are episodes of skirmishes especially during general elections which takes place every five years. Equally, the violence perpetrated along ethnic lines has consumed enormous resources and thus has hampered sustainable peace and development. For instance, in reference to the 1992 violence, that was dubbed the 'tribal clashes' that happened in the then Rift Valley province, Kenya, 779 people were killed and 56,000 displaced. This was followed by the 1997 similar violence where 200 people were killed and over 100,000 displaced. During the 2007-08 violence, 1,133 died and 350,000 people were displaced. Those injured were 3561 people and 117,216 private properties were destroyed. The private property included residential houses, vehicles and food stores (Waki, 2008). However, other scholars have documented slightly higher figures of these atrocities. For instance, Muia (2020) states that 1300 people were killed in the 2007-08 post-election violence. Njoro which was part of the larger Molo Sub-County was the epicentre of the violence where 150 people lost their lives, 170 were injured, 5166 houses were burnt and this led to the displacement of 66,000 (Waweru, 2019). Furthermore, there was massive lootings and destruction of property.burning of houses became the order of the day with 5164 houses being torched. Women were widely used as a weapon of violence. Appendix VI shows some of the buildings burnt during the violence.

During these outbreaks of violence, militaristic interventions were employed. For instance, the different security officers were deployed across different parts of the country to quell the violence. However, employing the security forces to ease tension whenever there are violent conflicts tends to increase the violence and also is not a panacea for sustainable peace. This is evidenced in the present situation of intractable conflicts in Njoro Sub-County, the study location for this research. From the collected and analysed data in this field research, it is evident that militaristic approaches which are based on the liberal approach have failed in ensuring sustainable peace.

Similarly, referring to communal violence in Kenya, specifically the case of North Rift Kenya among the Samburu and the Turkana, Okumu (2017) notes that violence has led to death and serious consequences particularly for women and children. Equally, this has negatively affected the regional development and stability of Eastern Africa and the

most affected are the local communities. Apart from investors being discouraged by the intractable communal violence, resources have been redirected for instance to quell communal conflicts, feed those affected by fighting as well as sponsoring post-conflict teams for peace-building. This means diverting resources from other priorities that would ensure better standards of living thus creating more vulnerable members of the communities. In response to the violence, the government engages in militaristic interventions which are short-term solutions that tend to stimulate more violence and also leave intact the underlying root causes of the communal violence, hence ineffective. However, if sustainable peace is to be realised, the underlying root causes of the communal violence have to be identified. Additionally, approaches that factor in the subjective narratives of those involved in the conflict whether active or passive actors, have to be incorporated.

Notably, communal violence has adverse effects on a country's peace levels and development. The adverse effects include psychological torture and protracted strained relationship between different communities. In advancing Vision 2030 (Kenya's development blueprint), the government of Kenya aims at achieving social justice and socio-economic development at all levels. Among the three pillars of Vision 2030 is the social pillar which advocates for social justice and cohesiveness. Cohesiveness is guaranteed through peaceful co-existence which is a prerequisite for sustainable development.

Most importantly, the recurring communal violence has attracted different peace-building approaches. However, as noted earlier in this section, the liberal approach, that is mainly employed has been ineffectual and fallen short of attaining sustainable peace. However, Piccolino (2019) is of the opinion that ensuring sustainable peace is a daunting task especially in the developing world. Hence, it is important to find out what peaace-building approaches would best address violent conflicts and in the case of this study, communal violence, in the Kenya context, more specificically, Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru.

The nature of the peace-building advocated here was initially highlighted at the international level by the late United Nations' Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 'An Agenda for Peace' which was published in 1992. The key arguments of this document is

that for sustainable peace-building, it is of essence to address the root causes of violent conflicts so that they do not recur (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). In reference to the context of this study, peace-building as a 'concept' has varied interpretations. Peace-building refers to deliberate efforts undertaken to ensure calm and tranquility among the different communities. It is the means and approaches put in place to bring conflicts and violence to an end. However, on the contrary, in the Kenya context as in other countries in Africa, utilisation of physical force has been the norm harming people and making them see their government as brutal and, more often, partisan and thus their confidence in such a government is eroded. This is the case of a study conducted in Northern Uganda where Opongo (2012) critiques the strategies undertaken in quelling violence in the area as repeated deployments of security forces, violence and the migration of communities have continued. Thus, enticing communities to embrace peace after experiencing violence as a way of resolving conflicts may not be convincing. He underscores the importance of the disarmament of communities going hand-in-hand with the resolution of historical issues afflicting communities. Additionally, he highlights the need for dialogue between the political elite and the communities involved in communal violence. In his view, the strategies taken, if they fail to connect with the concerns of the communities involved in the fighting, are ineffectual. Hence, without addressing the deep-rooted issues that stimulate violence in communities, the realisation of sustainable peace remains a mirage. Thus, the researcher's interest in the narratives of the communities at the grassroots was informed by his philosophical stance, constructivist paradigm, which accentuates on the importance of including the intersubjective narratives of the communities on how they experience and view communal violence. More so, their voices are key in addressing the communal violence in their own contexts.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Violence conflicts afflicts the communities across the globe. In Kenya and specifically, Njoro Sub-County of Kenya, the context of this study, communal violence is a common phenomenon especially prior to and during election periods. These violent conflicts have socio-economic and political impact with adverse implications on sustainable

development. In the 2007-08 communal violence that followed the disputed presidential election, 1133 people were killed while over 350,000 people were displaced across the country. In fact, resettlement of the internally displaced persons posed challenges and also the squalid conditions they lived in made it difficult to ressttle them and their reintegration difficult. Equally, cases of arson, rape, mutilation and looting were the main atrocities committed during this period. More importantly, in Molo alone where Njoro Sub-County was later carved from, as noted earlier in this Thesis, 150 people were killed, 170 people were injured 1564 houses were burnt and this led to 66,000 people being displaced and were accommodated in 50 congested Internally Displaced Persons Camps.

Bearing in mind that a number of violent cases are undocumented, the violence violates human rights. It leads to destruction of life and property. The violence has become endemic.

Despite the different discourses on communal violence, this form of violence continues to afflict communities with Kenya rating the sixth worst hit country in Africa. Additionally, communal violence which is aggravated by multiple factors such as ethnicity, political incitements, segregated patterns of settlement, inaccessibility to get goods and services among others, creates divisions in the communities.

Intractable conflicts have continued impacting negatively on developments and attainment of the country's development goals. Although communal violence might appear insignificant on the onset, the perceptions and the divisions it brings between people continue affecting sustainable development. Inappropriate peace-building measures that are liberal in nature are ineffectual in responding to communal violence. The sense of belonging to particular groups, among other factors, have plunged communities into cyclic violence.

Notwithstanding, there is need for a paradigm shift in the approach to peace-building; from approaches that are top-down and generic to approaches that are bottom-up and inclusive which factor in the narratives of those that matter, in this context, the communities in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru who experience and/or observe communal violence in their location. For instance, in the case of Haiti, the grassroots worked hand

in hand with the top-level actors towards attaining sustainable peace. This explains the choice of engaging the narratives of mainly the grassroots population in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru as well, due to the fact that they are often left out in the peace-building process.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to explore peace-building from below in the context of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were to:

(i) Analyze the underlying causes of communal violence in Njoro sub-County, Kenya.

(ii) Establish to what extent communal violence impacts on human security in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya.

(iii) Investigate the historical peace-building approaches in addressing the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya.

(iv) Examine the extent to which grassroots peace-building approaches can address communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

(i) What are the underlying causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

(ii) To what extent does communal violence impact human security in Njoro sub-County, Kenya?

(iii) Which historical peace-building approaches are in place for addressing the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

(iv) To what extent can grassroots approaches address communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Since Kenya attained independence, she grapples with different types of violent conflicts such as resource based, political and electoral, land disputes, ethnic conflicts and border disputes. Additionally, communal violence witnessed in Kenya especially during and immediately after general elections creates polarisation among the different ethnic communities. Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru Kenya, the case of this thesis, is no exception. In the larger Molo where Njoro Sub-County, the epicentre of the 2007-08 election violence was carved from, 150 people died while 170 others were injured. 1564 houses were burnt while 66,000 people were displaced making Njoro Sub-County the epicentre of the 2007-08 election violence (Waweru, 2019). Most of the deaths were concentrated in Mau area which forms part of Njoro Sub-County. Appendix VI shows houses that were burnt down. Most of these were in Mau area. More importantly, such polarisation affects the synergy among different communities which is crucial for achieving and enhancing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Kenya has embraced the SDGs. The 16th goal's emphasis is on justice, peaceful and inclusive society. This calls for application of appropriate peace-building approaches whenever communities experience communal violence. Additionally, if Kenya is to be self-sufficient and achieve Vision 2030, a lasting solution to communal violence is a priority. Besides, the realisation of Vision 2030 as well as achieving the SDGs is to a large extent dependent on the levels of peace and cohesiveness in the country.

Equally, communal violence leads to dependency as apart from creating IDPs, some people flee to other countries as refugees. Thus, the importance of employing peace-

building approaches that pay attention to the underlyimg root causes of the violence. However, despite the increase in communal violence and their intractable nature, the current interventions are top-down and generic and therefore have not succeeded in bringing about sustainable peace by curbing communal hostilities.

Thus, the view that there is need to engage the narratives of the people that matter, that is, those experiencing and/or observing communal violence need to be incorporated in the peace-building process. In support of this, is the fact that those at the grassroots have first-hand information and understand the appropriate approaches of addressing some of the violence they encounter on a daily basis (Paffenholz, 2014). Finally, the findings of this study will be a useful source of information and act as a foundation for other researchers to undertake similar studies in other violence prone areas. This will ensure the realisation of sustainable peace among warring communities such as is the case of Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, Kenya.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Although the militaristic approach to communal violence is widespread across the country, Kenya, the researcher centred his work within the boundaries of Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, Kenya. The area was selected due to perennial violence that is evidenced there. An in-depth study of the area was carried out. The detailed research yielded important information on the general situation concerning peace-building and communal violence in the location of study. This is captured in both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

The research took place in the context of the Corona Virus Disease pandemic (Covid-19). Some of the respondents were scared to participate in the research as a result of this. The limitation was addressed by ensuring that the pandemic safety protocols were strictly adhered to for instance wearing a mask, sanitising, washing of hands and keeping distance. This also affected the research programmed time span. The research was initially to begin on the 2/3/2020 and end by 28/3/2020. However, it took an extra month prolonging it to the 23/4/2020. This happened as the researcher had to leave the area of research by 4.00 pm in fear of flouting the enforced government curfew hours

(the government had announced curfew hours starting at 7.00 pm and ending at 5.00am). At the same time, the researcher had to give respondents time to prepare themselves to be indoors before the beginning of the curfew. Additionally, the announcement of the curfew led to unplanned financial expenditure. With the announcement of the pandemic safety protocols, a number of respondents declined to meet the researcher unless they were provided with the sanitisers and facemasks. Buying sanitisers and washing of hands became mandatory making the researcher carry soap and sanitisers as part of his tools of data collection. Further, the researcher would not use Focus Group Discussions due to limitation by the Government. With the closure of barber shops, salons and restricted number of persons in any meeting, including social gatherings, the reseasrcher opted to rely on the survey questionaire and interview schedule as the main tools of data collection.

Furthermore, apart from the Covid-19 protocols there was evidence of widespread suspicion among the different ethnic communities. The respondents preferred to meet the researcher individually and some suggested that the researcher meets their elders and also their church leaders. This was compounded by the govermment protocols on Covid-19. Group meetings were highly restricted. As a result, the researcher ensured that the survey questionnaire and the interview schedule were detailed to capture the different views of the respondents and also complement each other. This gap in the data collection also raised the issue of not capturing the group dynamics especially that would have played out in the focus group discussions. However, the researcher was keen to keep a diary especially on the observation in the field as the study continued and also listened carefully on how individuals shared about their own peerceptions and those of their communities about the other communities that are different from their own.

Although research assistants were engaged for a longer period than earlier planned, they were quite devoted to the work. The research assistants were paid more and sacrificed their time leading to the meeting of the intended targets.

1.7 Assumptions of the Study

The assumption of this study is that communal violence is multi-layered and complex, therefore, the importances of employing peace-building approaches that incorporate all the actors in a conflict, that is the top, middle and grassroots levels.

Equally, the assumption is that the militaristic approaches which tend to be based mainly on the liberal peace-building while addressing violent conflicts leave the underlying causes of conflicts intact.

The other assumption is that for sustainable peace-building, the subjective narratives of those experiencing and /or observing communal violence have to be incorporated in the peace-building process.

In addition, there is an assumption that peace-building is, to a large extent, dependent on the degree of violence and/or peace in the society.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

***Baraza*:** Kiswahili term for "meeting". It usually refers to a meeting where public officials, such as chiefs, address people and listen to their issues.

***Boda boda*:** Kiswahili term for Motor-cycle business of ferrying people from one area to another for pay, mainly within same locality. At times, the term is used to refer to the riders. Corrupted version of 'Across Border' initially used in moving across borders between Kenya and Uganda.

Covid-19: Corona Virus Disease 2019

Communal violence: Communal violence in this study refers to threats or/and actual fighting by whole communities against their neighbours. This includes acts of omission or commission by a community or a person on behalf of the community that causes fear/harm to another community.

Community: People living in a particular geographical region

Ethnic: In this study, 'ethnic' is defined, and used as, that which appeals to a particular tribe. It is that which makes a particular tribe to see itself as unique and special when compared with other groups.

Friction sites: These are areas affected by communal violence. They are areas where protracted violence and suffering has taken place and/or continues to be experienced.

Gacaca Courts: A system based on traditional judicial forums used in Rwanda. It derives its name from the Kinyarwanda word for "grass". Accusers and accused faced each other without legal representatives. This is a form of transitional justice.

Negative Peace: Absence of physical fighting but discontent and dissatisfaction abides. Suspicion and tension between communities emanating from imposed peace.

Njoro: Where this is used in the respondents' narratives, or in this thesis, it will refer to Njoro Sub-County unless otherwise specified

***Nyumba Kumi*:** A community security arrangement introduced by Presidential Directive, Kenya in 2013. It consists of groups of 10 houses (*Nyumba kumi*). It is similar to "Neighbourhood Watch" initiatives in other countries.

Peace-Building: Deliberate efforts undertaken to ensure calm and tranquillity exist among and between communities. It is done by involving the local communities such that calm is maintained as well as sharing of ideas and also valuing co-existence.

Positive Peace: A situation of calm and co-existence that is lasting. Harmony and understanding between local communities (addressing direct, cultural, structural violence)

Sustainable Peace: Peace that can withstand the test of time. Calmness that remains undisturbed across different seasons

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with the theoretical foundation where the peace-building from below in the context of communal violence is anchored. In order to understand the causes of communal violence, its impacts on human security and the peace-building approaches in place, the study interrogates the Human Security Theory and the Liberal Peace Theory. However, this study is more informed by John Paul Lederach's Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory which has a three-tier approach (top, middle and grassroots levels) in peace-building. The chapter then considers the causes, dimensions, impacts and the effects of communal violence in society. Further, there is an exploration of the different approaches to peace-building in response to communal violence. It then contextualises communal violence in Kenya by analysing Kenya's Administrative Boundaries, Ethinicity, The Land Tenure System and Political and Electoral Violence. Furthermore, the conceptual framework, capturing the variables forms part of this chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In carrying out this research, the researcher interacted with different theories which included the Human Security Theory and the Liberal Peace Theory. The theories helped to explain the different aspects of the study. The rationale for the selection of these theories was that the study is anchored on security and the well-being of communities, from where peace-building emanates. Despite explaining some aspects of the study, the researcher after a critique of each, positioned the study on John Paul Lederach's Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory (Lederach, 1997). Although the Human Security Theory explained living in fear which partly covered the second objective on the

impacts of communal violence, its focus on wants and needs did not quite focus on the peace-building approaches. Since Njoro Sub-County is a productive area with good climate, one of the findings of this study is that the problem is not suffering so much wants but the approaches used in peace-building which are mainly liberal. The Liberal peace-building approach enshrined in the Liberal Peace Theory advocates for the top-bottom approach which has not succeeded in achieving sustainable peace. The 'one-size-fits-all' approach has failed to ensure peace. This study is therefore anchored on the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory as the tool to bring sustainable peace in the area. The Bottom-Up Peace-Building approach is inclusive, participatory and brings the grassroots on board. The hybridity approach to peace-building as advocated in the three-tier approach upholds transformation of conflicts as opposed to settlement of conflicts (Paffenholz, 2014; Mac Ginty, 2015).

2.2.1 Human Security Theory

The argument of this theory is that human security is ensured when people live without fear and are able to meet their needs and wants (Singh, 2014). Although there is no single definition provided on Human Security, the concept has existed since 1994 when it was introduced through the global Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (Bindenagel, 2018). The underlying assumption of this theory is that the world experiences instability and frequent conflicts due to unmet needs. Hence, failure to meet the needs and wants make people live in constant fear, experience threats and intimidation and impact negatively on peace-building. Singh further claims that in quite a number of cases, governments that are mandated to guarantee security are overwhelmed. For this reason, governments have been blamed by their publics for not only failing to restore calm but at times being seen as the source of conflict through repressive actions on the public. It is the repressive actions on the publics that this thesis critiques. As evidenced in Molo where Njoro Sub-County was carved from, the militaristic approach in quelling communal violence does not solve violence (Karani, 2011). Instead, communities are left suffering as the underlying root causes to the violence are not addressed. Hence, failures to address the key issues lead to temporary peace (Galtung, 1996). More importantly, engaging the police brings temporary calm.

Additionally, in a world where people are living under threats, enjoying peace remains only an illusion and attempts to peace-building are hampered as well.

Although realist theorists argue that there is need for a balance of terror coupled with political and other military factors for peace to abound (Ventura, 2018), the argument advanced in this thesis is that people need to live without fear. In the area under study, people live with the knowledge that volence can break out at any time. What exists in Njoro Sub-County is negative peace. As evidenced in the field research, the politicians have been blamed for inciting people into violence. Communities live in fear and suspicion of each other. Successive governments have also been accused of sending armed troops to disband the warring communities. Further, the public have blamed the governments for marginalising some communities and excluding them from essential amenities. Additionally, as evidenced in the field research, Njoro Sub-County has occasionally suffered lack of provisions such as food and essential services such as accessing schools and health facilities due to the constant communal violence. The violence has also created artificial shortage which could be avoided if the different comuniies are included in accessing their basic needs and essential amenities. As noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Njoro Sub-County is endowed with good soils and climate. Thus, there is need for a paradigm shift - from the top-down, generic, quick-fix approaches to violence to bottom-up approaches that incorporates the narratives of the communities involved in the violence. More importantly a paradigm shift, among communities could ensure that the people would experience human security and thus the reduction of violent conflicts in the location of study.

2.2.2 Liberal Peace Theory

The proponents of this theory who include Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) view peace-building as based on prompt fixing of peace where military intervention is employed. The advocates of this school believe in a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to ending violence. The theory is of the view that militaristic interventions are capable of attaining normalcy in environments of violence. However, although the use of force by governments have suppressed violence, it has not resolved

the root causes of the violence (Ramsbotham et al., 2016). The established structures of authority running from top to bottom (Cavalcante, 2014), as advocated by liberals, have not achieved much success. The liberal approach to communal violence has failed to engage the local communities. Failing to tap on the expertise of the local communities has ensured that the tension between communities remains. Additionally, the affected communities have accused governments of turning a deaf ear to their plight (Wangeci et al., 2014).

Critics of the liberal peace-building argue that the dynamics behind the communal violence need to be looked at keenly. Since communities have different values as well as ways of looking at things, the approach that worked in a given environment could fail in another. The dynamics behind violence are at the heart of the communities and cannot be ignored. The unique features of communities need to be taken into account when dealing with peace-building (Haider, 2020). Therefore, the use of military intervention has been rendered ineffective, making peace-building untenable. On the contrary, the Bottom-Up Peace-Building model is preferred as the appropriate tool to help restore societal relationships. This approach is considered more appropriate in achieving both positive and negative peace (Paffenholz, 2014).

Thus, although application of the Liberal Peace Theory assists calm violence in scenarios of active violence, it should be dropped as soon as communities have downed their weapons. The militaristic approach heightens tension due to increased sufferings and injuries accruing from the force employed. Once communities have stopped fighting, efforts of bringing the warring communities to the bargaining table need to replace the liberal approach.

2.2.3 The Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory

The Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory is one of the theories that play a vital role in building and sustaining peace. The proponents of this Theory include John Paul Lederach, Mac Ginty, Ramsbotham and Richmond. The theory revolves around establishing/involving community level mechanisms for handling disputes. Its key assumptions are that communities know what ails them and are they best suited to bring

solutions to violence. Further, when the local are involved in the peace-building process, there is ownership of the entire process and the decisions arrived at are embraced by the communities. Liaga & Wielenga (2020) while advocating for the bottom-up approach have critiqued the UN for deployment of armed troops in both South Sudan and Burundi. They have opted for the bottom-up peace-building route for the attainment of lasting peace. The bottom-up approach to peace-building accords communities space to narrate their experiences and suggest solutions to violence. As a result, the different communities feel respected. They become active participants in the peace-building process.

Similarly, the blend between the top-bottom and the bottom-up approach attracts the participation of different stakeholders. The approach entails creating inclusive structures to facilitate community problem-solving (Ogwari, 2012). Yet another Peace-Building Theory/approach entails creating new leadership group(s) infused with democratic principles and an attitude of care for humanity at large (Maguire, 2012). Although each of the peace-building theories is suitable, this study engaged with the bottom-up approach.

Lederach (1997) supports the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory for involving the local actors in peace-building. As opposed to the top-bottom approach that has failed in ending violence, the bottom-up peace-building involves all stakeholders. It also takes care of the issues affecting communities (Mac Ginty, 2010). Governments across the world have often been criticised for approaching peace-building through use of brutal force and at times taking a top-bottom approach in dealing with communal violence. The top-bottom approach is counter-productive. This can sometimes lead to dissatisfied communities (Nickel, 2015). This view is supported later in the narratives of the respondents of the location of this study, Njoro Sub-Conty, Nakuru, Kenya. Mac Ginty, (2015) argues that the local communities are often blamed for conflicts but ignored during peace-building. More importantly, peace has remained elusive in different parts of the world. Thus, this underpins the importance of participation of those at the grassroots in addressing, in this context, communal violence. South Sudan and Syria can be cited as good exmples of countries that have failed to attain sustainable peace due to

the use of the top-down approaches to peace-building (Adetula, 2018). This is despite the United Nations interventions.

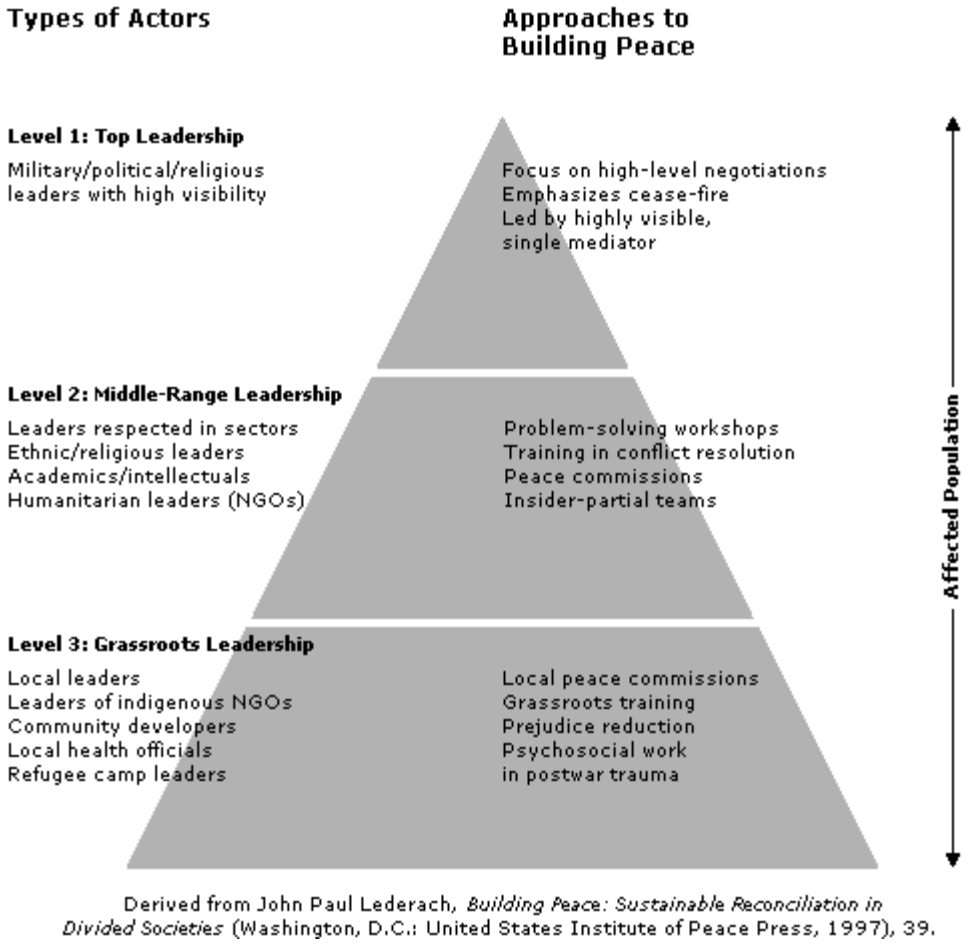
Ramsbotham et al. (2016), suggestion is that the best approach in ending conflicts and ensuring sustainable peace is by taking a bottom-up approach. Mac Ginty (2015) supports this view by showing the importance of incorporating the views of local communities. Since the locals understand the genesis of the conflicts afflicting them, they are the best suited to suggest the best approaches and alternatives to end violence and achieve lasting harmony. In fact, an outsider's view of bringing in ideas that probably worked well elsewhere might not fit well in a different set up. Different communities and settings entail different challenges. These views are corroborated by looking at peace-building in Haiti (Donais & Knorr, 2013). Citing this context, the duo has argued that a community-based peace-building, where the grassroots were highly involved, portrayed a serious commitment that resulted in positive results. Peace that had eluded this milieu for many years was achieved. Therefore, for successful peace-building, "the people" need to be at the centre of the peace-building processes.

According to Lederach (1997), what he presents as the three level structures if well applied will end violence leading to sustainable peace. He advocates for the top leadership to play its role well. The top leadership comprises of the political, the military and the religious leaders. This group should be involved in the entire process of peace-building. Led by a highly visible single mediator, this group of top level actors has the potential and what it takes to negotiate for ceasefire. The second level of actors includes community leaders, religious leaders, humanitarian leaders, academics and intellectuals. These are leaders who are respected in their different sectors. The second level acts as a link between the top level leadership and the grassroots. This group of middle-range leadership could come in handy in problem-solving workshops, peace commissions and training in conflict resolution, among other activities. The third level is made up of local leaders, community leaders, leaders of civic bodies and Non-Governmental Organizations, refugee/IDP camp leaders, where they exist, and other small groupings. Such groups, and the various commissions that are formed after conflicts have taken place, help in psychosocial work during post-war trauma. This third level is useful at

grassroots training, prejudice reduction among local communities and leading local peace commissions (Paffenholz, 2014).

Thus, at the top of the structure is the top leadership whose main task is to strengthen the capacities of societies to manage the conflicts. The second level is supposed to assist policy makers both at the national level and the international level to be more proactive in peace-building. When each of the three levels appears to work independently, solutions to peace-building are disconnected. Solutions owned by a section of the society, are rarely sustainable. The top level, though composed of the elite, has to work with the other two levels. The local communities and the civil society have better understanding of the realities on the ground and therefore need to be involved in every stage of peace-building. This view has been shared and advocated by other scholars (Richmond, 2013; Mac Ginty, 2015). Reducing the gap between policy makers and the grassroots appear to be the solution in reduction of violence in the society. The following structure which is a fusion of the different Peace-Building Theories helps explain Lederach's inclusive approach to peace-building.

Figure 2.1: Lederach's Peace Building Pyramid



Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.

The application of the Theory has support from the literature that discusses negative and positive peace (Galtung, 1996). Galtung argues that a top-down approach does not bring about lasting peace but only ensures there is no fighting. This he refers to as negative peace. He avers that what communities require is the fusion of both types of peace. To attain the two types, all actors need to be involved in the peace processes. The bottom-up approach appears the sure way to help prevent recurrence of violence. Both negative and positive peace is necessary for peace-building and lasting harmony. They guarantee better standards of living, amongst other positive benefits. The absence of active violence is the starting point. When people are living without fighting, governments and

other stakeholders should endeavour to ensure that the people interact freely and live harmoniously. Thus, the starting point is negative peace which helps prepare the way for positive peace. The absence of active violence when suspicion and mistrust between communities abide creates fear. Consequently, attention to nation building and sharing goods and ideas reduces. Attainment of development, harmony and peaceful co-existence suffer. As claimed by the Human Security Theory, the security of the people is lacking. Governments have a duty to ensure that lasting peace abides by not only preventing and curbing active violence but by ensuring peaceful co-existence where communities live harmoniously with each other.

The Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory has been successful in providing lasting solutions to unending violence between communities. Broughton & Canadian Friends Service Committee, (2013) have hailed the involvement of local communities including women in minimizing violence in Cambodia. The frequent fights, mainly over resources, were solved through bringing the local actors on board. Through the application of the Bottom-Up approach, the violence which had lasted for close to 20 years got a solution in 1998. Dialogues were held bringing the different actors together. Through dialogue, the injuries and the needs of each group were addressed. Participation of all stakeholders brought empathy. The involvement of locals in the peace processes ensured ownership of the entire peace process, leading to lots of success. In a further example, through the efforts of United Nations Peacekeepers bringing the warring parties together, the calm that had eluded Uvira town in D.R. Congo was restored in January 2010. Although the United Nations efforts at peace have not been successful in a few areas, like South Sudan and Darfur where violence has kept recurring (Flint, 2010), the successes achieved are worth supporting..

Wolpe & McDonald (2008) support the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory as an appropriate tool for lasting peace. The two scholars, who have traversed the African continent facilitating workshops to help resolve conflicts, are in agreement that the approach has achieved a lot. Further, they contend that imposing peace settlements and democratic government institutions on states and their people does not work. In their opinion, what works is the involvement of all the actors. What is imposed from the top

down stems violence but the underlying issues remain unresolved. When peace-keeping forces leave, violence resumes. Iraq is a good example of this. The efforts of the United States to impose peace failed to prevent violence and restore harmony there. In the Republics of Burundi, D.R. Congo and Liberia, experimenting with the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory has achieved reasonable amounts of success. In areas like Syria where consultations with locals has not been honoured, violence abounds (Adetula, 2018). Involving the grassroots has led to ownership of peace-building. This is the kind of solution that is most likely to end communal violence and guarantee peace among the communities that are involved in feuds and acrimony with their neighbours.

Liaga & Wielenga, (2020) hail the participation of the local communities and terms it as crucial to reaching lasting solution to violence and ensuring peace. A peace-building structure that is bottom-up allows local participation. It strengthens and solidifies peace among communities. The argument is advanced further that there should be mutual interaction between the state and the warring communities. Mutual interaction allows the participation of all stakeholders in peace-building. When the grassroots are accorded a voice, there is ownership in the entire peace process. This kind of approach, if applied in areas where violence is rampant, is likely to address the issue of relapse into further violence. As has been demonstrated in the preceding arguments, legitimacy and local ownership of conflict resolution processes is vital to the achievement of lasting peace.

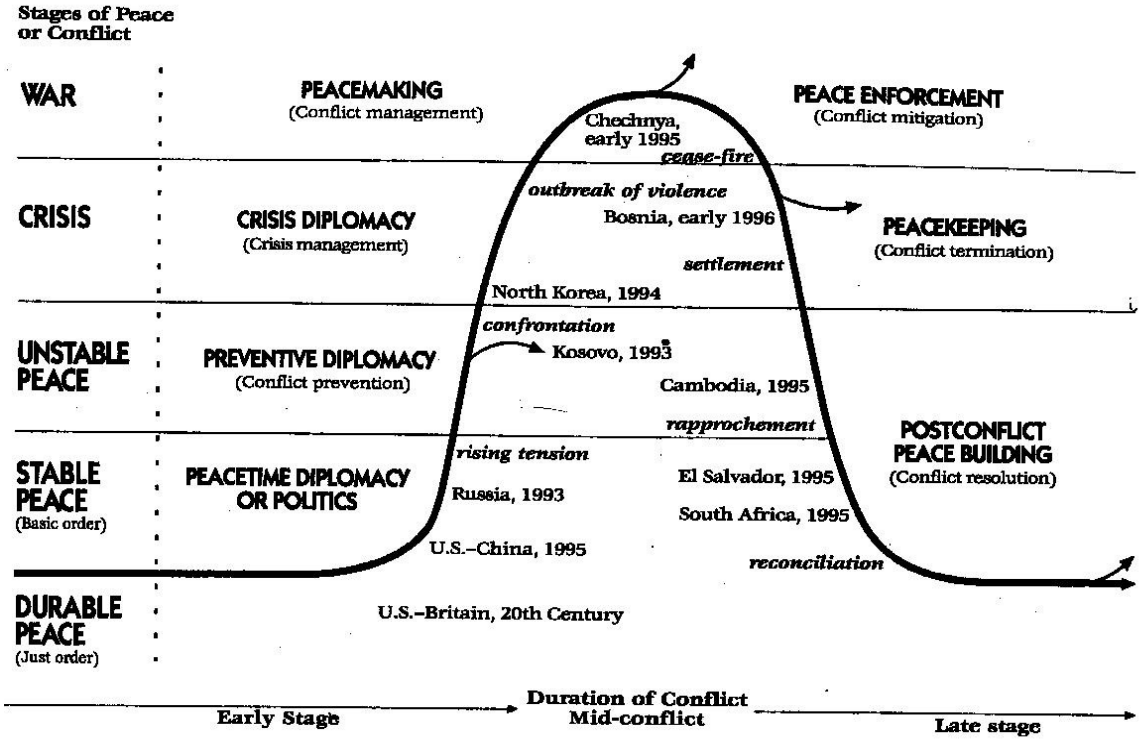
Richmond (2013) in support of the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory argues in favour of taking care of the grassroots communities. Localized practices in peace-building are crucial. In order to end violence, even in the case where 'outside' actors are to be involved, local models have to be sought for the communities concerned to accept the outcome of negotiations, embrace their opponents and continue with their lives. Piccolino, (2019) asserts that the unique features of communities cannot be ignored when dealing with matters affecting the same communities. The 'outsider' must look into the values of a people and read from the same page with them.

While supporting the bottom-up approach of peace-building, Mac Ginty (2010) faults the application of the top-down approach, claiming that it brings with it interests that are deemed foreign by local communities. The top-down approach fails to take into account

the life and culture of a people, which is a vital ingredient in the achievement of any meaningful peace for harmonious existence and sustainable development. Since different communities have unique features, an approach to peace-building that has succeeded well elsewhere might not be applicable in a different scenario. There is need to listen to the communities involved. The values and beliefs of a people are crucial in decision making, hence the importance of listening to the communities and keenly involving them in all the stages of negotiations for attainment of peace. In areas where attainment of peace has not been very successful, the level of consultations with the local communities is wanting. As Mac Ginty has re-emphasized, anything contrary to the bottom-up approach in peace-building results in negative peace. The top-bottom approach quells active violence but leaves communities bitter and ready for revenge on their aggressors as has been demonstrated in South Sudan, Darfur and Syria (Shinn, 2009; Adetula, 2018). According to Mac Ginty (2010, p. 395), *the affective dimensions of grievances that have lingered across generations* can be addressed more easily through the application of the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory. The government banning of farmers from planting maize, a popular citizen's staple food, in one of the areas in Njoro Sub-County (Nessuit and Mariashoni) early in the year was a top-down approach and this may explain the high level of dissatisfaction and grievances from the residents that were vented and captured through the popular media (Citizen TV, 11th February 2021).

Adding to the application of the Peace-Building Theory discussed above, Adams (2008) asserts that there is need for proper timing if peace is to be achieved. Proper timing and getting in at the right time are the prerequisite to proper facilitation of peace-building. The intention of the peace-builders needs to be clear: whether they are preventing a crisis, solving a crisis, making peace, enforcing peace, keeping peace or dealing with post-conflict peace-building. It is imperative to understand the stage of a conflict so as to plan well on the best time to intervene. Lund's Curve of Conflict diagram helps to understand the different stages thus making adequate preparations for reaching a conflict resolution.

Figure 2.2: Lund's Curve of Conflict Diagram



Source: Conflict Cycle (Adapted from Life Cycle of a Conflict, Lund, M. (1996) Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy.Washington D.C., United States Institute for Peace Press, p. 38.)

Ott and Lühe (2018) have hailed Lund's Curve of Conflict as an important tool in resolution of conflicts but have given a caution that conflicts are not static.

However, although the direction a conflict takes might be different in terms of the nature, the causes, the duration and such other dimensions, Lund's Curve is an important tool and can help give important insights to reaching a resolution.

From the foregoing, it is safe to conclude that failure to give a keen ear to the local communities, incorporate them in all the stages of peace-building and intervene at the appropriate time are the likely reasons for recurrence of violence. It is the opinion of this researcher that local communities are vital to successful peace negotiations. This study engaged the narratives of the local people in order to understand the genesis and the

depth of the intractable communal violence witnessed in the location of the research. The cardinal aim was to come up with the appropriate peace-building approach for ensuring sustainable peace in Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru.

2.3 An Overview of Communal Violence

As defined earlier, communal violence is a collective form of aggression perpetrated across ethnic and communal lines. Different factors are to blame for communal violence. The violence that has affected different geographical regions has manifested itself in different dimensions. It has left behind negative impacts on life and property. There is need to ensure the security of the people by understanding and resolving the deep-rooted causes of the communal violence that has denied people peace.

2.3.1 Causes of Communal Violence

Communal violence is an area of concern that has kept affecting the world (Kughur, 2017: Taylor et al., 2017). Kughur laments about crop production being affected by communal violence while the latter discusses lowered food production due to violence. Grada and Gráda (2009) claim that communal violence has become more widespread and has ravaged both the big and the small. Even the developed economies have not been spared. Greece, France and the Soviet Union are some of the developed countries that have in the past suffered biting hunger and sharp declines in their economies forcing them to take many years before recovery. Additionally, communal violence thrives when, for one reason or the other, governments fail to provide the various goods required by the citizens (Cheeseman et al., 2019). When citizens lack the various necessities of life, their dissatisfaction keeps increasing. Besides, the failure to get the basic necessities is linked to the political identity and the ethnicity where communities are inclined. With the increasing scarcity of goods and the growing populations, the discontent the communities have is expressed in ways that include causing tension and friction with their neighbours. Discontented masses are hard to control. For instance, the

killing of the Haitian President, Jovenel Moise, on the 7 July 2021 as broadcasted by Cable News Network (CNN, 7th July, 2021) highlights a people suffering from hunger and poverty expressing their bitterness, hence making peace-building hard to achieve. In a similar vein, the communities living in Njoro, as evidenced in Chapter 4, have at times experienced shortage of goods and essential services arising from persistent communal violence.

More importantly, laxity provides a fertile ground for communal violence (Helland & Sørbø, 2014). When essentials of life are lacking, communities struggle for the little that is available. The lapse in law is exploited leading to violence. Also, the perception of unequal application of the law, for instance, when a community is perceived to get away with a crime, for instance in the case of this study, 'stock theft' and occupation of the Mau forest have stimulated communal violence causing serious atrocities as highlighted in this Thesis.

In situations where governments allow huge inequalities between the wealthy and the poor, the latter suffer lack. In a bid to get the different essentials of life, push and pull takes place between communities triggering communal violence. The resulting discontent in such circumstances is protracted communal violence (Najar (2014). In addition, Grada and Gráda (2009) contend that when the rich own land and other resources at the expense of the poor, the poor masses end up starving. The resulting starvation leads to the rising of the masses. Communities turn violent as the hungry masses struggle to get a meal by whatever means they can. Unequal distribution of resources is cited as major source of discontent in Njoro Sub-County. This has been made worse by the segregated patterns of settlement as explained in Chapter 4 the thesis.

Beachler (2007) avers that in quite some developed parts of Asia, communal violence is attributed to divergence in cultural, linguistic and ethnic identity. The differences caused by the cultural, linguistic and ethnic variances have almost led to extermination of some communities. Communal violence has become a major disaster. It has caused untold deaths and serious injuries. What looked like a combination of religious and ethnic genocide has led to deaths of between 1 and 3 million people and destruction of property

worth millions of shillings. The music by Kipchamba noted in Chapter 4, is an example of how some aspects of entrenched traditions and customs if not checked can cause damage in Njoro Sub-County. Apart from leading to mass murder, communal violence in Pakistan has been blamed for increased rape cases with an estimated 200,000 victims of the female gender being left traumatised. Similar occurrences have taken place in Njoro Sub-County leaving behind traumatised communities with some opting to commit suicide. The 2007-08 violence mentioned in this Thesis is an apt case of violence against women especially on rape, sexual defilement and abuse of women. In the larger Molo where Njoro Sub-County, the epicentre of the violence was carved from, 150 people died while 170 others were injured. 1564 houses were burnt while 66,000 people were displaced making Njoro Sub-County the epicentre of the 2007-08 election violence (Waweru, 2019).

Communal violence has been attributed to competition over scarce resources (Claassen, 2014). With the growing population among other factors, competition to secure food, among other necessities, has ignited tensions. The food situation is threatened. Cilliers (2018) opines that the fight for natural resources, coupled with political instigations, has turned tragic. Instead of peaceful co-existence and sharing of resources, people have turned their endowment into a curse that has made peace to be an elusive commodity. The African continent, where communities are generally poor with the high rates of unemployment has been no exception to this.

Omeje and Hepner, (2013) supports the view that the struggle for resources has led to increased violence. While referring to the Great Lakes Region of Africa, that includes Rwanda, the D. R. Congo, Uganda and Burundi, they contend that violence has been targeted to particular groups of people due to factors related to land, natural resources that include minerals and the acquisition of power leading to turmoil in the region. Acquisition of land and power are closely related to good standards of living as the two are the major means of accessing various provisions including food and wealth. The struggle for power and resources has a close link to communal violence and the difficulties experienced in peace-building.

Supporting the above view, Kameri-Mbote (2006), argues that though multi-faceted causes of communal violence exist, the land issue is central to the conflicts in the Great Lakes Region. Competition over resources that include cultivation parcels and water has often been the final straw in an already charged environment. Resources are intertwined with the economic, political and the social factors that perpetuate and aggravate conflicts across the continent. The process of alienation and exploitation of land among other resources does not only trigger tension but goes ahead to sustain it and finally generates violence. In areas occupied by multi-ethnic communities, communal violence has become common. Although the land issue has not ranked highly in this thesis, as evidenced in respondents' narratives in Chapter 4, this issue is entrenched in the minds of the different communities. Hence land issues need a trigger to ignite communal violence.

Elsewhere, in the Niger delta of Mali, communal violence has not spared farmers and herders. The struggle for control of the available resources has pitted the groups against each other. The customary herding group popularly known as "Jowros" has often engaged the farming communities in fighting. The communal violence has erupted because of grazing animals in the rice fields owned by farmers (Benjaminsen & Ba, 2009). Similarly, in a bid to convert grazing fields into rice fields, the farming communities "Rimaybe" have incurred the wrath of Jowros. Blood has been shed with property worth lots of money getting destroyed. Communal violence in the Niger delta is exacerbated by persistent drought and the drying up of pastures. This leads to a struggle over wetlands.

In a research study conducted in Tanzania, Benjaminsen et al. (2009) have concurred with the view that communal violence is widespread and has a strong connection with resources. The cultivators and herders of Tanzania, just like in the Niger delta, have clashed over land. Communal violence over land resources have led to massive deaths. Communal violence in the Kilosa region of Morogoro in Tanzania compares with the Biblical story of Cain and Abel (*Holy Bible, New International Version*, 1999). It is important to note that this Biblical story represents the age-old conflict between herders and farmers. This same theme is also found in folklore of many societies. Instead of the

communities living together and supplementing each other, animosity has taken root. Pastoralists have accused the sedentary cultivators of expanding into the grazing fields. Individual communities have resorted to eliminating those blocking their access to resources. The government has been unable to ensure equitable distribution of resources to all citizens. Worse still, the government has faced the dilemma of how to re-examine land tenure and pastoral policies without antagonizing certain communities. Land is a cherished commodity. It remains at the heart of the different communities. Being the means of livelihood, land is highly valued with communities doing all they can to acquire it, retain it or both (Karlsson, 2012).

In the case of Kenya, communal violence has often taken place along ethnic lines (Elfversson, 2019). The political boundaries of Kenya have divided communities along ethnic lines. Political allegiance, as in most African countries, has an inclination to ethnicity. The case of Njoro Sub-County, like the rest of Kenya, is such that election candidates are voted for along ethnic lines (Kagwanja, 2009). This is demonstrated in Table 2.1 as well as in the narratives captured in Chapter 4 of the Thesis. Elfversson, (2019) has demonstrated that the group that loses often seeks for revenge. In the location of this research, it is evident the Kalenjin community have been left out in the sharing of leadership positions therefore experiencing bitterness. This is despite their argument that they are the original inhabitants. However, unlike the Kikuyu, they have only managed to elect one Member of County Assembly for Mauche Ward. This has left the other Wards and the Counstituency under the dominance of the Kikuyu community. The Kalenjin have been irked by this as demonstrated in Chapter 4.

The communal conflicts that engulfed Kenya following the 2007 presidential elections were a result of existing divisions and a feeling that getting into power means getting control of the whole of the state resources. As demonstrated, resources like land have been at the heart of communal conflicts in Kenya. As Kagwanja has stated, it is almost inscribed in the minds of many Kenyans that getting into power allows access and control over state resources.

Jenkins (2012) in her contribution on occurrences of communal violence in Kenya avers that the discourse of exclusion should not be underestimated. When a community feels

that it has been excluded from its equitable share of power and the available resources, the feeling of belonging to a different identity becomes appealing. The end result is turning to violence against those believed to be the cause of the exclusion. Kenya became severely polarized in the period between 1992 and 2007. The climax of the whole scenario is the fighting that broke out across the country following the declaration of the presidential election results in December, 2007. Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru is one of the areas where the communal violence was most severe with loss of lives, injuries, displacement and destruction of property worth millions of shillings (Rohwerder, 2015). Those construed as immigrants in Njoro area who were lucky to escape death had to flee the area.

Opondo (2014) avers that when people are divided along ethnic lines, neighbours turn against each other. Systematic destruction of social cohesion takes place. An imbalanced sharing of the available resources becomes common. With population becoming bigger and resources becoming scarcer, this is a recipe for conflict and violence. As Kenya moved into multi-party politics in the 1990's, the situation became aggravated with each community pulling resources towards its side. In the same line, exclusivity took place even in sharing of political positions. This further helped in tearing communities apart. This has been evidenced in Njoro Sub-County as depicted by the narratives of the different respondents in Chapter 4 of this work.

The feeling of exclusion has driven communities to violence (Mahony et al., 2019). Exclusion and inequalities have aggravated relations, more so in conflict situations, leading to collective violence. Further, cultures have played a role in determining how communities react. In situations such as in Njoro Sub-County, similar to other contexts where communities live in segregation especially occupying its different geographical location as evidenced in Chapter 4 of this Thesis, it is not uncommon for communities to experience divisions and stereotypical attitudes towards each other. When dissatisfaction reaches certain levels, communities engage in violence in a bid to achieve what they believe is rightfully theirs. The level of collective violence is determined by the goal to be achieved, the determination of the leaders and the teams being led.

Communal conflicts have at times been organized with political ends and/or business profits in mind (Clarke, 2015). When political motives and business gains have their way, forced displacements of populations take place. The displacements come along with destruction of houses and other infrastructure. Countless lives are left shattered. Destruction of lives decimates the working population leading to low produce from farms as well as affecting general growth. This is seen in the output of crops, animal products, and the manufacturing sector among others. Conflicts impact negatively on different production and manufacturing activities which are directly or indirectly related to economic growth and sustainable development (Kughur, 2017). When people are displaced, economic activities are left unattended.

In the area under study, the geographical distribution of communities is an aspect that requires attention. Particular areas are occupied by particular communities. There is no doubt this is attributed to the sporadic communal violence as evidenced in Chapter 4. Wangeci et al. (2014) claim that ethnic violence and bloodshed is in many cases sponsored and motivated by the political class. Infact, political incitement is the second major cause of communal violence in Njoro.Sub-County after ethnicity. Additionally, ethnic divisions become more pronounced when the political system is organized along ethnic lines where one group dominates the different sectors. As discussed in this thesis, a situation of 'us against them' has evolved. As argued in this Chapter, Kenya has had particular communities occupying particular areas even before the colonial period. Ethnicity, a social creation which had been in existence already, became more entrenched when the colonialists created reserves and demarcated particular areas for particular communities. Additionally, the colonialists went further to restrict movements from one area to the other (Ndege, 2009).

2.3.2 Communal Violence Impacts on Peace-Building

Communal violence manifests itself in different ways. The frequency, the intensity and the magnitude of communal violence has led to the devotion of enormous resources to deal with the problem. Ismail (2020) concurs that lots of effort has been put in place in

calming violence. Enormous resources have been spent in restoring peace. In India, the efforts undertaken include the drafting of the Communal Violence Bill which had been under discussion since 2004. Despite the efforts put in place, communal violence continues taking place with the brunt of it being experienced in developing countries. Helland & Sørbø (2014) claim that in the short period of 2007-08 alone, communal violence occurred in about 40 countries of the world. More violence erupted in 2010-11, with the most affected nations being Algeria, Egypt, Bahrain, Jordan and Yemen. The increased frequency of communal violence has meant more negative outcomes. Peaceful co-existence continues being a challenge. The wanton destruction and damage to property has left communities deeply divided (Brinkman & Hendrix, 2010; Helland & Sørbø, 2014).

"Human Rights Watch," (2015) in an account of Southern Sudan has portrayed a scene of serious wanton destruction of property that left hundreds of thousands of people suffering and seeking revenge. Bitterness grew between communities, stifling any efforts to calm people down. While thousands of tons of food went up in flames, over 100,000 people fled from their homes. Long lasting enmity was created, further disrupting peace. For over two decades, the situation in Southern Sudan has remained volatile. The situation in Southern Sudan is a replica of what has been discussed for Egypt, Algeria, South Africa and the other parts of Africa including Kenya. If communal violence is not effectively addressed there is the danger that it could escalate. It should be noted that multi-ethnic countries have borne the brunt of destruction and damage to property thus posing a threat to peace-building. Nigeria, the D. R. Congo (DRC), Somalia and Mali, among others have witnessed serious communal conflicts. With its 389 ethnic groups, Nigeria experienced over 50 different inter-communal conflicts which affected not only her stocks but also left communities polarized. This happened within a short span between 1990 and 2000. Adelore & Majaro-Majesty (2008) contend that identifying with tribes and ethnic groups instead of the state comes with costs which are hard to bear. Kagwanja (2009) and (Boone, 2011) have supported the view that countries with more ethnic nationalities have shown tendencies of having more charged communal tensions. Wilkins, (2012) is of the opinion that people who do not share the same ancestry have different perceptions of life. Such differing perceptions

make communities see things differently. Conflicts become common. These conflicts impact negatively on the efforts undertaken towards the attainment of peace-building.

In areas where the communal violence is more intense, communities suffer even more (Helland & Sørbø, 2014). Quelling communal violence becomes even more involving depending on its severity. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 advocates that all human beings have a right to life, liberty, dignity and security. Despite such advocacy, a negation of the rights has taken place. Cilliers, (2018) has stated that the intensity of communal violence, particularly in Africa, is a key factor leading to non-enjoyment of the rights despite many countries being signatories to the UDHR. As noted in the preceding literature, communal violence has been widespread across Africa. Apart from causing deaths, groups of people have become disorientated. People can no longer live in peace and enjoy a calm environment and actualise their dreams.

Brinkman & Hendrix (2010), also, have opined that the intensity of violence affects production of different goods especially those that are vital for survival. In situations where violence is more severe, both production and supply become affected. Scarcity is created which ends up to inflation of prices. The outcome is increased suffering especially among the poor households. Efforts of peace-building are hard among hungry populations. In fact, the number of the dead, the wounded and the psychologically affected has risen. Communal violence is one of the biggest enemies not only to peace-building but also to human survival (Finnegan, 2014). Production and security are vital to the economy, the general development and peace-building in any given state. Productions of different sectors which sustain economies require a stable state of mind. When one is affected by violence, production is lowered. The effect of psychological torture on productive ventures is negative and ruins the economy of an entity. Scholars have argued that people who would have been self-sufficient are forced to depend on well-wishers (Hernandez et al., 2014). Instead of focussing on how communities can share and live together, communal violence leaves communities thinking of how to survive. Time is devoted to looking for food and general survival.

Turyamureeba (2017) opines that the intensity of conflicts compromises food security in the Nakivale area of Uganda. Lots of precious time is wasted contending in courts of

law and tribunals instead of concentrating on more productive ventures. Some of the contending parties deliberately prevent others from accessing farms, ploughing and/or planting. Disputed land ends up having lower yields in comparison to lands where no efforts are wasted. The more frequent and intense the communal violence, the more the time spent contending in courts of law. Coupled with the destruction of food already kept in stores, human security is threatened in terms of provisions. It is worth noting that very little production takes place during violence and the period preceding physical combat as parties spend time arming themselves (Kughur, 2017). Thus, communal violence makes people more vulnerable to the extent of lacking food; this can lead people to more violence as they search for food. It therefore becomes a vicious cycle of violence.

Frequent communal violence has threatened livelihoods, especially in food security. Kenya, its neighbours and Africa at large continues witnessing shortages not experienced before. Safarpour et al. (2020) claims that the security of humanitarian aid is not guaranteed especfially to the trucks moving to different settlements. At times, the trucks carrying the different facilities and equipments are attacked. Then the goods they are carrying are stolen. It is not uncommon for actors in conflict to use 'food as a weapon of war'. They do this by hoarding and increasing the prices to cause artificial food shortages. The ensuing shortages have led to migrations in search of sustenance.

Victims of violence have at times migrated creating difficulties in the efforts of bringing communities together. Turyamureeba (2017) views communal violence as a great hindrance to the efforts of peace-building. Victims of communal violence have been turned into dependents. Instead of being self-reliant people who can contribute to peace-building, they have been made destitute. Those that practice mixed farming leave their animals behind and the animals become famished, are stolen or die. Moreover, the evictees have to share whatever little food their benefactor communities have leading to faster depletion and starvation for all. The conflict-free communities therefore get dragged into insecurity despite being peace loving and hardworking people. By and large, the intensity of communal violence compromises on food security and peace-

building. Impoverished people are psychologically tortured and therefore contribute little to peace-building.

Holmes (2017) argues that the intensity of communal violence has not only devastated communities but has made it hard for peace-building interventions. Grada & Gráda (2009) examine claims that areas that enjoyed peace have become hard to penetrate due to violence between communities. In the D. R. Congo, apart from the difficulties in supplying provisions in areas experiencing intense communal violence, it is not easy for peace-building teams to penetrate the areas. Efforts to bring the warring communities to a negotiating table have proved difficult. Thus, apart from suffering want, peace-building has been curtailed.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in its realization of the need for peace, has captured it in the SDGs. Cela, et al. (2013) contend that when the United Nations General Assembly met on 25th September, 2015 to craft the 17 SDGs, peace took the centre stage of the discussion. Goal 16 was specific on having peaceful and inclusive societies. Human security is anchored on peace. Where there are community conflicts, a peaceful environment is lacking. This slows down developments and often compromises any peace-building efforts in place. The SDGs are in tandem with Kenya's Vision 2030 whose aim is achieving high standards of living. Kenya's Vision 2030 aims at making the country join the ranks of the developed countries. Hence a country cannot boast to be developed when peace-building is threatened by violence.

Vision 2030 has the aim of making Kenya prosperous and in a position to compete favourably with the developed countries of the world. If Vision 2030 which is Kenya's development blueprint is to be realised, as well as the SDGs, efforts at peace-building need not only to be brought on the bargaining table but must be put into reality. Bindenagel (2018) contends that for a country to improve its people's welfare and achieve sustainable development, it should be secure. Any society in need of faster development must establish structures to ensure cohesiveness (Harris, 2012). The structures should ensure all and sundry are motivated to live as brothers and sisters. The changing of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) into Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) was partly done with the realization that there was need to address peace-

building with much more vigour than before (Kimani, 2016). Despite the MDGs, violence had continued covering different regions and at times causing a lot of miseries.

Cognizant of the importance of peace and stability, proponents of peace-building and progress have advanced arguments that there is need to have structures in place that will guarantee the safety of lives and goods (Harris, 2012). Such structures include safeguards against communal violence that prevents people from engaging in productive ventures. It is a fact that where people fail to put their knowledge and energy together, production is low. Similarly, the unity of purpose is missing with the tense atmosphere impacting negatively on peace-building.

Wilkins (2012) argues that the spread of communal violence determines the level of peace-building, as the more widespread the violence is, the wider is the area affected. Therefore, preparations for peace-building must take into account the depth and breadth of violence. Communities are left nursing anger and bitterness. The spread of communal violence has precluded some areas from accessing goods. Further, the geographical spread has made the work of humanitarian teams difficult. The United Nations International Children Education Fund (UNICEF) and the World Food Programme (WFP) have had difficulties in taking food and medicine to regions considered by others as ‘enemy zones’. Although documented evidence is lacking, the mass media has been broadcasting stories of destroyed infrastructure, food stores and food fields. Bringing people together to participate in peace-building has been rendered difficult.

Maina (2011) asserts that freedom from want is a prerequisite to peace-building. The stability of a society is crucial to developments and peace-building. There is need to have calm for the steady supply of goods, expansion of economies and ease in peace-building. When insecurity abounds, there is lack that results to escalation of communal violence. Additionally, hoarding of goods and inflation take place complicating efforts geared towards peace-building (Verwimp, 2012). The spread of communal violence and its intensity is a factor that calls for quick action by all stake-holders for stability and peace among communities (Helland & Sørbø, 2014). As is discussed in the next section, communal violence has come with lots of negative outcomes.

2.3.3 General Impacts of Communal Violence on Communities

Communal violence is hazardous and leaves communities suffering. As Najar (2014) has pointed out, communal violence leaves communities deeply divided. The divisions, at times permeate the political systems leading to serious differences. When the society is highly polarized, communal carnage abounds leading to deaths, injuries and loss of property. As Beachler (2007) has stated, communal violence has led to many deaths. In countries that include Pakistan, Indonesia, Australia, East Timor and Germany, communal violence has almost led to the termination of some communities. Deaths and injuries of scores of people and widespread displacement of persons were especially witnessed in Njoro Sub-County as is indicated in Chapter 4 of this study.

Brosché (2015) has opined that the economic growth and prosperity of communities is largely pegged on peace levels. For young nations that aspire to grow, there is need for communities to pull together and co-operate if they need to join the ranks of developed countries. It was with such a kind of thought that Kenya came up with Kenya Vision 2030 as a blueprint to guide the country into growth. Kimani (2016) argues that if Kenya lives its dream of communities living in peace, harmony and co-operation among other factors, it is likely to achieve the vision. The Kenya Vision 2030 has since been aligned with the SDGs. How can communities use diversity for the common good?

Communal violence has at times led to mental disorders. In a six-year study, Silove et al. (2014) found out that people who are exposed to recurrent episodes of communal violence have high chances of suffering mental problems. This has serious effects on the social, economic and also the political development of the affected regions. Symptoms of trauma remain long after the violence has ended. The symptoms cause stress that affects the day to day operations of those affected. The symptoms remain highly active for a period of up to 3 years after the end of violence. In areas where earning one's daily bread is hard, the symptoms can cause serious stress. Mental problems are worse in situations where people are left without much hope in life. Infact, with reduced rate of communication during situations of violence, stress levels increase. Njoro Sub-County is no exception as captured in Chapter 4 of this Thesis.

The injustice and violation of human rights that comes with communal violence has detrimental effects that include loss of community cohesion and increased feelings of insecurity. Silove et al. (2014) have argued that victims of violence can experience serious mental disorders especially when they see the perpetrators of violence continuing with normal life. In the research conducted in Timor, it was concluded that recurrent violence leads to severe distress. It is due to such realities that this study advocates for a bottom-up approach to peace-building so that communities can contribute to ways that will assist in building sustainable peace.

Ndlovu (2011) opines that communal violence has led to an acute decline in accessing of goods even in areas where surplus is produced. Despite Zimbabwe being a country with good climate and fertile soils, the warring factions within the country have affected food distribution and even production. Starvation has gripped a number of areas. The grim picture of the food shortages afflicting Zimbabwe is a reflection of what is happening across the African region. When violence erupts, the different provisions required in life are hard to acquire. Africa is a continent that is well endowed with resources. Working for sustainable peace will ensure that the different countries in the continent, Kenya included will realise their development goals.

Safarpour et al., (2020) opine that insecurity has widened food security problem through attacks and manipulation of food. The manipulation of food (use of food as a weapon of war) through hoarding and increasing of food prices, have caused artificial food shortages. Food security continues to be a matter of concern. There are shortages not experienced before. The food shortages have continued ravaging many communities especially in Africa (Cilliers, 2018). In the area targeted by this study, there is serious manipulation of food leading to hunger. Furthermore, food crops are destroyed while food stores are torched as captured in Chapter 4 of this Thesis. There is also killing of donkeys that form part of the transport system for food and other items. It is therefore paramount that all the stakeholders be involved in the peace-building process to end violence to ensure sustainable development.

Mayer et al. (2014) support the argument that violence prevents communities from accessing the different essentials of life. With the recurring communal violence in the

area of study, it has been imperative to interact with the people on the ground. The one-on-one narratives are the sure way of getting to understand what the communities on the ground experience. It has been claimed that violence creates artificial scarcity (Holmes, 2017). As indicated in Chapter 4, the communities living in Njoro experience lack due to the perennial violence in the area. In Kenya's neighbour, Somalia, blockading of roads and attacks on vehicles distributing food has led to shortages, apart from causing deaths to hundreds of people (Hendrix, 2013). The scholars cited here are in agreement that when access is curtailed by communal violence, hunger and starvation are inevitable. All these agree that improved standards of living and development are pegged on peace and tranquillity.

Further, Hendrix avers that in Africa, cultivation of crops and rearing of animals is the major economic activity. This view is colloborrated by Sambe et al. (2013) who opines that since the availability of food depends mainly on production, warring communities have often resorted to manipulation over crops, livestock and land. Such acts create vulnerability among communities. With the many grievances and the rising level of ethnicity and unemployment, communal violence takes place within a relatively short period with the slightest trigger. The groups involved take arms against their neighbours causing severe damages. With the arms that are readily available, as evidenced in the map in Appendix IV, communities unleash terror on their neighbours. Agricultural activities are disrupted. Kagwanja (2009) contends that communal violence, at times ignited by politicians due to ideological and political differences have serious drawbacks on the economy.

Raleigh and Kniveton (2010) have opined that communal violence has affected peaceful co-existence. Groups have attacked and scared off other communities, disrupting them from their day-to-day activities. Apart from being disrupted, destruction of what is produced has taken place. Additionally, supplies of goods have been cut off with an aim of weakening the purported enemies. This has threatened human security and has become a hindrance to peace-building.

Conflicts leave behind destroyed infrastructure. When shelters and roads are destroyed, production and distribution of goods is likely to be threatened. People with no shelter

cannot concentrate well on any economic venture. Clarke (2015) has painted the picture of existing conflicts likening them to, 'a kind of Third World War being fought piecemeal p 42'. The production and distribution of goods calls for people who are stable. The literature discussed here indicates clearly that the instability caused by communal violence affects production of goods, economic stability and sustainable development negatively. As indicated in Chapter 4, Njoro Sub-County suffer inaccessibility of goods especially food because of the destruction of infrastructure especially during the violent conflicts. The naratives of the respondents in the Thesis attest to this reality.

Helland and Sørbø (2014) have claimed that communal violence has made life hard for communities across different regions. Algeria, Bahrain, Yemen, Jordan, Tunisia and Egypt are some of the countries where communities have suffered in mass due to violence. The period 2007-08 and 2010-2011 was a time when life was harder with people finding it hard to eke a living. Destruction took place with time and energy being directed to fighting and acquisition of arms. It is with such in mind that the researcher chose this research to cover the area of Njoro Sub-County where the people have experienced communal violence for a long period.

Roos et al. (2013) have the view that increased production does not guarantee people of consumption of the goods that they produce. With Njoro being a productive area in terms of agriculture, it was important to find out whether what gets produced is distributed and made available to the people. The question to be answered here is whether all players who include the primary producers, manufacturers, processors, wholesalers, retailers and consumers as well as transporters and distributors are free to play their role or if communal violence deters them from doing so. Being in an environment where all stakeholders play their roles for goods and products to reach everyone requires an atmosphere of tranquillity. Whenever communal violence takes place, such an atmosphere is threatened. Such occurrences affect the availability of products, growth and development and ultimately peace-building.

Napoli et al. (2010) have argued that distribution of products is as important as production, accessibility and availability. Without distribution, communities would not

be able to meet their needs. Distribution helps determine consumption patterns. Distribution is dependent on peace in a given geographical location. Among the many conditions required to ease and enhance distribution of goods is the absence of violence. Hendrix (2013) in an account of Somalia opines that the violence has curtailed food distribution to various parts where starvation is taking place. Whenever there is fighting, the movement of people and goods gets affected. The poor distribution of food commodities happens due to deliberate blockade of roads and diversion of food resulting from violence. Many of the Somali people are denied access to medicine not because it is lacking. Deliberate efforts have been done to deny them the same. In the area of Njoro Sub-County, as evidenced through the narratives captured in Chapter 4, access to food, markets, health facilities and schools has been hampered by ciolence.

In Eritrea, Tesfamariam (2002) argues that communal violence has left a shadow of death hanging over the country. Although only 13% of the total land is arable and the country experiences episodes of drought, communal violence is largely to blame for the poor food distribution among other sufferings experienced by the communities. Of the total arable land, only 26% of it is cultivated comprising of a mere 4% of the total landmass. With the population growing at 3%, there is fear of continued hunger. It is prudent to think of the appropriate peace-building approach to deal with communal violence.

Communal violence is a threat to political stability and could cause both civil and inter-state conflicts if not addressed by different stakeholders in good time (Sambe et al. 2013). In Rwanda, over 300,000 people lost their lives in the period 1990-1994. Ploch and Cook (2012) have demonstrated that communal violence has even forced governments to resign like in the case of president Ravalomanana of Madagascar. Féron and Razakamaharavo (2019) claim that from the year 2002, lethal clashes with ethnic undertones existed in Madagascar. The end result was the military coup organised by the former Mayor of the city of Antananarivo. Deaths took place with the president being forced to step down from office in 2009. Perhaps the lessons learnt here could serve as a warning that communal violence is quite harmful. Apart from affecting individuals and communities, communal violence has the potential to harm an entire State. It is for such

reasons that this research study advocates for an approach that can ensure lasting peace. The approach is the peace-building from below route where the communities are involved at all levels of the peace-building process.

Shastri (2020) argues that a combination of factors that include localised narratives of Hindu Nationalism, regional alliances and the caste coalitions has caused serious tension among the Hindus and between Hindus and Christians. This compares well with the music from Kipchamba which tends to fuel violence as it highlights the marginalisation of the Kalenjin community by claiming the fact that massive tracts of land have been occupied by other ethnc communities. Different sectors including education have been affected. Wangeci et al. (2014) have asserted that when communal violence occurs, it does not confine itself only to loss of lives and property. Violence spares nothing including learning. It disrupts learning as students become unable to attend classes. This is an area that this research has given pre-eminence in Chapter 4. McGaha-Garnett (2013), notes that when violence breaks out, learners and teachers are affected with absenteeism becoming common. Education standards are lowered. Compromising education has adverse impacts on development and the future of the people.

Mung'ou (2018) claims that in the Mount Elgon region of Kenya, communal violence between the different communities has affected school-going children. While boys have been engaged in the fighting, the girl child has been gripped with fear preventing her from attending school. Mt. Elgon region of Kenya has dominated the Kenya and International media. This is because of the intractable conflicts and atrocities that have been witnessed in the past due to youth militias. The violent situations in the Mt. Elgon area are a reflection of what is happening in the country and by extension across the continent. Compromising on education is a threat to the future of any country. It is evident that violence is detrimental to communities across the world.

Other impacts of communal violence include rapes and trauma that has mainly affected the female gender. According to Mung'ou (2018), scores of girls and women have faced rape and psychological torture arising from scenes of violence. Brown (2012) in a different account of the D. R. Congo has narrated horrifying incidences of the evil. He argues that rape has been used as a weapon of war with horrifying scenarios of forcing

communities into subjugation. The victims have been forced to endure frightening situations that have remained in their memories long after the incidences of rape have taken place.

Turyamureeba (2017) has opined that when violence becomes more frequent and intensive, communities are forced to migrate while yet others spend time contending in courts of law. Kuo (2019) in supporting the above view avers that communal violence has the potential of disrupting lives and causing lasting damage to the economic growth of an area. The discussion here is in agreement with the cases of the D. R. Congo and that of Ethiopia discussed earlier in this thesis. This Thesis confirms the arguments that the different aspects of life are negatively affected by communal violence. When groups of people migrate, the different trades that they engage in are left unattended. Survival becomes a challenge and negotiating for peace becomes expensive. Communal violence need to be avoided by all means.

The impacts of communal violence have demonstrated that it is necessary to think about the approaches and means of stopping it. Brinkman & Hendrix (2010) have appealed for concerted efforts of national governments, intergovernmental organizations, and the civil society to help address communal violence. It is evident that communal violence is destructive and goes against the aspirations of Kenya's Vision 2030 and the SDGs. Kenya Vision 2030, the long-term development blueprint, could miss its target of transforming the country into an industrializing middle-income country if communal violence continues. To achieve the intended goals by 2030 as planned, peace-building is key (Kimani, 2016).

2.4 Approaches of Addressing Communal Violence

Scholars have advocated and proposed different approaches in dealing with communal violence. While contributing to the debate on communal violence, Brosché (2015) contends that a lasting solution is needed. The scholar calls for a careful study of the approach to be undertaken. Additionally, it is important to carefully consider the actors to be involved in order to get into constructive peace-building. Due to the grave

consequences of communal violence, care is necessary when planning peace-building. Hasty decisions to calm warring communities have led to reccuring violence. Instead of taking time to analyse the situation, communities have been left bitter after claims that the police that were sent to contain violence have 'terrorised' them.

Liaga and Wielenga (2020) have opined that peace-building aims at preventing the resumption and escalation of violence. Although peace-building is done with the aim of bringing normalcy in conflict-prone areas, the approach that is taken could lead to peace or to the escalation and continuation of a conflict (Adetula, 2018). The kind of intervention necessary after violence has taken place need to be given careful thought. The alternatives in place include having a transitional justice system, going to courts of law, educating the masses, having strong labour unions cutting across the different communities in a region, use of force and/or bringing all the parties together and sharing ideas (the bottom-up approach).

In South Africa and Rwanda, the transitional justice system has been tried. It has hailed as a success although South Africa at times experience communal violence. The system that worked through creation of local traditional courts has largely borne fruits in Rwanda. Herrmann (2012) has hailed the success of Gacaca courts (worked in Rwanda) for answering to the demands of transitional justice in Rwanda. After the massacre of about 800,000 people in the genocide that engulfed Rwanda in the period 1990-1994, as the courts of law were overwhelmed, many people found a reprieve in Gacaca courts. The Gacaca courts brought aggressors to book. Approximately 11,000 local community courts were created across Rwanda. Retribution and restoration of property was done within a relatively short period. As the author argues, Gacaca worked well as is evidenced by the fact that Rwanda has been calm and peaceful since 1994. Rwanda is one of the countries that are developing quite fast today. Thomson (2010) has opined that transitional justice where those sowing seeds of violence are dealt with harshly helps discourage future perpetrators from engaging in conflicts and ensures a peaceful and stable society. Kasapas (2008) has suggested that sponsors of peace should address the issue of transitional justice if communities are to heal from violence. Communities emerging from conflicts need to deal with systemic human rights violations that are not

quickly addressed through the normal justice system. Unless addressed with speed, some acts of repression and abuse of human rights could prevent the affected individuals and communities from healing. Governments should think of the approach to use and ensure retributive, restorative and/or distributive justice takes place. Without taking individuals and groups into account, normalcy might not be realized as those suffering injustice might remain with unquenched bitterness. When atrocities of the past are not addressed, the society remains sharply divided. Reconciliation is a long and painful process that, apart from calling for acceptance and legitimacy from the local communities, involves accounting for past events where people take responsibility for their actions. The success of reconciliation in South Africa and East Timor can be attributed mainly to transitional justice.

Although the arguments above are in favour of the transitional justice as an approach to peace-building, it is the feeling of this researcher that a lot of care is needed in its application. Digging into the past could bring back bitter memories which could re-ignite violence. Retribution, restoration and redistribution therefore need to be carried out in a manner that is appeasing to those aggrieved without leaving aggressors with bitterness and the desire to take revenge. Dealing with perpetrators harshly, if not given careful thought, could re-ignite communities into violence.

Elsewhere, literacy, if well utilised, could stem communal violence. Najar (2014) contends that when literacy and the press play their roles properly, equity is realized in a society. Equity has a way of bringing in unity and preventing violence. Further, literacy plays its role of educating the masses. Communities become cautious of the leaders they put into offices. It is failure by the literate to educate communities that led to the rise of leaders (dictators) like Adolf Hitler in Germany, Lenin in Russia, Benito Musolini in Italy and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (that is now known as the D. R. Congo). These led to increased violence and widespread suffering of the people in each of these countries.

Kohli and Singh (2013) have lamented that it is the responsibility of the state to maintain the law and order. The latter two are faulting those in leadership positions for failing to execute their mandate. Since it is the public who elect leaders into positions, the public has the duty of vetting the people they elect into positions of leadership.

Maintenance of peace and order is dependent on those holding leadership positions. Since literacy is a key ingredient in vetting processes, the publics need to be well informed to elect people of integrity. This way, peace will be attained. In a different line of thought, in the research conducted in India, it was noted that in cities and towns where there was regular and sustained contacts and communication between communities, violence was rare as opposed to where there was little or almost no communication. Additionally, in areas where peace committees formed from the grassroots existed, communities lived peacefully. The authors have stated;

In cities of thick interaction between different communities, peace committees at the time of tension emerged from below in various neighbourhoods. Such highly decentralized tension-managing organizations killed rumours, removed misunderstandings, and often policed neighbourhoods. p 157.

The view expressed here aligns well with the Peace-Building Theory that advocates for the recognition of all stakeholders in peace-building and gives support to the view calling for the involvement of the locals all through in peace-building processes.

If a solution to communal violence is to be reached, the intellectuals and the enlightened from the society have to lead the way (Najar, 2014). The enlightened have to call for ceasefire and allow communities to air their grievances whether through the political or electoral processes as well as social undertakings.

Further, arguments have been advanced that strengthening of labour unions and other associations is a good way of fighting communal violence (Kohli & Singh, 2013). In areas with strong labour unions and associations that cut across the different communities, people remain united. Politicians, however powerful, are unable to incite such communities or rupture the existing link between the communities. The synergy between civic organizations cutting across the different groups becomes a cure for communal violence.

Arguments have been advanced that when states intervene through use of force, the ensuing violence might stop only for a moment before erupting again. Mac Ginty (2015) has opined that the remedy to communal violence is the use of the bottom-up approach.

The bottom-up approach practiced for a period of about 20 years, 1990-2010, had much success in ensuring lasting peace. The approach was employed in El Salvador in 1992 by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with a lot of success. The same was applied in Burundi, Mozambique, and the Philippines, all in 1995, with positive achievement of peace. Paffenholz (2014) has claimed that a bottom-up approach encourages civil society participation and is embraced by local communities. The approach does not only reduce dependence on elite-level negotiations but also allows the different warring communities a forum to share their needs, aspirations and thinking which helps in reducing tension. The view expressed in this study is the fact that if governments would only act as facilitators of peace processes and let the local communities bring in their views and ideas, communal violence would easily get a lasting solution.

Brosché (2015) has posed an argument in reference to both Sudan and South Sudan that a post-conflict agreement might make the violence to spill to another form. The intervening parties must take care and engage with the local communities. This line of argument has been supported by scholars who have advocated for building the necessary structures that can lead to lasting peace (Paffenholz, 2014). Involving local actors as advocated variously in this thesis would easily ensure no repeat of communal violence. This approach which calls for the application of the Bottom-Up Peace-Building approach is the sure way of transforming violence and helping communities. This way, communities will supplement each other as opposed to having negative competition. Bottom-up approach is the way to go as it involves those in the grassroots.

Wachira (2012) has demonstrated that the best means of dealing with an issue is involving those concerned and listening to their narratives. The narratives of those involved in communal violence and the solutions they propose would help in getting the solution not only to communal violence but also to other issues afflicting the society and tampering with peace. Without listening to the narratives, as indicated while looking at youth violence, interveners could be prescribing the wrong remedy.

Mac Ginty (2015) opines that local communities are the key to successful peace-building. Ignoring the local communities and terming them as illiterate and uncivilized

has been done by the elite and the ruling class. Excluding the grassroots in decision making has led to the failure of peace-building. The local communities are instrumental to any post-conflict peace-building. Instead of blaming the local communities for engaging in communal violence, the way to achieve lasting peace is to engage them in at every stage of peace-building. Without hearing the story of the locals and understanding them, the efforts of governments and international organizations achieve quite little. It is the view of this study that the ownership of the peace process by the local communities is the way to go. Partnership between governments/international organizations and local communities brings legitimacy to peace-building. This in turn brings sustainable peace and ensures prudent use of funds and other resources set aside for peace-building.

Without involving the local communities, peace-building ends up consuming resources without much success (Paffenholz, 2014). Involving the local communities helps in lowering the costs incurred in peace-building and achieves faster results. Going to communities in the name of 'civilizing' them by 'experts' from governments and the international sponsors and assuming that the communities involved in violence do not know anything is detrimental to peace-building. Individual stories of the local people need to be heard and honoured for lasting peace which in turn will create an environment for investments, growth and improved standards of living.

Ramsbotham et al. (2016) have expressed similar views that peace-building need to address the different factions affected by violence if a lasting solution is to be arrived at. The authors have stated that:

A complex web of social relations, and horizontal legitimacy claims need to address different audiences with distinct interests (p 54).

As stated, the involvement of different stakeholders who include not only the elite and political leaders but also the various societal groups is likely to yield good results in peace-building and the resolution of conflicts. When the different groups are involved in peace-building processes, there is ownership of activities and the entire peace process. The end result is the attainment of the desired goals. As demonstrated, the consent given

to peace processes by the civil society and the local communities is instrumental to the attainment of lasting peace and co-existence of communities.

Scholars have hailed the mixture of the top-down and the bottom-up approaches as the best in resolution of conflicts. Mac Ginty (2015) refers to this as hybrid peace. Although Mac Ginty is referring to big conflicts where international support blends with local approaches to bring back peace, the formula advocated could be applied to violence at a communal level. The author calls for interplay between states, peace agents, the different networks and structures as well as the local actors in post-war reconstruction. If states would agree with local communities to have a common approach, restoring calm and tranquillity would take relatively short periods and at the same time reach lasting understanding between the different communities residing in a given area. Therefore, although states have the power and the instruments to initiate peace-making and peace-building, involving the local communities is necessary for positive results to be achieved. The communities and the grassroots are more in the know of what ails their communities than governments and politicians. Being more aware of what causes a rift between the communities, the grassroots would come up with the best solution. A blend of the top-down and the bottom-up (the traditional) would to some good extent help the conflicting communities to live in harmony.

Peace that lasts has to be legitimate (Richmond, 2013). Richmond is of the view that peace-making that involves localized practices is long lasting. Richmond concurs with the adherents of the bottom-up peace-building approaches that local agencies should be allowed to mobilize for peace on their own terms. To him, this leads to ownership of the resolutions that are finally passed. This is the legitimate process leading to legitimate peace. The peace-building process must go beyond what the elite and civil society has projected and involve the indigenous communities fully. Local models and local actors play a vital role in attainment of peace. It is the view of this research that if the idea proposed here is adopted, and governments and politicians agree to only facilitate the process without undue influence, minimizing violence and attainment of peace would be realized much faster. It is with such a view in mind that this research sought to hear from the communities that live in Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru, Kenya.

It has been conceptualized by Mac Ginty & Richmond (2013) that peace-building need to be localized in order to attain the desired goals. Bringing foreign/outside ideas in a setting only yields to negative peace where recurrence of violence lingers. Arriving at peace agreements in boardrooms without a representation of the local communities is an act in futility. Although Mac Ginty and Richmond were referring to scenarios where issues regarding developing countries are decided at the international level in foreign cities like London, New York and Washington among others, the argument is applicable to situations of communal violence. It is not right to decide for rural communities from distant cities or towns without going to the ground. They have claimed that:

Various attempts at making peace agreements around the world are normally negotiated in Western bubbles (geographically in the West or within a 'green zone' in the conflict environment), according to Northern rationalities (p. 763).

If decisions are to be arrived at by ignoring the local actors, the chances of arriving at positive peace as argued by Lederach (1997) are very rare. The views and perceptions of respondents on the various causes of violence and the possible solutions to the problem are important.

Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013) have further argued that in conflict resolution, local communities should be represented by genuine members drawn from the communities as opposed to representation by local elites who come to the peace-building arena with their hidden agenda that are in most cases selfish in nature. In the argument, the reason why peace efforts failed in Israel/ Palestine (1992), Bosnia (1995), Kosovo (1998) and Afghanistan (2001) was because apart from outsiders sponsoring peace efforts, those who claimed to represent local interests were a small elite group with selfish interests. Those masquerading as locals are not well versed with what the locals undergo. Therefore, they cannot articulate issues as they are on the ground. Negotiating an ending of violence without involving those who are genuinely affected by it is an effort in futility. The duo have added that the reason why peace-building and state-building have failed in many regions across the globe is because of the application of use of force. The top-down approach is orthodox. The approach should be dropped and replaced with the bottom-up approach which is widely acceptable to the locals. The two have re-

emphasized what Mac Ginty referred to earlier as hybrid peace. They have stated, "*we take a pluralist view of difference and see peace as hybrid, multiple and often agonistic*" p 764. All levels need to get involved in the mediation process for sustainable peace to be realized.

Resolution of communal violence by the outsider has its own issues. There are contradictions between the outsider and the local perspective of what peace is and how it can be achieved (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013). The contradictions result from historical differences, the laws and the norms governing a community. Further, there is a difference in understandings of rights and peace. Thus, the importance of engaging the narratives of individuals and groups on their perception and experience of peace and in this study, the case of Njoro Sub-County as captured later in Chapter 4. Due to the differences, what has worked in a particular locale might not work in another locale. For this reason, those sponsoring resolution of conflicts need to take into account the views of all the different stakeholders. The grassroots need to be involved from the initial stage. The views of the local community and the grassroots are crucial in the attainment of positive peace. Understanding localized rights, needs and desires is the way to help arrive at sustainable peace.

The involvement of the local communities is not only helpful in making the peace-building process legitimate but also in achieving the expected justice fast enough. Although the judicial process is yet another means of resolving communal violence, it has been found to have weaknesses. The judicial system is often slow and delays administration of justice (Agbonika & Alewo, 2014). This study is in agreement that whether it is due to inadequate courts, shortage of personnel in courts, political interference or other factors, the judicial system has been blamed for delaying justice to victims of violence. Violence has escalated. There is need for the aggrieved parties to engage in alternative mediation process. Equally, the peace-builders can familiarise themselves with the bottom-up peace-building approaches.

Arguments that the world is global and that there is no real 'local' as advocated by adherents of liberal peace have been advanced (Afonso, 2011). Arguments like this have led to imposing of peace in the name of spreading democratic values. Such arguments

which have been done in favour of the application of the top-down intervention have only left communities and the grassroots bitter. The top-down approach which entails the use of security forces and gunfire against the communities involved in violence is helpful in disarming the communities but leaves them tensed. Imposing 'peace' on a people without consulting them has not helped much as has been noted in Iraq and Palestine where UN efforts have yielded very little. What is achieved is negative peace. Although calm is achieved, the bitterness hidden deep in the hearts of the people is not quelled. When security forces sent to calm the tension leave the war zones, violence emerges again and at times with even more vigour (Mesloh, 2019). The sending of Security forces to areas of turmoil, a liberal approach to violence, utilising a 'one-size-fits-all', could be the reason why the Mt. Elgon area and Njoro Sub-County, which is the target of this study have both continued experiencing violence.

In order to avoid the controversy arising from the 'outsider' view and the local view in peace-building, the outsider should steer the process by providing the resources required but allow the local people to play an active role in the entire process (Schia & Karlsrud 2013). In Liberia and Haiti where the UN has provided materials and ideational resources and allowed the local people to continue with peace-building processes, a lot has been achieved with violence being drastically reduced. Through provision of the necessary materials to the local communities, the communities have listened to the ideas of the outside peace-keepers. They have blended such with their own ideas. The idea of hybrid peace has worked in those areas. When the intervener agrees that the local communities have something to offer, attainment of lasting peace is almost guaranteed.

Involving all the levels as suggested in Lederach's Framework of Actors in Peace-building (Lederach, 2008) would assist in avoiding what scholars term as 'friction sites'. Bringing the community and grassroots on board in peace-building processes does not only help build relationships that are vital for peaceful co-existence, but also helps in tapping the developed synergy and ushering in development which in turn leads to improved standards of living.

Schia and Karlsrud (2013) argue that the bottom-up and the 'hybrid' forms of peace-building are bound to get support from the grassroots as they are context-sensitive. What

comes from the communities involved in the violence is deemed as legitimate as opposed to what is imposed from the outside. That which is imposed is not only illegitimate but becomes destructive to the local people. Imposed peace heightens tension and cause a relapse into violence. Ramsbotham et al. (2016) have argued that where peace is imposed from outside, those that lose power and access to the control of resources are left feeling bitter. The bitterness fuels resistance culminating into re-emergence of violence. In a situation like that, peace will remain elusive for as long as the relevant groups who in this case include the grassroots are left out in negotiating resolution. Further, however strong state institutions are, failing to allow the community and grassroots participation in the peace processes is a risky affair and an indicator of a failed peace undertaking.

Hendrix (2013) is of the view that governments often use approaches that are wrongly prioritized in dealing with communal violence. The use of force to curb communal violence only makes matters worse. The habit of diverting government funds to equip security forces in order to deal with the masses that riot because of being in want of different provisions is counter-productive. Communities are left feeling more aggrieved. Instead of operating social security systems such as food for work, school meals, and food subsidies, resources are spent on buying arms and ammunition as well as feeding security forces. This compounds the problem leading to more communal resistance. The increased violence increases insecurity, destroys infrastructure, and leaves communities even more divided. A vicious circle is created.

In the Kenyan context, Karani (2011) has lamented that the deployment of armed forces to contain violence have not yielded good results. Instead, violence has been quelled only momentarily. The reactive and crisis driven approach employed in dealing with conflicts and violence has failed to achieve sustainable peace. The state sponsored justice system has left communities bitter and looking for revenge. The unending conflicts cannot be resolved with the top-down approach where armed soldiers are sent to the ground to deal with the angry communities. Supporting the above argument, Cho et al. (2015) have demonstrated that deploying armed security agents has not worked as violence has kept recurring almost every election period. This is evidenced with the

1992, 1997 and 2007 elections where deaths and destruction occurred. It is of importance to listen to communities and understand what makes them take up arms. Hearing their side of the story before sending security forces to quell them is likely to help get a lasting solution to violence. Although no form of violence is encouraged, communities could have genuine concerns which, if addressed, could go a long way in ensuring law and order where communities live together, share resources and appreciate one another.

The approach undertaken by Bishop Korir is perhaps what is required to resolve the perennial communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. In resolving the communal violence between his ethnic community, the Kalenjin, and the Kikuyu, as well as that between the communities of the Marakwet and the Pokot, he distanced himself from the political rhetoric of his community (Opongo, 2020). By listening to each community, he was able to start a legacy of peace in a region where competition over natural resources had led to increased tension especially during drought and during electioneering periods. By the time of his death in October 2017, positive changes had been realized between the herding communities and cultivators. The approach he took entailed analysing the causes of conflicts, looking at the factors sustaining the conflicts and involving all parties in getting solutions. Unlike the boardroom meetings held earlier without any tangible outcome, the route he undertook dealt with the reality on the ground and paved the way for the peace enjoyed today. The Bishop involved all with the knowledge that the local people had the solution to the acquisition of sustainable peace. Through the involvement of elders, women, opinion leaders as well as youth drawn from all communities, a ceasefire was attained. The method worked well as opposed to the boardroom meetings and seminars where a handful of people who at times represented interests other than those of the communities attended.

The above discussion suggests that there is no single prescription that can be applied uniformly to peace-building across the globe. Every area and society has its unique features that help determine the success or failure of peace-building. Newman et al. (2009) has brought in an argument that while a combination of reconstruction and coercion may work in Afghanistan and Iraq, the same could fail in Bosnia and

elsewhere. From the preceding arguments, there is need for a paradigm shift. There is need to replace the top-down approach with the bottom-up peace-building approach in peace-building. As noted, the bottom-up approach has brought more positive results. However, while applying the bottom-up approach, care is necessary to ensure all the stakeholders and the unique features a society has are factored in.

2.5 Contextualising Communal Violence in Kenya

This section looks at the major factors that have a bearing on communal violence in Kenya. The administrative boundaries, the land tenure system and ethnicity are some of the key factors that lead to communal violence. It then looks at the political and electoral violence in Kenya.

2.5.1 Kenya's Administrative Boundaries

Since the pre-colonial period, both sense of belonging and ethnicity have evoked emotions that have impacted negatively on the development of Kenya. The coming of the British and their creation of boundaries to divide the different communities, along other factors, gave such communities lasting claims to their areas of occupation (Steve, 2017). The British eventually divided Kenya into eight regions called provinces, finalised at the pre-independence Lancaster House negotiations. The provinces were the Coast, North Eastern, Eastern, the Rift Valley, Nairobi, Central, Western and Nyanza. Each province, now referred to as a Region, was populated by particular ethnic group(s). Moreover, the British were very cavalier with the national and provincial boundaries. They discouraged movement from one province to another especially during the emergency period. Most importantly, they ignored the fluidity of pre-colonial interactions and identity and reinforced the "tribe" as a fixed, primordial entity; as a result, this created the perception of "us" and "them", (owners and foreigners), among the indigenous people. This has been replicated to date, where different ethnic communities in Kenya live in particular areas (Osuga et al., 2020). In the area under

study, while the Kikuyu community dominates Kihingo, Lare, and Mau Narok Wards, Mauche is dominated by the Kalenjin while Nesuit is occupied by the Ogiek communityas captured in Chapter 4. Ethnicity became more profound and openly evident from the early 1960's when most countries in Africa started getting independence.

Rampant hostilities and insecurity have developed over time. Suspicion and fear have evolved among the different ethnic communities. Intractable inter-communal violence has taken place with the efforts of stopping the same becoming involving and consuming enormous resources. The call by the Constitution of Kenya (Cap 40) which stipulates that people are free to live in any part of the country irrespective of their colour, religion, background, ethnic community or other factors has not made much impact on these communities. Furthermore, communities' hostility and negative perception tends to affect the succession politics during the election period after every five years (Kimani, 2018). Due to the political identification along ethnic lines, some areas of Kenya that include Mount Elgon region and parts of the Rift Valley have experienced recurring violence and hostilities. Supporting this view, Rohwerder (2015) opines that the violence has adverse impacts on socio-economic and political developments of Kenya and has impacted negatively on peace-building. Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru which is the focus of this study is no exception to the adverse effects of communal violence.

2.5.2 Ethnicity in Kenya

Arguments have been advanced that ethnic affiliation and loyalty are deep-rooted in the minds of Africans. Since the pre-colonial period, the sense of belonging has evoked emotions that make communities unique and acquire features that are different from those of other communities. As indicated in section 2.5.1, a perception of 'us' versus 'them' which developed over time has been repricated to date with different communities occupying particular areas. In Kenya, like in many African countries, ethnicicity, a form of collective identity, plays a major role in determining the destiny of

people (Archer, 2009). For instance, when the Kenya African National Union (KANU) was formed in March 1960, it was dominated by the Kikuyu and the Luo ethnic communities. In June 1960, when Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was founded, it drew its following largely from the Kalenjin, the Coastal communities and the smaller ethnic communities. These blocs formed the support base of the two main political parties in preparation for Kenya's Independence. They were characterized by suspicion and division. As a result of negative ethnicity in Kenya, in a bid to gain political mileage, politicians have taken advantage to manipulate the people and mobilize them against purported enemies. A chasm has been created with some parts of the Rift Valley becoming hard to live in or cultivate especially during election periods (Lynch, 2011). Selfish individuals with politicians being in the lead have exploited ethnicity to divide communities. As noted later in section 2.5.3 of this Thesis, a rift has developed between the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu communities living in the Rift Valley. Such divisions have contributed to constant communal violence. In support of the issue of politicians inciting unrest as well as the ethnic make-up of the locations in Njoro, below is a table showing the councillors/MCAs elected for the Wards in the last few elections. Additionally, the pattern is even more telling when one considers the names of the losing candidates. In each Ward, the candidate comes from the dominant ethnic group. (This is the case in the last two elections. Prior to that, the Electoral Commission of Kenya only gazetted the names of the elected councillors though the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) do publish the full results).

Table 2.1: Elected Councillors and MCAs in the last four elections

YEAR		2002		2007		2013		2017
WARD	**PARTY**	**COUNCILLOR**	**PARTY**	**COUNCILLOR**	**PARTY**	**MCA**	**PARTY**	**MCA**
MAU NAROK	NARC	Peter Karuri Kamau	PNU	Peter Karuri Kamau	TNA	Gitonga Benjamin Irungu	Jubilee	Jackson Kariuki Githua
MAUCHE	NARC	Samwel Kirui Kiplang'at	ODM	Samwel Kimutai Mibei	NARC	Kipngeno Leonard Korir	Jubilee	Philip Kipngetich Rotich
KIHINGO	NARC	Philip Mungai Njuguna	PNU	Samwel Ng'ang'a Mbuthi	TNA	Kiarie Stephen Karanja	Independent	George Kiere Machoka '
NESSUIT	KANU	Joseph Miangari	ODM	Reinagel Paul Gugo	URP	Tonui Samuel Kipkemoi	Jubilee	Samwel Kipkemoi Tonui
LARE	NARC	Sammy Rimui Karanja	PNU	Samuel Kuria Mbatia	TNA	Wauthi Newton Kabuu	Jubilee	Philip Wanjohi Ndiritu
NJORO	NARC	Francis Muigai Kageche	PNU	Kuria Leonard Mambo	TNA	Kariuki Ezekiel Kungu	Jubilee	Zacharia Kahiro Kirichi

Data extracted from the following documents: (*Kenya Government Gazette Dated 2003-01-08 Number 2*, 2003; *Kenya Government Gazette Dated 2008-01-25 Number 8*, 2008; *Kenya Government Gazette Dated 2013-03-25 Number 54*, 2013; *Kenya Government Gazette Dated 2017-09-04 Number 129*, 2017)

Concerns have been raised that despite Kenya gaining independence in 1963, some people have not enjoyed the rights and benefits associated with being citizens (Branch, 2011). Despite the country boasting of economic growth, the living standards of many people remain low. People have participated in different economic ventures and in the democratic processes without gaining from the same. Such perceptions have brewed discontent, with communities getting divided along ethnic lines. Resources that include land, wealth and power have remained in the hands of particular groups with the rest of the communities feeling disadvantaged. Different factions have seized and dominated power leaving those left out feeling discontented. This is the picture that is portrayed in the narratives captured in Chapter 4 especially in section 4.3.8. It would seem that the

communities whose kith and kin are not in positions of leadership have been sidelined in the sharing of resources.

Branch has argued that the country has experienced persistent struggles between different factions all through from the date of independence. The different regimes have failed to redistribute wealth, as well as land, among other resources. Additionally, the different regimes have turned a blind eye to corruption and other criminal behaviour. This has remained the case due to the political affiliations of the alleged perpetrators. While the 'big-man' syndrome has been brought into play, some leaders have appealed to their ethnic communities for support, with cries of "*We are being finished…"* when accused of misdeeds. On the other hand, the big-wigs have often used the state machinery to cover up their acts of misconduct. The gap between communities has been hard to bridge. Branch's argument is in agreement with that of Jenkins, that failure by the diferent regimes to bring equity could be a cause of communal violence in Kenya.

Sharing a similar view, Mwiandi (2011) has opined that ethnic thinking has far reaching implications. During presidential elections in Kenya, ethnic mobilization plays a major role. Any presidential candidate who plays his cards 'well' and does calculations along ethnic lines is assured of victory. The ability to exploit ethnic affiliations can be argued to have contributed to political violence which has a communal angle in Kenya. In a bid to acquire the limited resources and power, communal violence has ensued taking the form of ethnic differences as communities struggle to outwit each other. Waweru (2019) adds that ethnic thinking contributed to the rise of Internally Displaced Persons camps in the larger Molo. Establishment of Internally Displaced Persons camps compounded communal violence and stifled efforts at peace-building. The squalid conditions in these camps created animosity among communities. Equally, efforts at reintegration as well as resettling the displaced persons have not been successful posing perennial complains among communities. As captured in Appendix VI, some people did not rebuild their houses while others left their lands fallow or planted trees.

Unequal treatment of some communities by the majority groups, inequity in power-sharing and politicisation have played a role in the resurgence of communal violence in Kenya (Cheeseman et al., 2019). The country's ethnic elites have deliberately exploited

the ignorance of the masses to incite and plant seeds of discord. With the notion that the politicians are out to help their communities, people have been lured to see their neighbours negatively. Communities have blamed their next door neighbours as the cause of their problems. The divisions created during colonialism appear to have a permanent mark. The big question however remains, 'is there no way the separations brought by the British can be ended? Must the Kenyan communities continue fighting moreso whenever elections are taking place? The genesis of this thesis is to unravel this dilemma.

Githigaro (2017), claims that communal conflicts require "more than simple 'ethnic arithmetic' to resolve". A more focused study of the communities involved in conflicts is required. This view is shared in the statement of the late Bishop of the Catholic diocese of Eldoret, Cornelius Korir who often said, "Blood appears to be thicker than baptismal water". In fact, classic primordialists view ethnicity as natural. The biological and territorial features make one to acquire certain meanings, and further develop a sense of belonging that is not easy to change. Due to their unique environments, The Kenyan communities have acquired different beliefs and ways of life. Therefore, when one is thinking of what approach of peace-building to adopt, the reality that Kenyans are divided along ethnic lines should be put in mind. The destiny of the country and at times the developments taking place are done mainly along ethnic lines. It is therefore imperative for peace-building interveners to approach the different communities with care, empathise with them and then put on the table what they have.

Groupings including political parties and militias have been founded along ethnic lines. Wachira, (2012) states the militias formed along ethnic lines, and who owe their allegiance to their ethnic communities, have terrorised the Kenyan communities. These include Amachuma, Bagdad Boys, Banyamulenge, Charo Shutu, Chinkororo, Dallas Muslim Youth, Dombolo ya Yesu, Jeshi la Embakasi, Jeshi la Kingole, Jeshi la Mzee, Kalenjin Warriors, Kamjesh, Kaya Bombo Youth, Kenda Muiyuru, Kosovo Boys, Kuzacha Boys, Masai Morans, Mungiki, Runyenjes Football Club, Sakina Youth, Sungu Sungu and Taliban among others. The gangs are spread across the country. With recurring communal violence and ethnic loyalties continuing in the country, the criminal

gangs have continued increasing and wrecking more havoc. It is for such reasons that this research study wishes to come up with an approach that can save the country the scorge of violence.

This study feels that the existence of ethnicity and the formation of militia groups provide an entry and justification for acquisition of illicit arms in the country. With Kenya's lengthy unmanned borders, the acquisition and possession of small arms by the wrong hands has increased . Illicit arms easily get their way into Kenya as portrayed in Appendix IV. On 9/6/2021, at the Regional Traffic Police Training Centre located in Ngong, President Uhuru Kenyatta led Kenyans in setting ablaze 5144 illegally acquired guns. The use of guns in the area of study was found to be at 14.2% as indicated in section 4.4.4 of Chapter 4 of this thesis. It is evident that the initiative by the African Union "Silencing the guns by the year 2020" has not been achieved yet. With the high level of fatalities caused by small arms and light weapons, the level of conflict and violence has increased. Coupled with the low levels of development in the country, the easy acquisition of arms has had an effect in increasing the rift between communities. It is the feeling of this study that with minimised communal violence, the demand for arms and the creation of criminal gangs would cease. Again, this would save the country not only from inter-communal violence but also from intra-communal violence that has at times taken place. A case in point is the gubernatorial tussle between Ann Mumbi Waiguru (now Ann Mumbi Waiganjo) and Martha Karua that lasted between August, 2017 and August, 2019. For the period of two full years before a determination was reached by a court of law, going by media reports, the people of Kirinyaga did not enjoy peace.

The map in Appendix III shows the level of acquisition of arms. Some are used during communal violence in the country. It is followed by another map in Appendix IV showing the routes where arms are sneaked into Kenya. It is important to note here that since 2012 when the map in Appendix III was created, Lamu has become very volatile due to the Al Shabaab attacks.

Suffice to say that when violence takes place whether at school, in towns or in the countryside, harmony is affected as looting, attacks, rape, killings, threats and other

negative behaviour reign. Wachira (2012) while discussing violence avers that it is crucial to have peace-building initiatives where different stakeholders are actively involved. These include the youth and women who are adversely affected by different forms of violence, inclusive of communal violence.

2.5.3 The Land Tenure System

Since colonial days, land distribution and ownership have played a key role in determining production and related developments in Kenya. Land ownership has been contested slowing developments on land and at times leading to communal violence. In fact, land has remained an emotive subject with those termed 'aliens' being denied land. Onguny and Gillies (2019) have opined that land wrangles are largely to blame for the intractable violence and polarization of the country. The system of land ownership in Kenya has been a contributing factor to conflicts between communities. Communities make claims over pieces of land possessed by others. In some cases, legal title ownership to land has not been honoured (Steve, 2017). People have been evicted from the land they occupy. The title to land has at times been termed as a 'mere paper'. The end result has been violence that has kept recurring.

The situation of land ownership is further complicated and aggravated with some people owning large tracts of land while others have none. Those with little or no land fault the system of land ownership. Their wrath is directed to communities who are deemed to own land illegally. The system of land ownership has complicated relationship between communities (Onguny & Gillies, 2019). Efforts of peace-building have been met with resistance. Additionally, ethnic diversity has been a major obstacle to peace. Instead of harnessing ethnic diversity for the good of the people, segregation has become common with different communities appropriating certain areas for themselves. Land redistribution in different areas, including the area under research, is necessary and urgent if sustainable peace is to be achieved. There is need to rethink of peace-building approaches to take.

Ownership and control of land are not only key ingredients to food production and economic growth but also to peace-building. Wilkins (2012) contends that where one does not have legitimacy and feels threatened, participation in development gets affected. His psychological well-being is also affected. Land tenure and administration which treats some people as outsiders is a threat to peace-building and the general development of the country. As opposed to the pre-colonial period where no one was denied land, the situation is different. In the light of the above, the Rift Valley region has witnessed fighting over land continuing from colonial days. In the area under study, the Ogiek community which claims to be the indigenous community has been involved in protracted battles with the different Kalenjin communities (Karani, 2011).

Further, claims of some of the communities living in Njoro suffering attacks due to being considered as 'immigrants' are common. A major rift has been noted mainly between the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu communities (Cho et al., 2015). Following the narratives captured in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the Kalenjin have generally assumed the Rift Valley region of Kenya as their area with the Kikuyu who have occupied several areas arguing that they too belong. The Kikuyu who migrated to the Rift Valley mainly from Central Kenya were originally brought in as labourers on colonial farms and have since bought land and settled in areas like Nakuru. Apart from the tensions between the communities threatening to tear the country apart, there are indicators that developments in the area will remain low if such core issues like land ownership are not addressed adequately.

2.5.4 Political and Electoral Violence in Kenya

Elfversson (2019) have ranked Kenya among the worst countries that suffered communal violence between 1989 and 2010. The author has further stated, "The six worst-hit countries in 1989–2010, in terms of the number of communal conflicts, were Nigeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Kenya and Uganda" p 44. If such ranking is anything to go by, there is the need to critically look at ways of ensuring sustainable peace. There is a complete departure from the peace enjoyed by Kenyans in the period before 1990.

Unfortunately, the violence has been blamed on the communities hence deployment of armed police officers to deal with the violent masses.

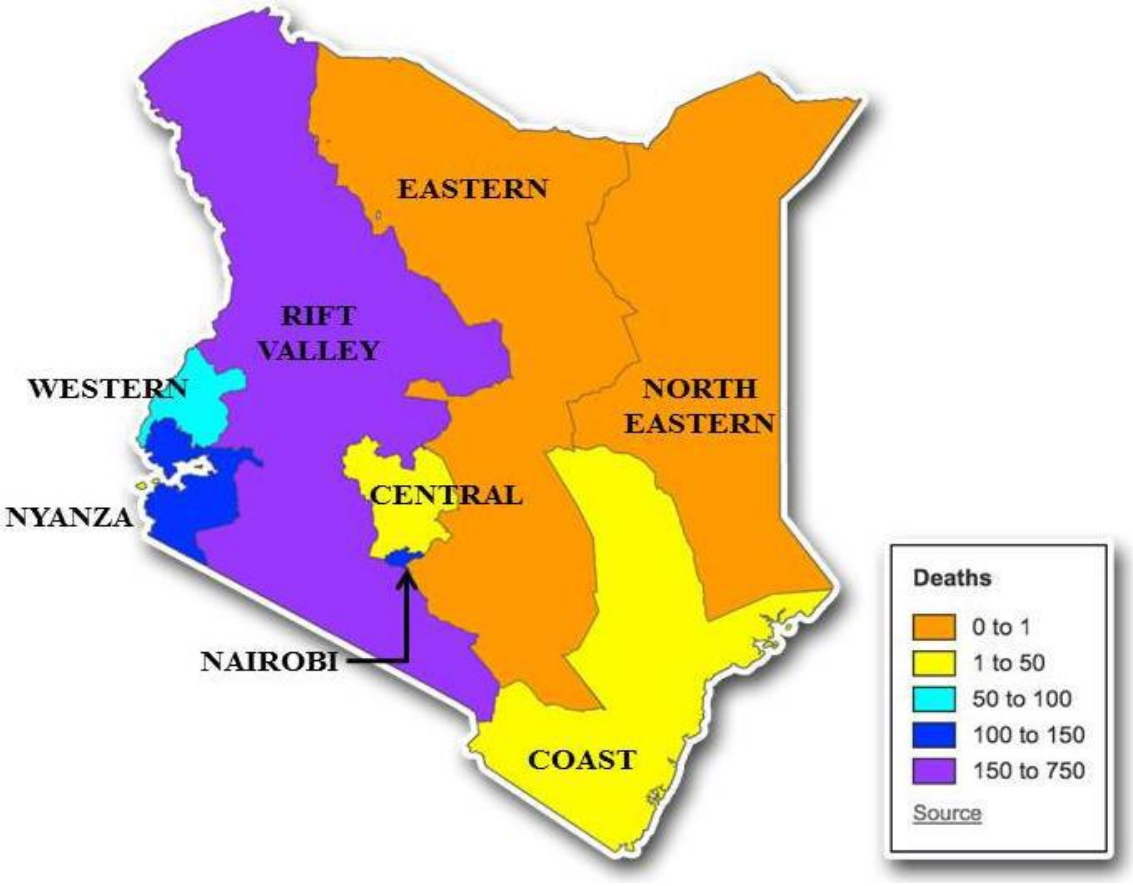
The communal violence in Kenya stems from the consciousness of belonging to particular societies. The communal violence involves groups with permanent or semi-permanent armed militias. As one is socialized, consciousness of belonging to a particular society gets codified into one leading to identifying with and being ready to defend the community and fight for it under all costs. A situation of 'us' against 'them' develops with creation of boundaries (Onguny & Gillies, 2019). The situation of 'us'against 'them' has made the environment even tenser with fear and suspicion growing between communities. Negative peace has become the new norm with violence breaking out at the slightest provocation.

Jenkins (2012) claims that communal violence has made many Kenyans to become squatters with the situation worsening in 2007-08 when over 350,000 people were displaced from their homes. Kenya has witnessed increased communal violence, especially during elections. The 1992 elections saw pre-election violence, where "warriors" who considered themselves the "indigenous" population, attacked those that were perceived as "outsiders" to prevent them from voting for opposition candidates and parties. This threat remained in the minds of voters in the run-up to subsequent elections. The 1997 elections witnessed some deaths during the period of voting. The wave of killings eventually escalated after the elections leading to people fleeing from their homes. The situation was grave mainly in the Rift Valley areas of Nakuru and Narok (Karani, 2011). In subsequent elections, communities have armed themselves against their neighbours.

The 2007-08 violence in Kenya attracted much attention due to the damage caused in a country that was largely seen as an island of peace in a sea of turmoil. Waki (2008) puts the figure of the dead at 1133 while the displaced are estimated at 350,000. As demonstrated in the following map, deaths occurred across the country with the Rift Valley, Nyanza and the Western region recording higher atrocities:

Map 2.1: 2007/08 Post-Election Violence

Adapted from Cho et al; 2015.



The ethnic tensions catalysed by the 2007 general elections left the country deeply polarized and divided in a way that took a lot of efforts from within and outside Kenya in bringing healing (Jenkins, 2012). It took energy and resources trying to unite communities which had been manipulated and incited by politicians to shed their differences and co-exist. Except the North Eastern part of Kenya that remained without active violence in 2007-08, the rest of the country suffered. Although Kenya has experienced general calm since 2008, the recurrence of communal violence especially during election periods remains an area of concern. Even North Eastern that largely remained calm in 2007-08 has in recent years experienced tension and violence although the violence is more of terrorist attacks than communal violence (Haider, 2020). The atmosphere created across the different parts of the country is that of tension and uncertainity.

Looking at the Rift Valley where Njoro Sub-County is located, the communities that occupy it originated from diverse areas and does speak different languages. Like the other parts of Kenya, it has experienced sporadic violence. Ethnicity and elections have remained as weapons of mass destruction in the Rift Valley. Leaflets warning those considered as political enemies and immigrants to flee are from time to time spread in different parts of the Rift Valley. The leaflets warn those considered 'foreigners' of dire consequences; "*This is our land from before! Time has come for you to leave our land and return to yours! Whoever disobeys will die!"* (Rutten & Owuor, 2009, p.306).

Mombasa, Eldoret and Nakuru have been major hot spots with communities treating each other with mistrust and suspicion. Although land ownership and elections are considered as the key factors behind the animosity, ethnicity has become deep rooted contributing to the communal violence (Cho et al., 2015). After the 2007-08 violence, the different areas have experienced some calm due to interventions by the government. However, although calm has been restored, the areas have remained volatile with signs of violence being seen from time to time. The government has often acted by sending security forces to deal with rioting masses. This is not only expensive but also a means that leaves violence unresolved. The top-bottom approach has not helped much as tensions keep flaring up from time to time.

Paffenholz (2014) contends that for lasting peace to be realized, peace-building practitioners need to take the local environment into account. The local actors and the existing power relations need to be engaged if violence is to be addressed for sustainable peace. Lack of involvement of the grassroots has contributed to the on-going violence between communities that have been neighbours. Additionally, communal violence has led to stagnated development and has polarized the different ethnic communities. Njoro Sub-County, the focus of this study, is no exception regarding communal violence.

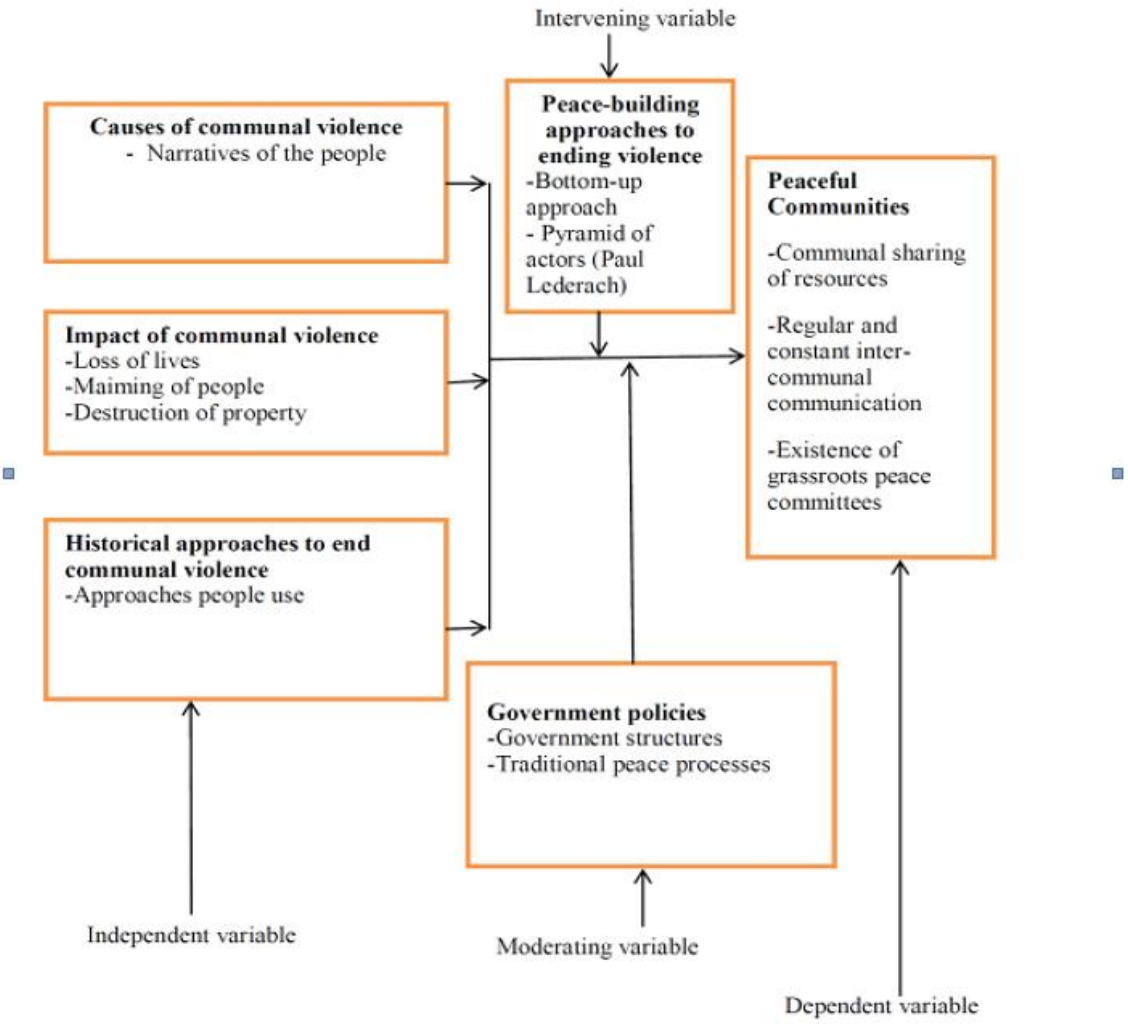
Karani (2011) faults the brutal use of force in Molo and other areas of Nakuru during the 2007-08 post-election violence. The use of force in curbing communal violence has brought segregation and negative peace. The communities that used to live in peace have become fearful and suspicious of each other. This has rendered sustainable peace elusive. The use of force in addressing the communal violence has only led to further bitterness and desire for revenge. Is there any hope for the people of Njoro to enjoy peaceful co-existence and the subsequent developments arising from peace and tranquillity? Is there any hope? These are some of the questions that triggered this research study.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

From the above, we have noted that there are various causes of communal violence, such as religious, political and ethnic differences. We have also seen that these have varied and serious effects on the communities involved. Historically, different styles of intervention have been seen, which may be summarised as “bottom up” and “top down” approaches. This is the independent variable. This is moderated by an assessment of the approaches used as an intervening variable and government policies as a moderating variable, culminating in whether peaceful communities are the result as the dependent variable. This implies that we may have a “null hypothesis” where the interventions do not produce the desired results. The underlying assumption is that peace is not just the absence of war, so there is no objective measurement of the final quantity. Hence the methodology requires an understanding of the perspectives of the members of the communities involved. Thus, the approach is, of necessity, qualitative. The approach

undertaken by Opongo, Ndlovu and Wachira and as influrnced by scholars who include Richmond (2013), Mac Ginty (2015) and Paffenholz (2014) is the route that brings sustainable peace. Below is a graphic representation (Figure 2.4) of the Conceptual Framework that informs this work.

Figure 2.3 Conceptual Framework



Source: Author, 2021

Communal violence is caused by different related factors. The violence has serious impacts on peace-building and peaceful co-existence. It hampers the sharing of resources and stifles communication between communities. Communal violence manifests itself in the magnitude, the frequency and the intensity of fighting. All these affect production as well as tampering with what is already produced. The frequency of communal violence leads to destruction of more and more goods. The intensity results in burning of food and other items kept in stores and the killing or neglecting of livestock while the magnitude of violence leads to increased fear. It stifles production in different sectors of the economy. Additionally, communal violence contributes to loss of production through displacement of labour. Further, the fear of violence keeps employees and labourers away from firms, companies and industries.

When communal violence breaks out, its magnitude and/or intensity at times cut off some areas and even destroy infrastructure thus affecting distribution of products. The end result is lowered production, market inaccessibility and increased prices of goods that usher in inflation. Government efforts and policies together with traditional conflict resolution mechanisms can come in handy to arrest the situation and enhance peace-building. High production and improved standards of living are dependent on peace levels in the society. The government and the traditional peace processes can either escalate communal violence or reduce it and therefore determine the success of peace-building, security of a people and improved standards of living. In a nutshell, the approach undertaken to deal with communal violence could either lead to attainment of peace or the escalation of violence. It is for this reason that the sponsors of peace-building need to take their time and think of the best approach to adopt. It is worth noting that the success of peace-building depends partly on the magnitude of communal violence and partly on the approach that is employed.

This Chapter has addressed Theoretical Framework that informs the study. Three theories (Human Security Theory, the International Relations Theory and the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory) have been utilised. The study is mainly anchored on the Bottom-up Peace-Building Theory. The Chapter has critically analysed the causes, how communal violence impacts on peace-building and the general effects of communal violence. It has further looked at the approaches employed in peace-building across the

world before concluding with Kenya's Geoplitical dynamics. The Chapter concludes with the conceptual framework showing the different variables used in the study. The next Chapter deals with the methodology that highlights the research philosophy, design, sampling techniques, data collection, data analysis and the ethical considerations.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter contains the philosophy that underpins the study, the research design, research methods, the location of study, the study population, sampling, data collection instruments and techniques, sample size determination, pilot study, data collection instruments and data collection. Further, it discusses the validity and reliability of data, the ethical considerations, operational definition of variables and data analysis. The study used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods but with a bias to the qualitative approach. Additionally, the research considered age, gender and the geographical location in relation to communal violence and peace-building approaches. Age was a crucial factor as the researcher was interested in recollection of events hence the choice of respondents between ages 30 and 69 years. Gender and geographical location were important as the researcher was interested in information that could be generalised to the entire area and represented views across the board.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm

In every research study one needs to give attention to the philosophical paradigm that would best explain the phenomena of their study (Wachira, 2012). This research study was mainly influenced by the interpretivist (constructivist) paradigm. Unlike the positivists paradigm, which is based on the assumption that there is one knowable, fixed, measurable and external reality; interpretivist (constructivist paradigm) is based on the assumption that reality is constantly changing, known through interpretations of people and thus accept that there are multiple versions of reality (Okesina, 2020). In carrying out this study, the researcher's own underlying assumptions of the world was that people construct their own social reality and; therefore, each respondent's understanding, experiences and perceptions on the communal violence was important. More importantly, the sensitivity of the study - communal violence - required an approach that

would give respondents a chance to tell their narratives in their own 'voice'. Informed by this philosophical stand, the researcher selected a research design, methods, data collection tools and data analysis that assisted in aptly probing the thoughts, perceptions, views, prejudices and feelings of the participants in the study and equally capturing their voices and experiences of the communal violence in the study location. These were mainly carried out through the in-depth interviews. The researcher was equally aware that, in any choice of a philosophical stance one has to be aware of the limitations of such a choice. Therefore, in this selection, the researcher was aware of mainly two limitations, that the choice of this paradigm means that one cannot generalize results to other people and other contexts (Cohen et al., 2011). Equally, that ontologically the leaning is towards subjective views rather than objective views (Mack, 2010). Bearing this in mind, the researcher was reflexive throughout the study to ensure that his own biases as well as those of the participants were put on check.

3.3 Research Design

This research utilised a cross-sectional research design. Olsen (2004) supports the use of cross-sectional research design as best suited for research targeting some specific period of time and in studies where there are relationships between variables. The researcher's assumption as pointed out earlier in this study was that there exists a relationship between communal violence and peace-building. However, the different causes and impacts of communal violence are computed as captured in the Tables documented in Chapter 4. The design was also appropriate as it was focusing on some relationship and at a particular point in time. The respondents were given an opportunity to recollect their experiences retrospectively especially the period 2007 violence. The 2007 was the climax of the most major communal violence in Kenya where differences triggered by the general elections erupted into full blown violence between different Kenyan communities. The period immediately after the 2007 general elections witnessed serious communal violence triggered by disputes over the election results, but, in this area, arising mainly from the politics of land and occupancy of the Mau forest which falls within part of Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru. The researcher took the period lasting up to date so as to cover the 2013 and the 2017 general elections. The

effects of elections are mostly felt during election years as well the period following immediately, as verified by the events around the 2007 elections. The area under study has suffered a lot of violence in comparison to the rest of the country (Karani, 2011).

Furthermore, the Cross-sectional design was the most suitable in assisting find out the causes of the violence in the location of study (Njoro Sub-County), describing its prevalence, magnitude, intensity and its frequency. Equally, it assisted in verifying the different claims about the relationship between communal violence and peace-building, ethnic nationalism and geographical segregation, among other issues.

3.4 Research Methods

The study used mixed methods. The researcher opted for mixed methods as the data to be collected was both qualitative but with some elements that required a quantitative approach. This was done with a bias on the qualitative approach. Olsen (2004) is of the view that use of different approaches is an appropriate way of getting deeper to any research problem under study. This argument is supported by the fact that the application of different approaches in a study assists in ensuring a clear view of the subject under study (Heale & Forbes, 2013). While the first, the third and the fourth research objectives were addressed through a qualitative approach, the second research objective required a quantitative approach. The qualitative approach assisted in capturing the respondents' narratives. Hammarberg et al. (2016) opine that when the research question is to be answered from observations and the different opinions of respondents, the qualitative approach is the most appropriate method to apply. Equally, research that is based not on objective reality but where people give different perceptions of events and occurrences, are best handled through qualitative research (Kielmann et al., 2012). It has further been argued that triangulation assists in the utilisation of both qualitative and quantitative sources of data (Koome, 2016). In addition, the researcher is assisted in assessing the reliability of informants' narratives. Therefore, the different sources of data complement each other.

3.5 Area of Study

Njoro Sub-County acquired its name from the Maasai word ‘ol-corro’ which means ‘spring’. The origin of this name is probably because of the many springs of water in the area. The Sub-County borders the other Nakuru Sub-Counties of Rongai to the North, Molo to the North West, Gilgil and Nakuru Town to the East and Narok County to the South West. Njoro Sub-County is located in the Rift Valley region. Probably due to its fertile soils and plenty of rainfall, the area has attracted people from different communities. Coupled with the demand for land and the cosmopolitan nature of the area, Njoro, as with other parts of Nakuru County, has witnessed protracted conflicts. Of the 1133 people who were killed in the 2007-08 violence, the larger Molo area where Njoro was later carved from experienced 150 deaths, 170 injuries and 66,000 people migrating. Beraing in mind that total migrations were estimated at 350,000 according to Waki, (2008), and with the knowledge that Mau forest area of Njoro is where fighting was concentrated, it is clear that Njoro Sub-County was the epicentre of violence. Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru has experienced perennial violence as discussed in Chapter 2 of this Thesis. Chapter 4 and Appendix VI also demonstrate that Njoro Sub-County has hardily enjoyed peace. Nakuru County where Njoro Sub-County lies is as shown in Appendix V of this thesis.

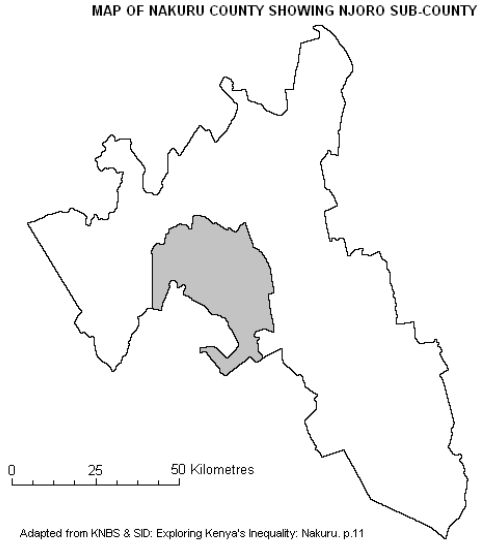
Violent conflicts afflict communities across the globe. In Kenya and specifically in Njoro Sub-County of Kenya, the context of this study, communal violence is a common phenomenon especially prior to and during election periods. These violent conflicts have socio-economic and political impact with adverse implications on sustainable development. In the 2007-08 communal violence that followed the disputed presidential election, 1133 people were killed while over 350,000 people were displaced across the country. In fact, resettlement of the internally displaced persons posed challenges and also the squalid conditions they lived made it difficult to ressttle them and their reintegration difficult. Equally, cases of arson, rape, mutilation and looting were the main atrocities committed during this period. More importantly, in Molo alone where

Njoro Sub-County was later carved from, as noted earlier in this Thesis, 150 people were killed, 170 people were injured and 1564 houses were burnt, and this led 66,000 people being displaced. They were accommodated in 50 congested Internally Displaced Persons Camps.

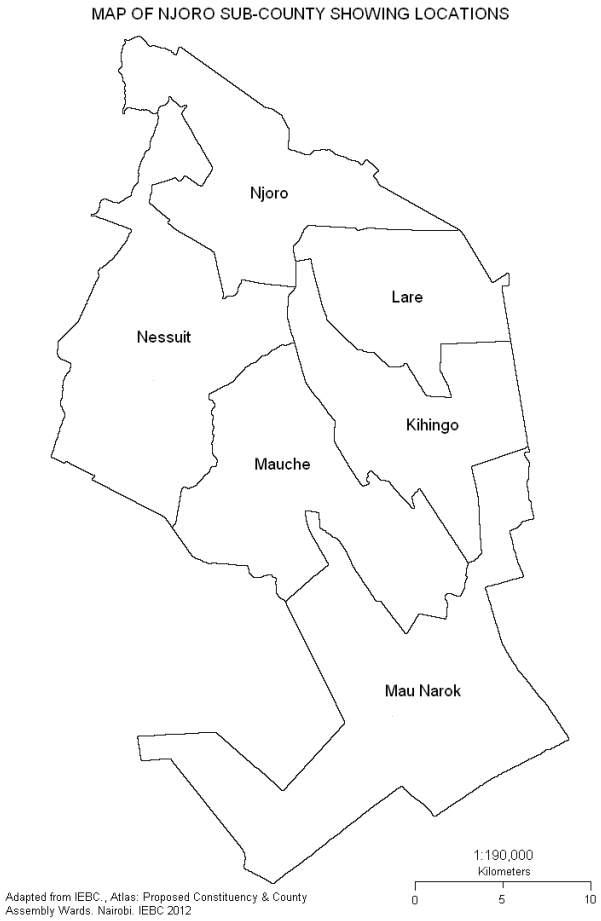
The County is divided into 11 (eleven) constituencies which include Nakuru Town East, Nakuru Town West, Bahati, Rongai, Subukia, Kuresoi North, Kuresoi South, Gilgil, Naivasha, Njoro and Molo. Each constituency is a Sub-County making the number of Sub-Counties to be 11 (eleven) just like the constituencies. Njoro Sub-County comprises of 6 Wards, 5 divisions, 21 locations and 45 sub-locations. The Wards are: Mau Narok, Mauche, Kihingo, Nesuit, Lare and Njoro. The area of Njoro Sub-County is 713.3 km^2 with a population of 238,773 people. The population density of the Sub-County is 318.83 people per square kilometre. The Sub-County headquarters is approximately 18km southwest of Nakuru town. The Sub-County was hived from the larger Nakuru North district in 2010 following the promulgation of the new constitution.

Njoro Sub-County is an agricultural area with warm climate and fertile soils. With its minimum rainfall being 1000mm per annum and its fame in agriculture, it was made home to the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) campus and Egerton University that deals mainly with agriculture. Egerton is located 5 km south of Njoro town and KARI on the outskirts of the town. Despite Njoro's agricultural potential, Mau Narok Ward has experienced constant skirmishes which have affected tranquillity in the larger Sub-County. The Mau Forest has attracted a lot of attention due to environmental conservation concerns. The move by the government to conserve water catchment in the Mau area coupled with land ownership issues has led to communal violence with economic activities being affected greatly (Soi, 2015). During calm periods, the fertile soils and the good climate have led to good harvests of wheat, barley and other crops. Dairy farming has thrived well with milk production earning milk farmers' good returns. Although the Kikuyu community dominate in the Sub-County, it comprises of people from different ethnic groups. The different ethnic groups lived peacefully until 1990's when the area experienced politically instigated tribal (ethnic) clashes. Since the 1990's, Njoro has experienced ethnic animosity and communal violence (Karani, 2011; Jenkins, 2012).

Map 3.1: Map of Nakuru County showing Njoro Sub-County



Map 3.2: Map of Njoro Sub-County showing Locations



3.6 Study Population

Out of the total 227,420 population of study, the research targeted 399 mature respondents for the survey questionnaire. Taro Yamane's formula which is recommended when dealing with huge study populations was employed in deciding on this sample. The 399 were people who were perceived to have good memory. All respondents had lived in the area of study long enough to understand the occurrences. These were people aged 30-69 years and all were residents of Njoro or had lived there since 2007 or earlier. Random sampling was selected to carry out the survey questionnaire. Sampling was done with precision. In the households sampled, the head of the family filled the Survey Questionnaire. However, other mature member(s) were

allowed to fill in the cases where the head was not available. The researcher, however, endeavoured to ensure the head of the family was available for consistency of the data.

For the Interview Schedule, the researcher used a 'snowball sample' method, where he purposively picked and interviewed the first respondents. The respondent led the researcher to the next respondent and a similar trend followed.

3.7 Sampling

For the interview component of the research, purposive sampling was done. This was due to the sensitive nature of the data hence the need to pick respondents equipped with the necessary information. The first respondent led the researcher to the next respondent. The researcher ensured that the respondents were spread across the Sub-County for the availed data to be applicable across the area. However, on filling the survey questionnaire, probability sampling was used. Respondents were chosen randomly to be part of the sample. Choosing randomly ensured that the sample reflected the population at large. Alvi (2016) argues that probability sampling reduces systematic errors and helps minimise sampling biases that would occur if respondents were picked purposively.

Since the area under study was divided into 6 Wards, the researcher used a multi-stage sampling method. Multi-stage sampling was intended to ensure that there was proper randomisation to help achieve high confidence levels. Alvi (2016) and Koome (2016), state that when subjects are spread over a wide area, multi-stage sampling is the most appropriate technique to use in arriving at a sample. Each of the six Wards was treated as a stratum. Borrowing a leaf from the latter researcher, the number of respondents in each stratum was determined by its population in proportion to the population of the entire Sub-County. The final stage involved taking a simple random sample of the homesteads in each Ward. Multistage sampling is, therefore, the method that the researcher used in coming up with a representative sample.

The study drew its sample from people aged 30-69 years as this group was perceived to have the ability to reconstruct the events that took place in 2007. A person at age 30 was 18 years old in 2007 and this shows that they are of age and can comprehend and understand issues and occurrences. The age group 30-69 comprises the active working population and it was, therefore, perceived they would provide informed and relevant information. This was considered key to this study for relevant conclusions and decisions.

Although Njoro County has 238,773 people according to the 2019 population census, the projected population for Njoro Sub-County according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) in 2017 was 227,420. The population was accounting for the six Wards which were locations before Njoro was hived off from the then larger Nakuru North district in 2010. The research used the projected population as the results of the 2019 census were not yet computed by the time of going to the field for data collection. The following Table helps show the projected population of the Sub-County alongside the other Sub-Counties of Nakuru.

Table 3.1: Population Projections of Nakuru County

Sub-County	2009 Census			2012 Projections			2015 Projections			2017 Projections		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Nakuru	156565	152859	309424	171567	167505	339072	188006	183555	371561	199831	195101	394932
Rongai	71914	70213	142127	78805	76941	155745	86355	84313	170668	91787	89616	181403
Molo	62254	62184	124438	68219	68142	136361	74756	74671	149427	79458	79368	158826
Njoro	88364	89816	178180	96831	98422	195253	106109	107852	213961	112783	114636	227419
Kuresoi	121336	118149	239485	132962	129470	262432	145702	141875	287577	154867	150799	305665
Subukia	39160	40713	79873	42912	44614	87526	47024	48889	95913	49982	51964	101945
Nakuru North	74907	78648	153555	82084	86184	168268	89949	94442	184391	95607	100382	195989
Naivasha	123725	122331	246056	135580	134052	269632	148571	146897	295468	157916	156136	314052
Gilgil	66357	63830	130187	72715	69946	142661	79682	76648	156330	84694	81469	166163
Total	**804582**	**798743**	**1603325**	**881674**	**875276**	**1756950**	**966154**	**959142**	**1925296**	**1026924**	**1019471**	**2046395**

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2013

3.8 Sample Size Determination

According to Charan and Biswas (2013), care must be taken in arriving at a sample. The duo has opined that the choice of a sample in research is determined by the research design adopted. In order to achieve the intended purpose of the study, two different approaches were used in sampling.

The researcher was interested in seeing the link between communal violence and the peace-building approaches adopted to deal with the violence. The qualitative variable was captured through use of a cross-sectional design. For this reason, purposive sampling and snowball sampling were adopted. The research initially picked respondents that had knowledge and information pertaining to communal violence in ~~the~~ Njoro Sub-County. Lavrakas (2008) opines that the expert knowledge of the population is useful so as to come up with a sample that is representative of that population when one applies the purposive sampling.

Having identified the initial respondents, the researcher requested them to lead him to other people with expert knowledge on the area of the study interest. The researcher took care to ensure that those with the knowledge came from different areas of the Sub-County. The heterogeneous approach was necessary as the researcher intended to gather the narratives from people who live across the entire Sub-County. It was with this in mind that the research came up with informants from the different areas of Njoro. Tongco (2007) has emphasized the importance of ensuring that researchers get the intended information in a research. This calls for due diligence when picking up a sample. From the foregoing, it is necessary to get knowledgeable and reliable informants. To achieve this, the researcher took care when picking the respondents. It was after careful scrutiny that the researcher picked respondents who included chiefs, members of the clergy and a teacher as key informants. The use of this method allowed the researcher to explore communal violence in depth.

For the quantitative aspect of the research, Taro Yamane's (1967) formula of arriving at a sample was used.

Scholars have hailed the Yamane formula as a good method for arriving at the right sample where large populations are involved (Polonia, 2013). The sample size was determined through the use of the formula where:

$n=N/[1+N(e)^2]$

Where:

n=sample size

N=Total population

e=sampling error (in this case 0.05)

The projected population of Njoro Sub-County based on the 2009 KNBS census was 227,420 people.

The sample size therefore became: $227420/ [1+22742(0.05)^2] = 399.33$

The sample was rounded off to the nearest whole number. The sample of 399 respondents was distributed among the six Wards in accordance with their population as a percentage of the areas in the sample. The 399 was thus distributed in this order:

Mau Narok=56,651/227,420*399=99.39

Mauche=32,021/227,420*399=56.18

Kihingo=18,696/227,420*399=32.80

Nesuit=12,000/227,420*399=21.05

Lare=38,062/227,420*399=66.78

Njoro=69,990/227,420*399=122.79

The following Table (3.2) shows the number of respondents picked from each ward:

Table 3.2: Sample Size

Ward	**Target population**	**Sample size**
Mau Narok	56,651	99
Mauche	32,021	56
Kihingo	18,696	33
Nesuit	12,000	21
Lare	38,062	67
Njoro	69,990	123
Total	**227,420**	**399**

3.9 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted between 6/1/2020 and 8/1/2020 in Kihingo and Njoro Wards. The two wards were picked to represent the other four wards as they were deemed to have similar characteristics. The pilot study was conducted with the purpose of fine-tuning the research tools through identifying their strengths and weaknesses. It involved checking the survey questionnaire and the Interview Schedule for clarity, language and the length of questions. Forty (40) respondents (21 males and 19 females) filled the survey questionnaire while sixteen (16) other respondents were interviewed making a total of 56 respondents.

Generally, respondents participated actively in the research with most of the responses meeting the expectations the researcher had in mind. The respondents took at least 30 minutes to respond to the questionnaire with the open-ended questions taking slightly more time to respond to, as was expected. However, one question was posing a problem, that is, the question seeking to find out: *"Who are mainly involved in the conflicts?"*

This question was ambiguous with some respondents mentioning tribes while others mentioned groups of people such as the youth, politicians and so on. With the advice of the supervisors, the question was reframed to read, *"Which group of people are mainly involved in these conflicts?"* Testing this with a few respondents, the responses were more focused than before.

Additionally, the survey questionnaire was divided into different sections following the research objectives. Each objective had its different section of questions. As for the Interview Schedule, interviews were administered to the 16 respondents (14 chiefs and 2 pastors) in order to triangulate the data collection and analysis. The administration of the interviews took an average of 40 minutes per respondent. Interviews were conducted at the respondents' places of work except for the 2 pastors who opted to meet the researcher at the Deputy County Commissioner's boardroom. This was done to avoid inconveniencing and disrupting the programmes of respondents. The pastors were both male while chiefs comprised of 9 males and 5 females. Female pastors were quite rare in the area but the researcher strove to get some during the main study. Both tools worked fairly well with slight changes in some areas where gaps in the tools were identified. Some of the gaps are highlighted below:

i. Demographics

In the pilot study, the variable 'Education' was not captured. However, through interaction with the respondents, education was considered as a crucial area. The researcher had to identify the number of respondents who needed assistance for adequate plans to be made. This was factored in the actual data collection. The gap that was noticed of some participants asking for assistance in filling the questionnaires was addressed. Addressing this helped solve the problem of researcher's reflexivity. Apart from this, it was imperative to consider education as it plays a key role in enhancing the level of knowledge on the different variables being tested through the research tools.

The other area that posed some challenge was in the variable "Age". Before the pilot study, to test the variable "age", the respondents were asked to select from choices of ages with a 10-year gap e.g. 30-39 and 50-59 etc. In the responses, in some age categories there were greater numbers than others for instance those who chose 30-39

years of age were 17 respondents while 60-69 years of age were only 3 respondents. In order to address this challenge, the researcher in consultation with the supervisors decided that the respondents be given a choice of filling in their real age. 10 of the participants that had been selected for interviews were given this question and when collected and coded, 6 identified themselves in a particular age group and 4 in another. The age problem was solved. This was then adopted in the actual field study.

Additionally, it was considered important to treat the variable on food shortage independently and look at it in details in the main study. The food security in its different dimensions has been dealt with in details in Chapter 4. 'The rise in the cost of living' was put under 'effects of communal violence' as captured in Table 4.6 just before delving into food shortage in the main study.

Table 3.3: Percentage of Respondents in Terms of Age

Age bracket	**No. of respondents**	**Percentage**
30-39	17	42.5%
40-49	12	30%
50-59	8	20%
60-69	3	7.5%

The other gap was experienced in the survey questionnaire. The question "*What in your opinion are the causes of conflicts in Njoro Sub-County? Please tick those that apply"*, brought some new light as a number of respondents mentioned 'stock theft'. Despite a variety of choices for them to tick from, "stock theft", which was not part of the list provided, came out strongly. Therefore, this option was added to the list.

Table 3.4 shows the number of people who mentioned the different causes of communal violence. It was important to note that the respondents were free to choose as many choices as applied. From their responses it was evident that they had no difficulty in

responding to the question. This was a confirmation that the tool was reliable for the using in the actual research.

Table 3.4: Percentage of Cases of People who Chose Each Cause of Violence

Cause	**N** **40**	**Percent of Response**	**Percent Cases**
Ethnicity	37	15.3	92.5
Poor Governance	26	11.2	65.0
Lack Goods and Service	19	8.2	47.5
Corruption	23	9.9	57.0
Exclusion of Communities	34	14.6	85.0
Land Grabbing	24	10.3	60.0
Incitement by politicians	23	9.9	57.5
Rise in cost of living	28	12.0	70.0
Food shortage	19	8.2	47.5
Total 40(100%) valid cases **0(0.0%)missing cases**	**199**	**100**	**582.5**

Figures do not add up to 100 percent - a multiple response question

On the other hand, Table 3.5 shows the percentage of those who added 'stock theft' as a cause of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. This was in response to the open-ended question in the questionnaire where they were asked to add any other cause that they considered to be at the core of communal violence. This was the response to 10 respondents that were asked to respond to this question. From the analysis below, it is

evident that a vast majority of the respondents perceived 'stock theft' as a key cause to communal violence. On this account, the researcher decided to include this option to be tested in the questionnaire for the actual research.

Table 3.5: Percentage of Respondents who added 'Stock Theft' as a cause

Cause of Communal Violence	**Number of Respondents out of 10**	**Percentage**
Stock theft	9	90%

3.10 Data Collection Instruments

The study focused on the four objectives which are: the causes of communal violence: the impact of communal violence on human security; the approaches undertaken in dealing with communal violence; and what the local communities perceive as the most appropriate means of ending communal violence. In arriving at these aspects, the study used Key Informant Interviews, a structured questionnaire, and direct observation of occurrences to help establish the causes and effects of communal violence. The interview was administered to informants selected on the basis of being knowledgeable by virtue of their positions in the society.

Key-informant Interviews were conducted. These involved answering open-ended questions. The interviews targeted people in different positions who were believed to have knowledge in communal violence and peace-building. The group interviewed included chiefs, church leaders (mainly priests), and a teacher believed to have good knowledge of the history of the area. Kumar, (1989) argues that key-informant interviews are a good means of gathering information as these allows going to those who have the knowledge and knowhow of occurrences. As it turned out during the study, the church leaders, the chiefs and the teacher were well versed with the knowledge on communal conflicts and peace-building approaches in the Sub-County.

The use of interviews in data collection helped gather quality data and important information.

The researcher took field notes. The field notes captured the spoken word and what was implied by the respondents through other means that included gestures and facial expressions.

The survey questionnaire, meant to supplement the interview, was constructed in such a way that it would capture the causes and the reasoning behind communal violence. It further captured the frequency of the violence, the type of weapons used, people fatalities, killing of animals, burning of food reserves, and displacement of labour, availability and safety of transport routes for people as well as that of different products. The final aspect was the approaches used in minimizing communal violence from the narratives of the communities living in Njoro.

During the administration of the survey questionnaire which was taken as a key tool in this study, the researcher observed meanings not expressed by respondents through word of mouth. By observing the facial expressions and the body language of the respondents, the researcher gathered more information to supplement the word of mouth. Kawulich, (2005) has expressed the opinion that participant observation is an important tool that has for many years been useful in collecting important information.

Participant observation as demonstrated in Chapter 4 helped in supplementing the collected data thus making it more reliable for conclusions to be made from it. As some scholars have demonstrated, the bottom-up approach of listening to people from the ground is more helpful in getting into the deep-rooted issues and arriving at lasting solutions (Wachira, 2012). Additionally, administering a structured questionnaire helped explore the phenomenon of communal violence and the approaches in place to a good depth. Scholars have hailed the use of questionnaires as a good way of covering large and dispersed samples (Mathers et al., 2002). The researcher used household surveys in conducting the questionnaire. The head (one who makes decisions) of a family had the questionnaire administered to him/her though other family members filled the questionnaire in cases where the head was not readily available.

3.11 Data Collection

The researcher planned and executed two visits to the study site prior to collection of data. The visits helped the researcher and the research assistants to familiarize themselves with the people and the geography of the area. These helped the researcher and the research assistants to understand the key players, the topography and the boundaries of the area, and the logistics needed. This way, the researcher was able to adequately prepare for data collection.

Prior to the actual collection of data, the researcher sought authority from the university as well as the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). NACOSTI permit number is Ref. No. 188782.

The researcher further consulted the local leadership in the field of study. Once granted permission and authority to meet with the respondents, the researcher left for the field. Here, the researcher, established good relationships and a working rapport with the communities to ease the carrying out of data collection. The researcher endeavoured and assured the respondents of keeping confidential the information availed from the field. As noted elsewhere, the household decision maker was picked except in situations where circumstances dictated otherwise. The decision maker was one who had attained the age 30-69 years.

Data collection, as indicated, was done mainly through use of an interview schedule and a questionnaire. An interview of key informants was conducted but supplemented through the survey questionnaire.

Both the interview schedule and the survey questionnaire focused on the perceptions of the respondents on the effect of communal violence on peaceful co-existence and the approaches taken in peace-building. The two instruments addressed how the intensity, the magnitude, the frequency and the fear of communal violence impacts on peaceful coexistence. Peersman (2014) has argued that data collection methods must be well chosen and implemented well so as to correctly provide the information they were intended to. Fagarasanu and Kumar (2002, p. 1) have stated that; *"Whenever*

measurement instruments are used, one needs to be sure that they yield accurate information for the construct of interest".

During administration of the Interview, the researcher and his assistants took notes. While the Questionnaire targeted and collected mainly quantitative data, the Interview Schedule helped in collecting qualitative data. As the researcher anticipated, the two tools chosen helped in providing the data the research targeted to get.

3.12 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

The study mainly employed the qualitative approach. Collecting data that can be relied on is crucial in research (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008) hence the researcher ensured accuracy and consistency at all the different stages of the research study. As noted earlier in this section, a pilot study was carried out, as stated in the previous section, to help make the study instruments valid and reliable. During the piloting stage, validity which was aimed at ensuring that the study addressed itself to what it was intended to was verified. Sullivan (2011) argues that a tool should accurately measure what it was intended to. Equally, he argues that consistency of results helps to ensure reliability. In order to ensure the reliability of the results, the researcher trained the research assistants. Furthermore, triangulation of data collection by using different instruments such as interview schedule, survey questionnaire and direct observation of respondents during data collection was taken into account. Additionally, the researcher cross-checked the transcribed interview scripts with both the primary and the secondary data available. It is worth noting that respondents, especially those exposed to the interview schedule, were experts who included chiefs, church leaders and a teacher. This team had a lot of experience by virtue of their positions and owing to the fact that they had served for long periods in their different capacities.

Validity and reliability were also enhanced by virtue of the fact that the researcher considered the expert opinion of the supervisors. Further, eight (8) respondents who participated in the interview schedule were called to comment on the data collected through interviews. This means 50% of the total number of experts was exposed to the

interview in order to test reliability. Additionally, the findings of the pilot study utilised multiple methods and also triangulation in the data analysis. More importantly, the researcher was reflexive throughout the study, by critically checking on his own biases and that of the respondents. Most importantly, Denzin (2008) states that, research is an interactive process and this is shaped mainly by a researcher's own personal history and by who they are as well as those of the people they interact with in the particular context.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

The study ensured that ethical issues were adhered to as stipulated by St Paul's University. The researcher sought the necessary permissions from the mandated Research bodies such as the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The researcher ensured that all the respondents involved in the research gave their informed consent. This was done verbally. All looked contented. The respondents' information was treated with confidentiality and being a sensitive research study, the 'do no harm principle' and anonymity was applied at all levels of the research. Further, being a sensitive research study, the necessary aids were organized to deal with any issues that could have happened when carrying out the interviews. The researcher got the necessary permissions to carry out the research from the relevant bodies. The research went on smoothly without any serious issues. Where respondents demanded for social distancing due to COVID-19 as well as provision of sanitizers, the researcher complied.

The researcher informed the local administrators and sought their permission to conduct the research. Before interacting with respondents, community gate keepers and community spokespersons were consulted through chiefs and assistant chiefs. The consent given allowed for the smooth running of the research. Bouhnik and Giat (2015) are of the view that gatekeepers are information distributors. This view means that to get the information required in this research, gatekeepers played a very vital role. Being crucial to the flow of information in an area, gatekeepers can decide whether the

researcher succeeds in his endeavour or not. In this research, gatekeepers were the core of the information networks.

The researcher endeavoured to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. The respondents were kept anonymous. Once the data was received, the researcher ensured its safe custody. The collected data was coded and separated from the respondents through the use of codes. Wiles et al. (2006) argue that there is need to safeguard research participants by using codes instead of names. Being a sensitive topic, data on communal violence required confidentiality hence care in handling and keeping of the same. Research assistants were cautioned to maintain confidentiality. This team could not be denied access to data hence the reason why the researcher gave them serious caution.

Petrova et al. (2016) has appealed for respecting the dignity and identity of individuals. Since the topic of research was sensitive, the researcher took a lot of care to safeguard respondents as any information divulged could cause friction. Information on communal violence if mishandled could possibly lead to tension and/or hatred. Participants' profiles were kept anonymous. The researcher took a lot of care when describing occurrences, situations and events to prevent the uncovering of research participants.

3.14 Operational Definition of Variables

This section presents the operational definition of the dependent and independent variables used in the study.

3.14.1 The Dependent Variable

This was viewed through three different dimensions that included peaceful co-existence, communal sharing of resources and inter-communal communication. An analysis of the three is a pointer of the existence and the level of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County.

3.14.2 The Independent Variable

It has been argued in the preceding sections that the intensity, the magnitude and the frequency of communal violence are likely to reflect on the level of peace, the sharing of resources and the inter-communal communication between communities if inappropriate measures are undertaken. These factors coupled with the threat of violence even when communities are not actively engaged in communal violence are believed to influence the peaceful co-existence or the lack of it in a society. In line with Bora et al. (2010), this study is anchored on the concept that communal violence which impacts negatively on peaceful co-existence, peace-building and stability of communities is a threat to the well-being of man/woman. This study has a view that communal violence affects distribution of goods though this depends on how severe the violence is. The greater the violence, the harder it is to reach the different parts of an area/country. The same applies to the availability and access to goods and services. Brinkman and Hendrix (2010) while linking communal violence to accessibility of food among other goods have argued that communal violence leads to increasing food prices making it difficult for many people to have purchasing power. The approaches taken in addressing communal violence determine the success or failure in peace-building.

3.15 Data Analysis

Analysis of qualitative data began by bringing together transcripts, notes and other relevant documents. The data from the various documents was then organized and codes were created. The data was read and reread. During this process, data cleansing was done. The inaccurate or irrelevant data was removed. New codes were added, and some codes merged during data cleansing. The data was then categorized into different themes. This was done by looking at the point(s) where respondents' views either converged or diverged. After remaining with the relevant and important information, the data had been reduced to manageable themes with common elements in each.

Data from the questionnaire which came mainly in quantitative form was also categorized to facilitate analysis. The categorized data was coded to transform it into a form suitable for computer-aided analysis. Each code applied to only one category. As Flick (2014) points out, elements that appear similar will be grouped together. The researcher coded as soon as data was available although post-coding of data was done for closed-ended questions. Coding of data as soon as it is collected has been recommended (Theron, 2015). The author has argued that coding may however change as the data is examined in depth after leaving the field. The different themes were interpreted by giving explanations.

Having categorized the data and coded it, the researcher was able to process the data through use of statistical software. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used. Arkkelin (2014) has hailed the use of SPSS as a useful tool for helping understand and interpret results in a research study. As the author argues, the researcher was able to create data files, analyse the data and get the results with ease through use of SPSS. The researcher used version 20 of SPSS.

The researcher intended to use descriptive statistics. This has been used in describing the basic features of the data as portrayed in the next chapter. Some summaries about the sample were done before embarking on quantitative analysis. Features of the sampled population were brought to light which were deemed necessary in helping understand the quantitative analysis. Percentages and frequencies featured here. The researcher used tables where he felt they were necessary to portray the required picture.

Secondary data was obtained through the literature review. The researcher sourced information from different sources which included books, journals and theses. He also kept consulting and reading more literature to supplement what is already documented in this thesis. Further, the researcher has kept abreast of both the print and the electronic media on additional information on the violence engulfing the area.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the different aspects of communal violence and these includes the causes, the effects, and the approaches in use and what should further be done in arriving at a lasting solution to the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. It is derived from the fieldwork carried out in the six Wards of the Sub-County in the months of March and April 2020. Through the data analysis and especially as demonstrated in the narratives of the different respondents, it is evident that communal violence springs from varied factors and has multiple negative effects. Equally, that the approaches in place need a paradigm shift with peace practitioners listening to the narratives of the communities that reside in the context, in this thesis, Njoro Sub-County.

There are eight different sections with the first being the introductory section. The second section contains the characteristics of the survey respondents starting with their profile in terms of gender and age before going to the Ward where each resides. Then, the section focuses on the composition of each community and finally the education level attained by the different respondents. The third section deals with the causes of communal violence and the fourth presents the effects of communal violence. The fifth considers the meaning of violence from the perspective of the respondents. It equally focuses on the types of weapons used during communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. The sixth section captures the interventions already in place. Section seven deals with the interventions which, if employed would in the view of the researcher lead to lasting and more meaningful peace in the Sub-County. The eighth and last section is a brief summary of the chapter.

In carrying out the research, 16 respondents were interviewed for the qualitative component of the study. An interview schedule designed for this purpose was used. Further, 399 respondents filled a survey questionnaire. Of the 399 respondents who

filled the questionnaire, 242 were males while 157 were female. The research targeted the household head to fill the in the survey questionnaire. However, in the case where the household head was not available, the next available person who met the requirements of the research was included as a respondent in the research. .

4.2 Characteristics of the Survey Respondents

This section concentrates on the different characteristics of the respondents. These include the gender, age, geographical location, ethnicity and education level, as they stated, and in some instances, as observed by the researcher. These factors are crucial and affect the perspectives of the different respondents on the issues under discussion. In the analysis of data, those subjected to the interview schedule are labelled 'IS' while those subjected to the survey questionnaire have been labelled 'Que'. The number assigned to the respondent in the interview schedule as well as the ethnic community of the respondent follows the letters 'IS' for ease of reference. Therefore, IS: 001 Kal means the first interviewee was from the Kalenjin community. For the survey questionnaire, the identification number assigned to the respondent has been indicated. The identification numbers that range from 1 to 399 come after the letters Que. What follows next is the Ward of the respondent, the question number and finally the identity of the community of the respondent. 'Mac' stands for Mauche and 'Mau' for Mau Narok. The first 3 (three) letters have been used for these two Wards. For the other Wards, the first 2-letters of the name of each Ward has been used. Thus Que: 009-Mac-28-Og means respondent 009 to the survey questionnaire was from Mauche Ward. The question quoted was number 28 in the survey questionnaire and further, the respondent was from the Ogiek community.

4.2.1 Gender of Respondents

From the total of 399 respondents who filled the survey questionnaire, all 242 males and 157 females returned the scripts despite some delaying and necessitating the researcher

to organise for follow-up. A further 16 respondents who included 10 males and 6 females were interviewed. The 16 respondents included Chiefs (both retired and currently in office), pastors and a retired teacher. They were selected basing on their experience and by virtue of the offices they occupied. Table 4.1 below portrays the gender of the 399 respondents alongside the community where each came from.

Table 4.1: Gender of Respondents According to Ethnicity

Gender	**Communities**					
	Kalenjin	**Ogiek**	**Kikuyu**	**Kisii**	**Other**	**Total**
Male	42	17	138	22	23	242
Female	31	8	83	20	15	157
Total	**73**	**25**	**221**	**42**	**38**	**399**

4.2.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

The study captured age as one of the key characteristics of the respondents. The age of the 399 respondents ranged from 30 years to 69 years and was well distributed. The ages with most respondents were age 60 (15 respondents), age 55 and 50 (16 respondents each), age 42 (21 respondents), age 40 (23 respondents), age 35 (26 respondents and this was the highest) and age 30 (17 respondents). Other ages had 2 to 14 respondents. Thus, the ages were well distributed.

The 399 respondents were selected from the 6 Wards based on the 2017 projected population as earlier indicated in Chapter 3. Table 4.2 below shows the geographical representation of each Ward in terms of ethnicity and number.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents per Ward.

Wards	**Communities**					
	Kalenjin	**Ogiek**	**Kikuyu**	**Kisii**	**Other**	**Total**
Mauche	44	10	0	2	0	56
Njoro	9	2	67	14	29	121
Nesuit	10	12	0	0	0	22
Kihingo	1	1	22	8	1	33
Lare	0	0	58	6	4	68
Mau Narok	9	0	74	12	4	99
Total	**73**	**25**	**221**	**42**	**38**	**399**

While Njoro Ward is more cosmopolitan, with a majority from the Kikuyu community, Kihingo and Lare are almost entirely Kikuyu. On the other hand, Mauche and Nesuit are dominated by the Kalenjin and the Ogiek communities. Mau Narok Ward population is mainly Kikuyu. Overall, the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities are larger in number in comparison to the other communities that is the: Ogiek, Kisii, the Luo, Maasai, Samburu, and Turkana. Though the total number of the Ogiek is low, they dominate the forested Nesuit Ward. The fact that certain communities dominate particular areas is, in the view of the researcher, the reason for the exclusion and the "we and they" narratives that are evident in the data analysis of the collected field data captured in this Chapter.

4.2.3 Educational Attainment

In reference to the education level, Table 4.3 below portrays the reality on the ground. This has been done vis-à-vis the gender of the respondents.

Table 4.3: Education Attained in Terms of Gender

Education levels	**Gender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Primary	60	48	108
Secondary	96	66	162
Tertiary	82	39	121
Other	4	4	8
Total	**242**	**157**	**399**

The majority in both genders were those who had schooled up to secondary level. These were 40.6%. Those that had attained tertiary level education were 30.3%. The rest had either primary education or no formal education. Overall, majority of the people were of average formal education. After an analysis of the demographic data of the respondents, the next section will deal with the narratives of the respondents on the causes of communal violence.

4.3 Causes of Violence

The causes of communal violence are complex and hard to comprehend not only in Njoro Sub-County but the world over. The factors leading to the communal violence need to be understood from the context of particular communities in a particular geographical setting as perceptions differ from one community to another and equally among individuals. Indeed, no one factor can be singled out as the trigger to communal violence hence the need to analyse them all and see their relationship and interconnectedness. It is for this reason that this study examines communal violence from the narratives of the communities that live in the six Wards of Njoro Sub-County.

In carrying out the field research, the main tool was an interview schedule. This was administered to people perceived to be well versed with the location and the context of Njoro Sub-County. Respondents in this case were renowned people who had lived in Njoro for a long period. The other tool to supplement the findings was a survey questionnaire which had some multiple response questions. The researcher decided to use multiple responses as he was interested in the respondents selecting as many options as they considered related to their own experiences. Therefore, in analysing the multiple response data, the researcher chose to code the variables using dichotomies, thus using the code (1=Yes and 2=No). Therefore, only those respondents that selected an option(s) of those that apply that were considered to be valid cases. Those who did not were treated as missing cases. In the interpretation of the data, the interest is in the per cent of cases as opposed to per cent of responses. The per cent of cases, therefore, add to more than 100%. The survey questionnaire had also open-ended questions. This was to allow the respondents to add their own choice in case they were not captured in the quantitative component of the research. This was to cater for those who may not choose any of the given options or those who may decide to skip the question as might happen in multiple response questions. As mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the researcher's aim was to capture the narratives of the residents and those in leadership positions on the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. As research by other scholars have demonstrated, narratives of the people on the experience of a particular phenomenon assists in comprehending the factors that affect a community (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013) . In this way, one is able to empathise with a community and where need be, address the prevailing problem from an informed point of view.

More importantly, in this study, capturing the data in this way was considered important due to the fact that it gave an indication of a respondent's view on a particular question. This is important for this study as it can highlight on some of the key areas that were captured in the survey questionnaire and in the interview guide. In essence, it can also inform the different stakeholders on, for instance, the causes of communal violence in the context of Njoro Sub-County. Also, it may lead to identifying effective interventions in addressing this violence.

In this section and other subsequent sections, the researcher decided to use frequencies. The advantage with this type of analysis that takes care of multiple responses is that it does not only show the percentages of each individual case but goes further to show the weighting given to individual options. This could be beneficial to the different stakeholders involved, in this case, in peace-building intervention(s). Therefore, in order to test the first variable regarding the possible causes of the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, all the respondents who participated in the survey questionnaire were asked to select as many causes as apply from the given choices. The results are captured in Table 4.4 below. Equally, they were given an opportunity to also share any other cause that in their opinion contributed to communal violence in the location of this study. This was captured as an open-ended question.

Table 4.4: Causes of Communal Violence in Njoro Sub-County

Causes	**N**	**Percent of response**	**Percent of Cases**
Ethnicity	381	16.0%	95.5%
Poor Governance	281	11.8%	70.4%
Lack of goods and services	223	9.4%	55.9%
Corruption	231	9.7%	57.9%
Exclusion of communities	318	13.3%	79.7%
Land grabbing	265	11.1%	66.4%
Incitement by politicians	372	15.6%	93.2%
Stock theft	314	13.2%	78.7%
Total 399(100%) valid cases **0(0.0%) missing cases**	**2385**	**100.00%**	**597.7%**

Figures do not add up to 100 percent - a multiple response question

4.3.1 Ethnicity as a Cause of Communal Violence

In this survey question, the respondents were asked, "*what are the causes of communal violence?' Please select all that apply*". They were given a list of 8 possible causes of communal violence and were expected to select as many as apply. 'Ethnicity' was the

most selected option of those choices that apply. This was by 381/399 respondents (95.5% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 16.0% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.4 above. 16 respondents that participated in the interview were also in support of this view. It was interesting to also note that these respondents, though from different ethnic communities were generally in agreement on the centrality of ethnicity as a cause of communal violence. However, they differed on who was to blame for the violence. In addition, they stressed the fact that rivalry among communities was not only taking place but was also similar to a 'volcano that was boiling underneath ready to explode'. Interestingly, throughout the interviews, the respondents were using different terminologies to refer to ethnicity and the animosity among them such as 'stereo-typing', 'mistrust between communities' as well as 'tribalism'. Indeed, their responses gave insight to those captured in the multiple responses question. For instance, one of the respondents, a Kalenjin male from Mauche Ward shared:

> *Ukabila umeingia sana hapa. Wengine wanachukua kila kitu na wengine wanaumia. Hata uchaguzi huwa kwa misingi ya kikabila. Tazama, katika wadi sita, ni Mkalenjin mmoja tu wa Mauche na Muogiek mmoja tu wa Nesuit. Nesuit na Mauche ni maeneo ya Ogiek na Kalenjin. Wadi hizi zingine nne zinaongozwa na Wakikuyu na ukitazama vizuri, Wakikuyu ndio wengi huko. Hata kiti cha ubunge kimekuwa cha Wakikuyu. Joseph Ng'ang'a Kiuna alichukua ubunge miaka kumi kabla mama. Mama (Charity Kathambi Chepkwony) ameingia juzi tu baada ya kutetewa sana na Ruto. Unaona, hapa, wengine wanachukua kila kitu na wengine wanaumia…* (IS: 001 Kal).
>
> (Ethnicity is deep-rooted here. Even elections are carried out along ethnic lines. Just look at this, in the six wards, there is only one Kalenjin for Mauche and one Ogiek for Nesuit. Nesuit and Mauche are dominated by Ogiek and Kalenjin. The other four wards have Kikuyu leadership and if you check well, Kikuyu are the dominant community there. Even the parliamentary seat has been occupied by the Kikuyu. Joseph Ng'ang'a Kiuna occupied the seat for ten years before mama. Mama, Charity Kathambi Chepkwony, got the seat the other day after Ruto

supported her. You see, here, some people amass everything while others are left to suffer).

Furthermore, according to the above respondent, if Ruto (the current Deputy President of Kenya) did not intervene, Kikuyu dominance in parliamentary representation would have continued. Another respondent, a respected leader from the Ogiek community also shared:

> *There are many causes. They are varied including stock theft, land issues and resource distribution. You cannot agree that people come and take away your possession. We are the original inhabitants here, but our land is being taken away slowly. At times, political incitements ignite everything as happens during election. However, our people have in many cases fought for their rights. You cannot agree to lose what belongs to you. People from Central have taken large pieces of land. The Ogiek are being edged out of what are now referred to as forest areas* (IS: 009-Og).

Despite Njoro being in the Rift Valley which the Ogiek and the Kalenjin generally treat as their property, the Kikuyu that have settled there are accused of domination. This has created some anger from the other communities in the area and also a sense of marginalisation. Borrowing from the Human Security Theory discussed in Chapter 2, the well-being of a people cannot be realised in a society where some are marginalised. Ethnicity has become a deep-seated phenomenon with communities feeling uncomfortable with each other. In support of this narrative of marginalisation, one of the respondents shared:

> *The Ogiek community is minority and other tribes win elections. Ogiek need to be considered. Why should the Ogiek be treated as if they do not belong to Njoro?* (Que: 009-Mac-28-Og).

This respondent, a resident of Mauche, expressed dissatisfaction with the way his community was treated. He felt that the Ogiek were marginalised. The facial expression as shared portrayed a man with deep concern that all was not well. Things were not moving in the right direction. Similar sentiments were echoed by other respondents with

each blaming this community or the other for their plight. Strong ethnic consciousness was exhibited. It was clear that dissatisfaction remained high. Hence, it would seem that with only a slight trigger, the communities would revert back to violence. The situation in Njoro Sub-County reflects well with the literature reviewed in this thesis where tension is high with some sections of the society perceiving segregation as the norm. This is well indicated in Table 2.1 in Chapter 2 where the voting patterns paint a picture of deeply entrenched ethnicity.

Further in capturing the narratives, for the Kikuyu community, the Kalenjin are the main reason for their sufferings and the violence experienced in Njoro Sub-County. However, on the other hand, the Kikuyu view the Kalenjin ethnic community as responsible for the negative ethnicity in the area. A female respondent from the Kikuyu community sheds light on this view:

> *Kinachosumbua sisi ni ukabila na uchochezi wa wanasiasa……Wakikuyu wanatazamwa vibaya wakati wa uchaguzi. Hawa hawataki tumchague mtu tunayemtaka. Tunapigwa kwa sababu ya kura. Unajua, Mkikuyu akishinda kiti ni shida. Ikiwa sisi ndio wengi, kwanini uchaguzi wetu usiheshimiwe? Mara nyingi wanapinga matokeo ya kura na hata zikirudiwa tutawashinda tu. Wanapenda tu kumwaga damu. What will people tell God when they are constantly shedding blood? Munene, guku ukabira niguo muingi. Tumepitia mengi ya uchungu. Ah….Nilimpoteza binamu yangu 2008. Alikuwa kijana mzuri sana. Sitawahi lisahau jambo hili* (IS: 005-Kik).

> *What is disturbing us is ethnicity and incitement by politicians…..*The Kikuyu are looked at with a bad eye during elections. These do not agree that we should have our choice freely of the person we want. You know, it is trouble when a Kikuyu wins. If we are the majority, why can't they accept our choice? They have often opposed the outcome of elections and we will always beat them when a repeat is declared. They like shedding blood. What will people tell God when they are constantly shedding blood? Boss, ethnicity is the key thing here. We have undergone a lot of suffering. Ah…I lost my nephew in 2008. I will never forget this thing).

This observation is important in understanding the depth of animosity existing between the different communities in Njoro Sub-County. Some of the Kikuyu respondents' perception is that the violence in Njoro was fanned by the Kalenjin community. The Kalenjin planned and executed violence against the Kikuyu who were exercising their democratic right. According to this woman, and other respondents from the Kikuyu community who shared similar opinions, the Kikuyu were an innocent group who had suffered misery and deaths. The above narrative, however, raises some pertinent questions for instance, why is it that the Kikuyu would vote only for Kikuyu leaders? Why the entrenchment of the 'we and they' despite the fact that these communities have co-existed for decades? This brings to fore the reality that 'ethnicity' is a deep-seated issue in Njoro. Additionally, the narratives portray the importance of employing a bottom-up approach in peace-building as opposed to the liberal approach. In a situation where each community is blaming the other as the cause of its suffering, the best approach would be to listen to each community and look for consensus. Thus, the need for local participation in peace-building as opposed to deployment of security offices to forms the different communities into subjection.

It was also not unusual during the research, to hear the Kikuyu use derogatory term *'nduriri'* (negatively refers to 'others') to refer to the non-Kikuyu communities who they also consider their enemies. This word was also uttered with a tone of distaste by the respondents.

Different respondents mainly from the Kikuyu community expressed their dissatisfaction with the unfair treatment by their neighbours. One of them living in Mau Narok pointed out that due to the differences in ethnic affiliations, there resulted "*eviction of people from their homes*" (Que: 215-Mau-28- Kik). From the sharing of the different respondents, the conflicts as a result of 'ethnicity' especially during the post-election violence have left people with bitter memories against each other.

Additionally, from the findings, it would seem that the geographical distribution of the communities mainly in particular localities could be a contributing factor to the cycle of violence in this Sub-County. Additionally, such divisions encourage the 'us versus them' attitude among communities. Elfversson (2019) as noted in Chapter 2 of this

Thesis raises similar argument where he highlights the fact that c ommunities have been divided along ethnic lines. Geographical/political boundaries between the different communities have contributed to widening the gap and creating animosity among different communities in Kenya and specifically in the location of this study. As further noted in Chapter 2, political allegiance is attuned to political boundaries. Instead of harnessing the unique features of the different ethnic communities for the common good, enemity has been cultivated. Opondo (2014) has added his voice in Chapter 2 with arguments that people have taken into ethnic thinking. Developments are done along ethnic lines. It is this kind of scenario that this research found to be taking place in Njoro. This coupled with the fight over limited resources - as will be demonstrated in subsequent sections – seems to be a threat that will continue to tear the communities in Njoro Sub-County apart. This is confirmed by the narrative of a senior National government officer who gave some insight to ethnicity problem in Njoro Sub-County:

> *Ethnicity in Njoro has lasted for many years. People are judged from their tribes. When your name is mentioned, you will be labelled to belong to particular political affiliation even if that is not the case. Everything here has been done along ethnic lines. The voting patterns will tell you. Since the days when Njoro was part of the larger Molo before curving it out, communities have had issues with each other. In fact it is when the current Member of Parliament (MP) was elected that some kind of serenity came in. The current MP has received general acceptance from across ethnic/political divide. Since 2017 when Mama replaced the former MP, Njoro has experienced relative calm. You know she comes from Meru but is married here. The Kikuyu see her as one of their own since she hails from Mt. Kenya region. On the other hand, the Kalenjin and the Ogiek see her as their daughter. The Ogiek and Kalenjin have close ties. It is even argued that they were at one time one group that came to split in the course of History (DC.3).*

As predicted by one of the Officers coded as DC.3, in this thesis, from 2017 after the general elections, Njoro has been experiencing general calm except for a few cases of violence. As if to endorse this reality, during the analysis of this data, some violence

erupted in Nesuit and Mauche. The clashes began on 14th May, 2020, lasting for four days. The situation calmed down after more than 400 police officers were dispatched to the area. The violence had erupted after claims that the government was planning to evict over 40,000 settlers from forest land. This irked the Ogiek who felt that they were being targeted wrongly. They (the Ogiek) pointed an accusing finger at their neighbours, the Kalenjin community living in Mauche. After calm was restored on 18th May, 2020, there was tension once more on 5th June, 2020. This was after a man who was allegedly trailing his stolen livestock was killed in the Likia section of Njoro Ward. The two incidences of violence were captured in the Daily Nation newspapers of 18th May, 2020 and 8th June, 2020. According to a high-ranking police officer on the later incidence, tension was high calling for the top National Government County representative to come to the scene. The leader narrated that the clashes had a link to the occupation of land in the Mau. Likia residents protested the killing. They blocked Mau Narok Road and lit bonfires protesting the killing. The situation calmed down only when the County Commissioner for Nakuru arrived at the scene and addressed the conflicting groups.

Interesting, in the following month, on Thursday of 30th July 2020, fresh violence erupted yet again. In Mariashoni and Nesuit areas, 5 people were killed between 30/7/2020 and 31/7/2020. The violence that affected over ten villages left 83 people nursing serious injuries. Over 200 police officers were dispatched to the areas of Nessuit, Ndoswa, Mariashoni, Kaprop and Kapnoswa where violence was more severe. A senior National government officer in the Rift Valley and the top County leadership quickly convened a meeting to resolve the conflict. The tension eased when some top women delegates from the County government accompanied by the Members of Parliament for Njoro, Molo, and Kuresoi South intervened.

Furthermore, in response to the violence highlighted above, the instigators, among them, key government leaders were arrested. In order to resolve the violent conflicts, a team mainly from the government called for the formation of a multi-agency team to address what it termed as protracted historical land injustices. These sentiments were supported by a resident, Ms B. K.8/20, who claimed that the issues of land and bad blood between the Kipsigis and the Ogiek had brought a lot of misery to them. From these incidents of

violence, it is evident that despite the interventions, there was recurrence of the violence. It would seem that the militaristic approaches which tend to be based on liberal peace-building were ineffectual in addressing communal violence.

4.3.2 Incitement by politicians

The second most selected option of those choices that apply in reference to the causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County was 'incitement by politicians'. This option was selected by 372/399 respondents, (93.2% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 15.6% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.4 above in this section. It also received support from some of those who participated in the interviews whose views are expressed in statements such as, *"Andu a siasa tiega"* (Kikuyu phrase which means, ('Politicians are not good'). *Watu hawa wanatumia kila njia kupata viti"* (Kiswahili for 'They always tell us this to get seats'). In other words, politicians use every means to get into leadership positions. Also, narratives such as: *Kumekuwa na tofauiti za kikabila. Tofauti hizi huenezwa na wanasiasa. Hata hivyo, hii ina sababu yake…..shida ni ukosefu wa kazi (IS: 003-Kik).* (Kiswahili for "Tribal differences have been in existence. The differences have been propagated by politicians. However, there has been a reason for this…unemployment.

This is supported by a respondent who shares:

> *Njoro is a good place but political instigations especially from politicians have caused divisions. In Njoro, as early as the dates for the next elections are announced, ethnic sentiments start with communities starting to arm themselves.*

It is hard to delink political incitements from the violence in Njoro Sub-County. The ripple effect of this is stereotyping, hatred, self-centeredness and negativity between the different communities.

Additionally, when asked to mention how frequently communal violence happens in the Sub-County, the following were some of the responses: *"They normally occur during*

elections" (IS: 002-Kik), "Every 5 years during elections either before or after" (IS: 004-Kik), "Mainly before and after a general election" (IS: 008-Kik). Furthermore, when sharing their perceptions on how incitement contributes to communal violence in Njoro, most respondents had a general claim that an unhealthy tendency by the politicians had developed. For instance, one of the trends was the politicians' refusal to accept results especially when the election results tallies were not in their favour. Such rejection of the results outcome would then be followed by the mobilisation of the politicians' ethnic community to call for a repeat of the elections. This, as observed, has widened the gulf that sometimes exists among the residents. For instance, a retired church elder when responding to the question *'When do the conflicts occur?'* shared:

> *Mostly it occurs after announcement of general elections especially for presidential seat. Wengine hawakubali kura. My brother, soma Romans 13:1. Uongozi hutoka kwa Mungu (IS: 011-Kik).*
>
> (Mostly it occurs after announcement of general elections especially for the presidential seat. Some refuse to accept election results. My brother, read Romans 13:1. It states that leadership comes from God).

Although the respondent was referring to political incitement, he went further to mention other factors such as elections and dwelt mainly on poor leadership. There was a general feeling among the respondents that the refusal to accept the outcome of the elections was one of the key reasons that plunged Njoro into violence. Supporting the above view, in response to the question, *'Which category of people are mainly involved in this conflicts?'* apart from mentioning groups such as the youth and particular ethnic communities, most of the respondents attributed most of the blame to politicians. In fact, one of the respondents was wary about the future of the country due to the poor leadership especially from politicians. This is evident from this respondent's narrative:

> *Although a lot has happened in Njoro, there is poor leadership. We do not have leaders here especially in the political sector. The politicians we have are inciters……I do not understand where we are heading to? If these are the*

> *politics….Oh..! I fear for this country. We are not lucky. The few problems in Njoro could have been solved quite easily. Politicians make a mountain out of an ant hill (IS: 008-Kik).*

Furthermore, it was evident from the findings that politicians in Njoro have used the land issue among other factors to incite and manipulate communities. For example, a respondent when addressing the question on the causes of communal violence and the effective response to it commented:

> M*istrust among communities and politicians together with historic injustices are rampant. Incitement by politicians and stock theft has added to the injuries in this area. I also suggest our politicians stop inciting our people especially on matters about land. Kenya belongs to all of us. The Constitution says so. (IS:-015-Kal).*

Another respondent stated, *"My friend, unless land issues are solved exhaustively and politicians tamed, violence will not cease" (IS: 002-Kik).* Though such statements seem 'harmless' on the surface, the researcher was of the view that there was deeper meaning to it. For instance, in the guise of fighting for community resources, ethnic groups are mobilised and incited to see their neighbours as enemies. Land is usually used as bait for this type of narratives. The issue of land (distribution and ownership) which is often a factor in communal violence is widely captured in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Also, the respondents placed great responsibility of communal violence on politicians – 'these groups of people that go out of their way to poison the communities'. The following narrative captures some of the sentiments of the respondents regarding politicians and their key role in incitement of violence among communities:

> *Politicians are bad-mouthed and have completely burnt Njoro. I believe with proper guidance, youth will desist from being misused especially by politicians. Parents must act as role models to their children to avoid them being influenced by politicians who are only interested in positions. (IS: 008-Kik).*

In a bid by politicians to be in power against their 'enemies' (opponents), they incite their communities. This has led to violence as the purported 'enemies' are forced to retaliate. More importantly, it was the view of most of the respondents that politicians, as evidenced in Chapter 2 earlier, engage the 'ethnic militias' through manipulation and enticement promising government positions and financial assistance. Equally, that for their discourse to take shape, politicians have used devious methods to acquire leadership positions without much regard to the divisions they cause among the citizenry. As Kagwanja, (2009) pointed out in the Literature Review in Chapter 2 of this Thesis, politicians use every means available to ascend to positions of power. More importantly, getting into political positions allows one into power and control over State resources. Branch, (2011), in Chapter 2, associates some communities picking up of arms to grievances regarding exclusion from the distribution of State resources. This grievance is also associated to the the voting patterns which have been inclined to ethnic lines as clearly shown in Table 2.1. Additionally, the Kikuyu community has used their huge numbers to vote in their kith and kin. For instance, except in Nesuit and Mauche Wards where Ogiek and Kalenjin are the majority, the Kikuyu, through incitement by their politicians have dominated the other four Wards. It would, therefore, seem that politicians are at the core of the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County.

4.3.3 Exclusion of Communities

'Exclusion of Communities' was the third most selected option of those choices that apply in reference to the causes of communal violence. This was selected by 318/399 respondents (79.7% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 13.3% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.4 above in this section. Throughout the data collection, phrases such as 'unequal sharing of resources', 'marginalisation', and 'unfair distribution' were used interchangeably to refer to exclusion of communities. The resources in this case included land, grazing areas, water, employment opportunities and political positions. The side-lining of communities featured widely as captured in the responses to other questions in this thesis. Interestingly, a number of respondents were of the opinion that

such resources should be shared equally because Kenya belongs to all as enshrined in the new 2010 Kenya Constitution. This was particularly voiced when addressing the question, '*In your opinion, what more can be done to address the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County?'*

In general, the different respondents that participated in this research also emphasised the fact that exclusion of communities was creating bitterness among the different communities in Njoro Sub-County. The narratives in this sub-section are in agreement with the arguments posed by Jenkins (2012) in Chapter 2 of this Thesis that exclusion of communities should not be underestimated. Those excluded in the sharing of power and resources remain aggrieved and this is expressed through their engagement in violent conflicts. Most importantly, while the Kalenjin community are aggrieved due to the perception that they are excluded from sharing of power and accessing forest lands, the Ogiek on the other hand consider themselves the original inhabitants of the forest lands.

They cited issues such as being left out in the distribution of goods and services. In addition, some expressed the view that it was not only the fact of being left out but also in the way the resources were distributed. They pointed out that the level of favouritism and lack of transparency had contributed to the grievances among communities. Additionally, majority of them had the view that resources were given selectively to some communities "*depending on whom you knew in government".* These views were supported by one of the retired church elders, a man of high social standing in the community who shared his view during the interview:

> *Tribalism and poor distribution of resources is the key. Some people enjoy while others are subjected to suffering. This is unacceptable you know. Elections also contribute to violence whereby some of those defeated don't admit and therefore incite the communities (IS: 011-Kik)*

Sharing similar sentiments, a senior pastor voiced dissatisfaction when he stated that: "*There is uneven distribution of resources among communities living within Njoro Sub-County"* (IS: 013-Kal). A number of respondents expressed similar opinions with one saying in Kiswahili, *"Ukabila umeingia …wengine wanachukua kila kitu na wengine*

wanaumia" (IS: 001-Kal); which means that "tribalism has become the norm where some 'take all' while others are suffering". Perhaps this uneven distribution is informed by the Liberal Peace Theory which advocates for structures that operate from top-bottom.

Exclusion, especially in matters of land, was noted as one of the triggers of the tension in Njoro Sub-County. The end result has been the outbreak of violence and bloodshed as people compete for meagre resources. Some of the respondents stated that some of the communities end up excluding other communities further by taking the law into their hands and force those they consider 'outsiders' out of Njoro Sub-County. One of the retired teachers confirmed this perception when he shared that:

> *There is migrating of people to safer areas. Some people migrate out of their own accord. Majority of the people are forced out. This happens mainly because of land. Houses are burnt to force them out. Food stores are burnt. Animals are killed to weaken and force people out* (IS: 016-Kik).

Equally, the exclusion of communities was expressed when respondents were answering the open-ended question, '*In your view, is there any other cause of violent conflict in Njoro Sub-County not captured in the questionnaire?'* One respondent, as noted earlier in this chapter, observed that the Ogiek are side-lined and referred to as *'Watu wa msituni' (literal meaning,* 'people of the forest/bush'*).* The respondent pointed out that the Ogiek had suffered for a long time. According to the respondent, the Ogiek community should be included in resource allocation. Apart from suffering exclusion, there is evidence of use of derogatory language while referring to this community and other communities, for instance, the use of the word 'nduriri' (Kikuyu for 'multitude') when referring to non-Kikuyu ethnic communities. The intonation used can show resentment. As some respondents pointed out, the Kalenjin and Ogiek at times call the Kikuyu 'jorindet' meaning 'thief.' Such stereotyping of communities creates enmity, mistrust and hatred between them. As a result, communities begin to isolate themselves from the others. This leads to a break down in inter-communal communication. Most of the respondents supported this by citing the case of the Ogiek and the Kipsigis ethnic communities as shown in the narrative below:

> *Ukabila umweingia sana*...Inter-communal social set-up is affected. Divisions are created even between friends and neighbours coming from the different communities…. There are breach of communication in almost every social set up. Tribal hatred and family separations arise. Time to socialise is taken away (IS: 001-Kal).*
>
> *Kiswahili for tribalism is widespread

Both these words and phrases stress lack of identity of these people. This enhances the 'we' and 'they' narratives of exclusion which if not effectively addressed can be a trigger to violence among communities. What exists in Njoro Sub-County is negative peace, (discussed in Theoretical review), where communities are living together but have not effectively addressed the root causes to their problems and equally need to address their stereotypical tendencies that enhance the exclusion of others.

It was evident from the field work that derogatory statements are used to exclude not only people from other ethnic communities but also for members of the same ethnic community. This is usually for those who shy off from participating in the violence carried out in the name of fighting for community land among other issues. Bravery is not only cherished in the different communities in Njoro Sub-County but is also emphasised especially during circumcision ceremonies among the Kalenjin members. Equally, during the cattle raiding, those who 'steal' and bring in large herds are embraced and praised as heroes. Women and girls sing and dance to songs praising their bravery and mocking those that are perceived to be shy or afraid to fight. One respondent, a retired school teacher in his late sixties, shared:

> *Metaga aria matarathii mbaraini iguoya. Maita maingi nio matumaga mbara ithii na mbere. Ona nimahithaga matharaita nguoni ciao na gutwara mbaraini* (IS: 016-Kik).

(Literal translation from Kikuyu: "They refer to those not joining in the fight as cowards. It is them who in many cases make the violence to continue. They even hide weapons and war materials under their clothing and take the same to the fighting ground").

Additionally, accusations and counter-accusations among different communities – that emphasise the exclusion of other communities have become a norm in Njoro with members of one ethnic community blaming the other for emergence of violence. For example, the researcher noted that in Mauche and Nesuit Wards, the Kikuyu were largely blamed by the Kalenjin and Ogiek communities, while the converse was true of the people in Lare, Mau Narok and Kihingo areas which are occupied by mainly the Kikuyu ethnic community. It is worth noting that unlike in the Njoro Ward, the other five Wards are dominated by particular ethnic communities. Segregation of communities into separate Wards, a reflection of the segregation discussed in section 2.5.2 has led to increased animosity between the different communities. The narratives above are a confirmation of the argument by (Mahony et al., 2019) and Jenkins, (2012) in Chapter 2 above that the government needs to deal effectively on the issue of exclusion if sustainable development is to be a reality in the location of study. Additionally, narratives of the 'enemy other' and incitement of communities against each other through use of song and dance that are passed on from one generation to the other, means that violent conflicts will only escalate further. More importantly, if the government continues to employ militaristic approaches in dealing with such violence, it is evident that this will contribute to cycles of violence. One, therefore, wonders what impact a peace-building approach that promotes dialogue and valuing of the subjective narratives of those who experience violence at the grassroots level would make.

4.3.4 Stock Theft

In reference to the objective of the study on the causes of communal violence, stock theft was significant in the choices given. Though it was not originally in the choices to be included in the survey questionnaire, the researcher considered it necessary after the pilot study. During this time, a number of the pilot study sample respondents highlighted 'stock theft' as one of the key contributing factors to communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. Interestingly, 'stock theft' was the fourth most selected option of all the given choices as apply. As indicated in Table 4.4 earlier in this chapter, 'Stock theft' was selected by 314/399 respondents (78.7% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of

selections accounted for by this category was 13.2% responses out of the total 100%. This is an indicator that it is perceived as contributing substantially to communal violence in the area under research. Owing to the fact that respondents who participated in the interview did not have options to pick from, unlike those that participated in the survey questionnaire, it was interesting that half of the respondents mentioned 'stock theft' as one of the key causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County.

When responding to the question, *'What are the causes of communal violence?'* a retired chief stated that, "*there are varied causes including stock theft, land issues and resource distribution (IS: 009-Og).*

Among the Ogiek community and other pastoralists communities such as the Maasai and the Kalenjin communities, cattle raiding/cattle rustling, in this thesis referred to as 'stock theft/cattle theft', is a deep-rooted cultural practice. However, in other communities such as the Kisii and the Kikuyu, this culture is perceived as a crime and also an infringement of people's rights to property. When this happens, such communities react in anger and sometimes may engage in violent conflicts. As discussed in Chapter 2, conflicts have become a common phenomenon between the pastoralists and agriculturalists. The history of violence between the two groups is ongoing.

A respondent of Mukungugu shared similar views as those of the respondent from the Ogiek community:

> *We have stock theft. Some react when their animals are stolen. Water resource in streams is also an issue especially for watering animals. At times, land grabbing has caused tension. You know we border with Kipsigis here* (IS: 012-Kik).

The issue of 'stock theft' elicited mixed reactions. While those of nomadic pastoralist communities viewed this as an acceptable cultural practice, the other communities that do not ascribe to this culture perceived this practice as one of the ways of such communities to drive them away from their land. More importantly, for the community that depend solely on livestock, such as those that live in Nesuit and Mauche Wards, any

threat to their animals, which often is attributed to incitement of communities by politicians tends to act as a trigger to violent conflicts. Also, this acts as a motivating factor to communities to take up arms and fight their perceived aggressors.

It is important to note that addressing such issues as 'cattle raiding/cattle rustling' is complex. This is, as noted earlier in this chapter, a cultural practice to some communities such as the Maasai and the Kalenjin. Therefore, for any peace-builder, there is need to engage the subjective narratives of the people at the grassroots levels in order for the different communities to change their negative attitudes towards each other.

It is worth noting that 'stock theft' is a unique cause of communal violence in the sense that it has not featured in the Literature Review captured earlier. This further supports the arguments thoughout this study that peace-building interventions that adopt a 'one-size –fits-all' approach in enforcing peace are bound to fail. Infact, the researcher had left out the 'stock theft' in his assumed causes of communal violence but added it while in the field. This was informed by the many respondents' narratives that indicated that this was one of the key causes of violent conflicts in the location of study. This shows the importance of engaging communities in the Peace-building. Process as they are key actors and/or observers of the violence in the communities.

4.3.5 Poor Governance

'Poor governance' was one of the selected options among all those that applied regarding causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. This was selected by 281/399 respondents (70.4% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 11.8% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.4 above in this section. They further supported their choices by adding that they were dissatisfied with their leaders and their leadership prowess. Some highlighted the fact that poor governance arose from the political leadership and was a contributing factor to the friction and tension in the different Wards in Njoro Sub-County. These views were underlined by the responses from those that participated in

the interviews for instance from the following respondents: *"Njoro is a good place, but political instigations have caused divisions (IS: 004-Kik).* Furthermore, they shared that most of their leaders were not charismatic and tended to value them only during election period, an indicator of the liberal peace-building approach of dealing with issues where the grassroots are hardly consulted. Equally, that their leaders had forgotten their traditional roles which require a leader to be a symbol of unity and harmony; thus, should aim at the cohesiveness of a community and not being the dividing factor. This confirms the assertion by Helland and Sørbø (2014) in this Thesis of the importance of good governance for leaders to execute their mandates in their service to the people Equally, that when governments are not concerned about the plight of their people, discontent and tensions are heightened leading to violent conflicts.

Furthermore, in reference to the type of governance within Njoro Sub-County, as part of the larger Kenya, the researcher was interested in finding out whether there was a link between the type of governance in the area and the communal violence that has almost become a norm. Indeed, communal violence has compromised peace-building especially by the fact that the approaches that are applied in addressing the violence are mainly top-bottom. More importantly, while communities have the potential of determining the type of governance in their environments, the type of governance has the potential of determining how communities will behave. As noted in Chapter 2 of this thesis, poor governance can be a catalyst for the publics to engage in violence. Supporting this view is the narrative from one of the church leaders from Lare who shared on political instigations that take place in Njoro Sub-County. This sheds light on the type of leadership in place:

> *Although a lot has happened in Njoro, there is poor leadership. Hatuna viongozi hapa hasa upande wa kisiasa. Wanasiasa tulionao ni wachochezi. Sijui tunaelekea wapi? Ikiwa hizi ndizo siasa…Oh … I fear for this country. Hatuna bahati. The few problems in Njoro could have been solved quite easily. Politicians make a mountain out of an anthill. (IS:008*-Kik).
>
> (Although a lot has happened in Njoro, there is poor leadership. We do not have leaders here especially in the political sector. The politicians we have are

> inciters. I do not understand. Where are we heading? If these are the politics…Oh..! I fear for this country. We are not lucky. The few problems in Njoro could have been solved quite easily. Politicians make a mountain out of an anthill).

From the narrative above, it is evident that the leadership especially from the political sector is viewed with a lot of suspicion in the community. This highlights the importance of good leadership as when leaders incite the public, it is hard to undo the damage already caused. Leaders are people trusted with positions and are deemed to be knowledgeable and influential. However, ideal and the reality are not always at par. A good example, of these views is in the case of Likia clashes, from 5th June, 2020 to 9th June, 2020. During this time, a visit by the former Member of Parliament (MP) led to escalation of the violence. It is only after the visit by the County top leadership that people experienced peace. The coming to the scene of the former MP was viewed with suspicion by the Kalenjin community and also associated with the violence that happened there. This incident confirms the arguments in Chapter 2 that at times communal violence is politically motivated. Clarke, (2015) in the same Chapter claims that politicians with their selfish interests incite communities into violence. In the particular case of June, 2020, the visit by the former MP was interpreted as coming to aid his Kikuyu community. Scenarios like the above correspond with one of the respondents, a pastor's narrative,

> *Some political figures also instigate communal violence. We have political leaders that understand nothing more than getting votes regardless of how this is achieved (IS: 001-Kal).*

The above narrative is echoed by another respondent who commented in Kikuyu, *"andu a siasa tiega"* (IS: 002-Kik) which means 'politicians are not good'. The respondent further added:

> *My friend, unless land issues are solved exhaustively and politicians tamed, violence would not cease. Njoro will never know peace. Munene, guku*

ukabila niguo muingi (literal meaning from the Kikuyu language: 'Boss, tribalism is very high here' ((IS: 002-Kik).

Several respondents referred to politicians as *'wachochezi'* meaning inciters. As argued in the literature review earlier in this thesis, politicians (leaders) take decisions without involving the public (local communities). The general perception of the respondents during the research was that politicians were responsible for the violence affecting Njoro Sub-County. The different problems in Njoro including ethnicity which many referred to as *'ukabila'* were linked to the politicians. A number of respondents argued against the inequity in sharing of resources which they mainly blamed on politicians. This confirms the argument by Branch (2011)in section 2.5.2 that some communities have not enjoyed the fruits of independence.

Additionally, poor leadership in the area was blamed on officers posted by the National Government to serve in Njoro Sub-County. Though the respondents that had this view were not as many as those blaming the politicians, there was the perception that the officers posted in the area were becoming relaxed and, at times, biased. A number of respondents were of the view that the National government leaders serving in the area should be picked from communities that do not reside in Njoro Sub-County.

When for instance, responding to the survey questionnaire question, *'In your opinion, what more can be done to address the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County?'* a respondent suggested that government officers should be transferred from their working stations regularly:

> *There should be proper sharing of resources. Forming of youth groups from conflicting communities is needed here. There is also a need to transfer leaders of National Government every one to two years (Que: 338-Mac-35-Kal)*

Similar to this view another responded shared:

> *Peace-building through peace rallies. Special police mobile camps are necessary. There should be regular changing of National Government Administrative Officers. Bringing police and Deputy County Commissioner*

from other communities apart from the ones living within Njoro should take place (Que: 296-Kih-35-Kik)

Yet another respondent was of the view that there was failure in the government officers who exhibited general laxity in their work:

The police should be able to respond as fast as possible to insecurity that may arise from conflict. Elders should come together and try to bring together people from their respective communities (Que:153-Njo-35-Kik).

The different respondents expressed concern that government officers failed to act, or were too slow to act, leading to the escalation of conflicts. Perhaps it is important to add this account by yet another respondent:

"*We should have a strong and caring government that hears the cries of the people. Police officers should be available and should do their work well" (Que: 025-Mau-35-Kik).*

From the above narratives, it is evident that the people are dissatisfied with the way police and other government officers carry out their duties. Equally, they attribute this to laxity and lack of devotion to duty.

The question of poor governance was probably best articulated by one respondent who, when giving his contribution on what needs to be done to address communal violence in their Sub-County shared that *"there needs to be frequent peace meetings and prayers conducted by neutral religious leaders, administrative leaders and politicians (Que: 060- Lar-35-Kik).* Another view that was supported by a number of respondents was that the local leadership should be involved in negotiations for peace. Most had the view that if they were given a chance, they would have effective solution to the communal violence that has kept haunting their Sub-County. However, they pointed out that rarely are they given an opportunity to share their views on issues even when they have been called for *'barazas'.* They further pointed out that these *'barazas'* are only to give them information from the top government officials or to give warnings when there has been some violence. This sharing seems to support a bottom-up approach in peace-building

that puts into consideration the views of those that matter, in this case, the residents of Njoro Sub-County.

Furthermore, there was the view that there should be neutral people to deal with this violence as those charged with governance positions, including the church were not neutral when addressing the violence. This further alludes to the earlier arguments, in Chapter 2, that some of the interveners in peace negotiations are 'imposters' with selfish motives. It further implies that some groups affected by the violence are left out of the negotiations. Yet, it is important that all the conflict actors are included for any effective, sustainable peace-building. The bias and poor governance is captured in the two data collection tools used in this research. For instance, issues of favouritism in allocation of education bursaries and employment into the police force were mentioned several times.

It would seem therefore - according to the views of the respondents that attainment of sustainable peace in Njoro Sub-County faces major obstacles whose solution lies in either the change of character by politicians or the government.

As has been demonstrated throughout this section, poor governance has led to the intractable conflicts. Equally, the perception of the residents captured in this Thesis are that leaders from different political parties should have joint political rallies especially during election campaigns, that the church should play its key role in reconciling communities and that the citizens should be given opportunities during 'barazas' to also share their views on what is happening in their Sub-County.

4.3.6 Lack of Goods and Services

'Lack of goods and services' though not selected by as many respondents as one of the possible causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County had a considerable number of respondents when selecting all the options that applied. This option was selected by 223/399 respondents (55.9% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 9.4% responses out of the total 100% responses as

shown in Table 4.4 earlier in this chapter. This finding as captured in the respondents' narratives in this section, points to a vicious cycle of violence. While lack of goods and services has had a substantial influence in pushing people to communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, communal violence was also noted to push communities into serious lack of the same goods and services. These was also evident in the key informant interviews as well as direct observation of occurrences which assisted in bringing out the contribution of communal violence to the accessibility, the availability, the distribution of and the destruction of goods. This resonates with the Human Security Theory discussed in Chapter 2 that advocates for communities being free from not only fear but also from want. In the argument posed by (Mayer et al., 2014) in section 2.3.2 the people's lack of basic needs and access to essential amenities compromises their human security.

It is worth noting, as pointed out by Cheeseman et al. (2019) in section 2.3.1 of Chapter 2 and as noted in the respondents' narratives in order to live in peace, this is dependent on the level of *'satisfaction of the stomach and the availability of other basic needs'*. Furthermore, Cheeseman et al. (2019) opined that dissatisfied communities are a bitter lot who are hard to deal with. Thus, the view that unless such groups are provided for with the basic necessities and are accorded access to the key amenities, then the intractable violent conflicts will be unabated. This is a factor that is emphasised by the Human Security Theory. In fact, most of those interviewed during the field study kept referring to the fact that no one was going to listen to any leader about coming together for peace when their basic needs were ignored on a daily basis. Such needs/services include addressing difficulties in accessing health and education facilities, poor transport, and lack of food and inaccessibility of markets among others. They used different terminologies such as 'retarded growth' and 'economic drawback' among others to refer to the problems arising in Njoro Sub-County as a result of the affected supply of goods and services. One of the respondents captured what happens in Njoro Sub-County when there is violence:

> *People are killed. Schools are closed down. A lot does happen including people being evicted from their homes and houses being burnt. You see a*

completely different Njoro when fighting starts. You can't like it sir (IS: 007-Og).

Numerous respondents painted a grim picture of difficulties in accessing goods and services during communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. Another respondent corroborated this:

Closure of schools happens. This affects education of children. There is also closure of markets. In fact, buying things is not easy. Roads are closed. Hatred amongst different communities increases making everything look bad (IS: 011- Kik).

The above narrative was supported by the following narrative from one of the respondents:

There is no access to education. Market accessibility is not easy. Everywhere is closed down. Life is just hard. Diseases, for example pneumonia, attack young kids. Immorality cases cause things like rape. Even killings are common during violence (IS: 013-Kal).

Similar views were shared by other respondents with most of them expressing their concerns that their children were not going to school. This they reiterated was not only going to affect their future but that of the Nation. In addition, they shared that violence entrenched fear in communities that affected their normal lives. In fact, some respondents went further to claim that the isolation of communities caused by violence had also contributed to the cessation of supply of goods to the different parts of Njoro and the rest of Kenya. As one respondent summed this up:

Normalcy ceases to exist. Life becomes completely disrupted. I don't know whether you are getting me! Many people become dependents. Our neighbours and even the rest of Kenya are affected. Economy suffers a great deal. Level of crime rises with idlers and petty thieves increasing in number. You hear of arrests of even people you did not think would engage in crime (IS: 008-Kik).

More importantly, there were also views that if this state of periodic violence continues, violence would be normalised and thus, children would grow knowing that it is *'ok to kill people we do not like or are from communities that is different from mine'.*

Additionally, the hoarding of goods has compounded the problem of accessing goods and services in Njoro Sub-County. This was noted by a number of respondents claiming that when the few with goods and services withhold the same from the rest of the society, a crisis is created. As noted from the narrative of this respondent:

> *You hardly get what you want. Starvation creeps in. Even if you have money, you might be unable to get what you want. My friend, you cannot access anything. It is terrible times we undergo here (IS: 008- Kik).*

Furthermore, as the research work progressed, claims of people being denied resources featured prominently. One of the pastors shared:

> *There is poverty and deaths. Starvation and hunger also takes place. I pity many families. As a church, we have to try and feed them. Stagnation of development has been taking place. Look at our roads for example! (IS: 007-Og)*

Dissatisfaction and failure to get services has bred discontent and triggered violence as the communities strive to acquire essential commodities in Njoro Sub-County. From the many respondents who voiced their dissatisfaction with the supply of goods and services in Njoro during the periods of turmoil, it is clear that the shortage contributes a lot to the communal violence that has kept rocking the Sub-County.

4.3.7 Land Grabbing

In Chapter 2 of this thesis, Omeje and Hepner (2013) have discussed land in details as a major cause of violence in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Other scholars who include Grada and Gráda (2009), Claassen (2014) and Kanyinga (2014) among others have discussed land alongside natural resources as a serious cause of communal violence largely in Africa. Their sentiments are largely true for the larger Kenya. Land

ownership has been a contentious issue in Kenya. The issue is often revisited as historic injustice, and this is the case in Njoro Sub-County. This becomes more heightened every five years especially prior to and after the elections. However, it is interesting that of the 8 choices given on the possible causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, 'land grabbing' was ranked among the least selected option by 265/399 respondents (66.4% of the total 597.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 11.1% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.4 above in this section. Could it be as the respondents pointed out in some of the narratives that land is used as 'bait' by especially politicians to incite communities against each other? The views of the respondents contradict with the argument of Kameri-Mbote, (2006), in Chapter 2, that land is a leading cause of communal violence. Although land ownership and distribution could be at the heart of communal conflicts elsewhere in the Great Lakes Region, the residents of Njoro have other major issues that lead them into violence. However, from the narratives of some of the respondents, there is need to address violence due to land issues as shown in this narrative which was also captured earlier in section 2.5.3 "*….Unless land issues are solved exhaustively…..violence would not cease"* (IS: 002-Kik). Another respondent also pointed out that land was the most crucial factor contributing to the perennial violence in their Sub-County.

More importantly, there are claims among the people of Njoro Sub-County that land ownership and access has been passed down from the past generations. One respondent from the Kalenjin community, during the interview pointed out that land in Njoro extended to Naivasha. Also, that this whole land belonged to the indigenous people, in this case, his own people – the Kalenjin community as evidenced in the narrative below:

> *Here, people believe Kalenjin land goes up to Naivasha. It is clear even in our History. It has been passed down in songs and narratives. Songs by the late Kipchamba have at times reminded our people about our boundaries. Yet other communities will not hear of this (IS: 013-Kal).*

From the above narrative, it is evident that through his music, Kipchamba incited his community to fight and push out people from other ethnic communities whom they

consider to be intruders. He reminded them of their rightful ownership of land which belonged to their ancestors. In the sharing of the narratives, some of the respondents underscored the importance of members of one community supporting each other in case they needed to defend themselves from their enemies. One captured a phrase by the late Bishop of Eldoret, Cornelius Korir who commented that to some communities, 'blood is thicker than baptismal water'. Such sentiments passed on through music poses a challenge in peace-building as it is difficult to change what has been entrenched in a culture. Culture is passed on to younger generations through oral traditional in genres such as song, dance, myths and legends. This line of argument confirms that the culture and traditions of people play a vital role in their lives. As Beachler, (2007) pointed out in the Literature Review, the cultural, the linguistic as well as the ethnic identity of a people determines their way of looking at things.

Although Kipchamba is now long dead, his music is still very popular and influential especially among the Kalenjin community. On the other hand, sentiments and arguments about indigenous land ownership seemed to irk the Kikuyu community who claimed that they had bought their land *'through their own sweat'*. Equally, they supported this by stating that they were the rightful owners of this land as they had title deeds to prove it. The narrative below from one of the Kikuyu respondents living in Nyonjoro highlights this:

> *Conflicts are seasonal depending on the situation at hand e.g. elections. They make you lose your land and property. It is heart-breaking to lose what you have acquired through sweat. Your dream of many years is crashed within minutes (IS: 003-Kik).*

It would seem that music, use of derogatory remarks against certain communities and incitement by politicians impedes sustainable development in Njoro Sub-County.

Throughout the field research, there were accusations and counter accusations among the different communities. The bone of contention was mainly on the encroachment and illegally encroaching into others land. The same accusation was directed to those occupying forest lands. The Ogiek were largely blamed for occupying forest land

causing tension mainly with their Kalenjin and Maasai neighbours who graze in the forest lands. Furthermore, this was associated with the disharmony experienced between the pastoralists and cultivators. When, for instance, the respondents were asked, *'In your opinion, what more can be done to address the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County?'* a respondent said, *"Remove Ogiek tribe from forests and counsel them on how to live with other tribes" (Que: 001-Nes-35-Kal).* Another respondent echoed almost similar views:

> *Address the issue of removing people settled in former forest land and all is well. You cannot allow one party more benefits than the other and expect peace. (Que: 076-Lar-35-Kik*).

Occupation of the forest by selected groups has led to increased competition over the scarce resource. The respondents who touched on this issue were of the opinion that those occupying forest lands should be evicted. However, in the narrative above, it is evident that the respondent viewed the Ogiek as uncultured; hence the remark that they should be *'counselled on how to live with other people'*.

Some of the respondents highlighted the fact that some communities in Njoro Sub-County considered themselves as superior to others and tended to have the monopoly of the resources. They mainly cited the Ogiek community that had occupied the forest lands and were very possessive of it. According to the respondent, it was unfair for some communities to be benefitting from the forest while others were denied access. One respondent, who was aggrieved on referring to forest land, was of the opinion that the government needs to intervene on this problem:

> *The government should take strict measures on leaders inciting communities especially by using the issue of land. Moreover, there need to be equitable distribution of resources to people and conservation of natural resources like Mau Forest. The forest has been dominated by one single community (Que: 387-Kih-35-Kik).*

While carrying out the research in the field, the researcher witnessed the animosity between the Ogiek who mainly occupied forest lands and the rest of the communities in the area. This was mainly in the language used and the tone when one community was

referring to the other. There were derogatory remarks and stereotyping. Specifically, the Ogiek saw the Kalenjin as a major threat to their occupation of the forests. On their part, the Ogiek claimed to have lived in the forests all their lives, *"...Nobody cares about us. They call us watu wa msituni" (Literal meaning in Kiswahili:* People of the forest/bush *(Que: 009-Mac-28-Og).*

History has confirmed that the Ogiek community, also referred to as the Dorobo (a derogatory Maasai term meaning 'very poor men' due to their lack of livestock), traditionally spent their lives in the forest. This being their way of life, any use of force to remove them from forests will only be met with resistance. As much as other communities feel that the Ogiek must leave the forests, the Ogiek argue that they have always lived in the forests. This highlights the importance of engaging with the subjective narratives of the different ethnic communities in Njoro Sub-County.

As noted, the disputes in Njoro are escalating to target not only communities but individuals as well. As noted slightly earlier, even those suspected of cowardice and failure to fight for community land are reprimanded by members of their own community. Numerous respondents, as captured in the two tools of research, commented about land as being central to the violence that often engulfs Njoro. These findings were in concurrence with the highlights in the literature review in Chapter 2 of this research. The problem of land has remained a major obstacle to peace within the area. With most livelihoods revolving around land, and with most people in Njoro Sub-County engaging in agricultural activities, the land factor as one of the causes of communal violence in this Sub-County cannot be ignored. In reference to land distribution in Njoro Sub-County, the 66.4% (refer to Table 4.7 in this section) respondents were dissatisfied mainly with how issues of landownership and appropriation were handled. Furthermore, the respondents cited unfairness in the way land was distributed among communities living in Njoro Sub-County. Interestingly, none of those interviewed expressed satisfaction on the amount of land allocated to members of their ethnic communities. Each community were apportioning blame on the other community. This was mainly among the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin ethnic communities. Among the Kikuyu ethnic community, land is a cherished commodity. The respondents from the Kikuyu ethnic

community justified their claim by citing the Gikuyu myth of creation. They stated that '*Ngai'* (name of God in Kikuyu) gave the first Kikuyu man (Gikuyu) and his wife (Mumbi) the land. Therefore, a Kikuyu man who does not own land is despised by his whole community. This leads to movement in search of land. Therefore, when the land they have acquired is under threat, this can lead to violent conflict. On the other hand, the Kalenjin as mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis, through their myths too hold that the Rift Valley, of which Njoro Sub-County is part, is their birth right. They, therefore, have the right to graze their animals on any land here. In addition, the Kikuyu ethnic community mainly engage in farming activities while their counterparts the Kalenjin – who are mainly pastoralists – engage in cattle rearing. When cattle are left to graze on such land, sometimes destroying the crops, tension develops. This issue is also compounded with the cultural practice of cattle raiding/cattle rustling. Such activities have created the mentality that it is acceptable to use force in getting back what one considers to be theirs. Equally, that one can take law into their own hands with impunity to take back land and property that they perceive to be their ancestral right. Emanating from these perceptions enhanced by each community's traditions, land disputes have caused tension and untold suffering among all the communities in Njoro Sub-County.

Furthermore, issues pertaining to land have contributed to food insecurity and inadequate supply of essential goods affecting sustainable development. Most importantly, land grabbing and bribery have only entrenched the violence in Njoro Sub-County. As noted in the narrative below:

> *Land grabbing. The Kalenjin will forcefully take your land even if you purchased it with sweat. Land is a serious issue. Some leaders and those with financial muscles take advantage of the violence and the migration of communities to grab property with the major focus being land (Que: 141*-Nj-30-Kik).

As demonstrated throughout this chapter, the prevailing tension in Njoro Sub- County is rooted in misunderstandings and competition over resources among communities. Politicians are accused of propagating and inciting violence especially by using the issue of land. Hence, the bitterness of communities when governments fail to address their genuine concerns but instead deploys the police to fight them. Equally, most of the

respondents claimed that some of the communities in Njoro Sub-County sell their land to the other communities and later claim it back. They supported this narrative by giving the example of the *"Ogiek community who sell land to Kipsigis but later fight back attempting to evict them"* (Que: 146-Nj-30-Kis). They further indicated that the politicians were the culprit of inciting the Ogiek to take their land back, if need be by force:

> *Land ownership. Land is taken very seriously here. Mashamba sio mchezo. There is also inadequate resource distribution. This together with announcement of elections brings bitterness. It is chaotic here you know (IS: 010-Kik).*

4.3.8 Other Causes of Communal Violence in Njoro

In order to capture the different factors related to the unending violence in Njoro, the respondents were given an open-ended question that was earlier cited in section 4.3.4, *'In your view, are there other causes of violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County not captured in the Questionnaire?'* Different forms of violence such as discrimination featured prominently. Trends of leaders' practise of favouritism and exclusion were highlighted. It is such kind of exclusion that Branch, (2011) has discussed in section 2.5.2. Even in areas where economic growth has been realised, distribution of resources has been skewed leaving the 'unlucky communities' suffering. Enjoying the fruits of independence has not been easy for those whose kith and kin are not in the positions of leadership. As well as these, suspicion among communities due to selective distribution of resources was also noted during the research. One respondent from Mauche shared, "*Yes. There is* i*mbalanced sharing of resources within the county. The communities left out feel bitter and are always suspicious of each other – for instance who is going to get more resources from the County officials*" (Que: 338-Mac-28-Kal). Another respondent from among the Ogiek in a narrative shared earlier in this section reiterated their grievance when he shared that:

> *The Ogiek community is minority and other tribes win elections. Ogiek need to be considered. The Ogiek have suffered for a long time. Nobody cares about us.*

> *They call us 'watu wa msituni' literal meaning for people of the forest (Que: 009-Mac-28-Og).*

Yet, a respondent from the Kikuyu community living in Lare, had similar grievance that his people were not happy with the way the resources are distributed; *"There is poor distribution of resources e.g. land. Our people are not happy"* (Que: 100-Lar-28-Kik). Numerous respondents from across the different Wards voiced their dissatisfaction regarding sharing of resources among communities as highlighted in this narrative:

> *Unequal sharing of natural resources e.g. land, forest and human resources like employment exists. This has continued for a long period. Nobody appears concerned to bring a solution. This must be addressed* (Que: 217-Mau-28-Kik).

The manner, the expressions and the language used by the respondents when sharing their experiences had underlying festered anger, an evident indication that it was just a matter of time before more violence can erupt. The advocacy by scholars such as Galtung, (1986) that both negative and positive peace is needed, as discussed in Chapter 2, does not appear to work. In the scenario depicted here, communities are in suspicion of one another hence the presence of only negative peace. The assertion by the above respondent captures this anger when in the last few lines he states: "*This has continued for a long period. Nobody appears concerned to bring a solution. This must be addressed".*

Other factors igniting people to violence in Njoro Sub-County includes rivalry over the existing boundaries. This includes the unclear boundary between the Maasai (popularly called the Maa community) and the Kikuyu. A respondent in Mauche claimed that settling of the boundary issues affecting the Mauche and Mau Narok settlers would lead to peace in the area. He confirmed the fact that "*The boundary has not been made clear between the Maa and the Kikuyu" (Que: 328-Mac-Kal).* At this point, it is important to recapture the earlier argument regarding the differences in culture on utilisation of land and pastoralists activities such as animal husbandry. The nomadic pastoralists especially the Maasai, move with their animals to seek pasture and water. This is a cherished activity. They act violently if anyone is in opposition to their movement or allowing

their animals graze in any land as they move. As noted in Chapter 2, pastoralists are aggressive when one interferes with pasture and water which helps in the survival of their animals. According to the Maa community, there is nothing wrong with people moving to different areas and animals eating grass that they view as growing naturally. Therefore, boundaries 'do not exist'. This situation of unclear boundaries is a cause of tension especially among the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin communities who are the key actors in Njoro Sub-County's communal violence. These findings are supported by the arguments of scholars like Steve (2017) as well as Osuga et al. (2020) as captured in section 2.5.1 of this thesis. While Osuga et al claim that the different ethnic communities live in particular areas segregated from other communities; Steve has opined that the boundaries established by the British to divide Kenyan communities have had serious negatve effects.

In addition to the above causes to the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County is the abuse of alcohol and drugs. This was noted in the narrative of one of the respondents to the question, '*What measures have been put in place by government?'* one of the respondents narrated:

> *Emphasize on peaceful co-existence. This has been done through use of media, barazas and so on. But government must tame politicians. Politicians at times buy 'pombe' and even drugs to the youth. This way, they are enticed into the violence. Discouragement of hate speech must be emphasized and incitement must also be discouraged* (IS: 015-Og).

'Pombe' is the Kiswahili word for alcohol. Although the government has been keen on addressing the problem of alcohol abuse, brewing of traditional brew is part of what communities have embraced from their forefathers. Customs such as marriages and circumcision have been celebrated with traditional brews. Traditional brews are highly regarded especially among the Kalenjin. Getting an alternative to *'pombe'* requires sobriety and engaging the communities living in Njoro. Education on why people should shun drunkenness is necessary. Advocacy cannot succeed in an environment where armed police personnel are sent to calm down communities.

Another respondent while responding to this question said:

> *Politicians should stop incitements and instead the government, both National and County, should offer job opportunities for the youth in order to stop idleness that brings such cases of robberies/stealing and killings. It is also such youth that engage in illicit brews and taking of drugs* (Que: 363-Mac-35-Kal).

Further, from other responses, there was general perception that ideological differences of the communities within Njoro, coupled with the different political opinions of leaders in the area made matters worse as the narrative below demonstrates:

> *You know, the biggest problem here despite everything else are Kikuyu and Kalenjin misunderstandings. These two groups have differed for long. We have also had ideological differences between communities. The Kalenjin do not accept the Ogiek. Kalenjin and Kikuyu have also had serious differences lasting many years* (IS: 007-Og).

While addressing other causes of communal violence other than the ones outlined in the survey questionnaire, a respondent stated that "*differences in the society i.e. ideological differences" need to be addressed if communal violence has to stop here (Que: 370-Kih-Ot).* The above responses point to serious cultural differences that would require the attention of the government. The fact that these differences have existed for decades means that they are entrenched in the communities. More importantly, solving ideological differences would require well planned interventions that bring all the major stakeholders on board. Added to the historic differences as narrated by most respondents, the volatile situation in Njoro Sub-County has kept flaring up leading to constant violent conflicts.

As evidenced from the views expressed in this research, elections have been at the centre of the violence in Kenya and Njoro Sub-County is not an exception. Elections are more of a trigger than the cause of violence as highlighted in Chapter 2 of this thesis. As also indicated in Table 4.5 in section 4.3.9 later in this section, 50.1% of respondents had the perception that the outbreak of violence in Njoro Sub-County had links with elections. This is verified by one of the respondents during the interview that shared:

Njoro is a good place, but political instigations have caused divisions. In Njoro, as early as the dates for the next elections are announced, ethnic sentiments start with communities starting to arm themselves (IS: 004-Kik).

In conclusion, after analysing the different narratives of the respondents on the causes of communal violence bedevilling Njoro Sub-County, the next question dealt with the frequency of communal violence in the location of this study.

4.3.9 The Frequency of Communal Violence in Njoro

In dealing with events and occurrences, there is need to understand the trends that are involved. In the case of Njoro Sub-County, the research addressed the occurrence of communal violence by giving the respondents four choices which included, 'Every election year', 'Unpredictable', 'Every year' and 'Rarely happens'. Table 4.5 below is a summary of the different responses that were captured.

Table 4.5: Frequency of Communal Violence

Respondents on frequency of communal violence		
	Frequency	**Percent**
Every election year	200	50.1%
Unpredictable	169	42.4%
Every year	3	0.8%
Rarely happens	27	6.8%
Total	**399**	**100%**

From the responses above, the situation in Njoro Sub-County is fluid. 50.1% of respondents (as captured in Table 4.5 above) show that violence takes place every election year. Following the pattern of the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, as earlier portrayed in the narratives of the respondents, this follows then that Njoro Sub-County will continue to experience violence each election year. There is need therefore, for effective peace-building approaches to deal with the root causes of the violence to prevent further violence. This is well evidenced in Table 2.1 in Chapter two where the outcome of elections follows ethnic patterns (community geographical trends). Important to note is that it would seem from the respondents' narratives that election violence is not spontaneous but a well-planned, organised and properly funded activity by powerful politicians.

Furthermore, 42.4% of the respondents (Table 4.5 above) indicated that communal violence is unpredictable. This means that any of the factors cited which include ethnicity, land issues, boundaries and elections can trigger violence in Njoro Sub-County at any time and without early warning. 3(0.8%) respondents indicated that the violence took place every year. Curiously, 27(6.8%) respondents showed that violence rarely happens. The researcher was interested in finding out why a number of respondents selected this option by checking on the reason for their choice. It was evident that some of the respondents in this group were referring to the current negative peace situation in Njoro Sub-County. Therefore, in addressing communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, it would be important to re-think the peace-building approaches that are currently in place and capture their conceptualisation of peace and violence.

Having looked at the timings of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, the next area of focus was the major actors in the violence.

4.3.10 The Main Actors in Njoro's Communal Violence

In dealing with an issue, it is important to understand it in all its dimensions. It is, therefore, of importance that one understands the different actors and the role each plays in the violence taking place. The nature of the violence in Njoro Sub-County is such that

different actors are involved with some playing more active roles than others. Respondents were asked to name those actively involved in fighting and inciting communal violence. This was done in light of the fact that identification of the various actors is a key factor in addressing the violence.

All the 16 respondents interviewed blamed the youth and politicians as the key people in fuelling communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. While the youth were faulted for taking part in active violence, politicians, as cited in earlier sub-sections, were accused of inciting the youth and fanning the violence by supplying weapons and keeping the violence alive.

Multiple respondents shared of politicians not only inciting the youth through inciting them to violence but also buying weapons and paying the youth to take part in it. This confirms the information in the literature review captured earlier on formation of criminal gangs along ethnic lines. These groups receive support from their communities and the politicians.

One respondent shared this:

> *Moneyed Kalenjin politicians fund the youth. Our youth easily fall for the money dished out by politicians. Unemployment is high here. Most of the youth are idle. They will do anything to occupy themselves and also get money (IS: 002-Kik).*

These words highlight the reason why the youth have been at the centre of conflicts not only in Njoro Sub-County, but as pointed out in Chapter 2, in the whole country, Kenya as well. Each of the major ethnic communities which are inclusive of the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Kisii and Ogiek blamed the youth from the different communities as opposed to their own. They stated that they were not only the perpetuators of the communal violence but also continued to stimulate it. Blame and counter-blame were common as the researcher moved from one community to the other. The general view, however, was that politicians were the architects of the communal violence.

Interestingly, waging violence was blamed on both genders. The women and girls were noted for castigating the youth and men that they perceived to be cowards because they

were not ready to fight the enemy. Apart from women encouraging the fighters through songs meant to inspire them, women were accused of assisting in hiding the fighters and further supplying them with food and weapons which they concealed on their bodies. One respondent shared:

> *Definitely the youth but this comes due to pressure. Women have in several cases been to blame. Niui atumia metaga aria matarathii mbaraini iguoya? Maita maingi nio matumaga mbaara ithii na mbere. Ona nimahithaga matharaita nguoni ciao na gutwara mbaraini. Ni hinya atumia gwiciririo ni mundu ati ni mari uuru (IS: 016-Kik).*
>
> (Literal translation from Kikuyu: "Definitely the youth but this comes due to pressure. Women have in several cases been to blame. Do you know that women refer to those not joining in the fighting as cowards? In many cases, it is them (women) who make the violence to escalate. They even hide weapons under their clothing and transport the same to fighting zones. It is hard for women to be suspected of harbouring anything bad").

These words uttered in Kikuyu language portray women as playing a major role in communal violence. Since women are assumed to be innocent and are often treated as victims and not perpetrators of violence, they help supply fighters with weapons without suspicion. This contributes to escalation of violence. Similar views as cited here were shared by another respondent portraying the female gender as playing a major role in communal violence. When answering the question posed earlier, the retired church elder answered:

> *Ah! Who else? It is youths, especially males between 15-35 years. However, women- the young females are used to carry goods stolen from other communities using donkeys* (IS: 011-Kik).

It was interesting to find out the fact that women played a critical role in communal violence as this was largely missing in the theoretical literature captured in the earlier chapters.

Equally, the elders who would be expected to broker peace were also cited as key to the violence in Njoro Sub-County. When asked who was to blame for the violence in Njoro, one respondent shared this:

> *The youth but elders back them. Unajua, saa ngine wazee ntio shida. Ni wazee anachochea vijana. Wengine amesahau uongosi na kuwa watu ya fita (IS: 009-Og).*
>
> Kiswahili -with first language interference- for "You see at times the elders are the problem. They are the ones that incite the youths. Some of them have forgotten their leadership roles and have become warlords."

Another respondent shared, *"Young men. Adult men. These are the most dangerous. Hatari!"* Kiswahili for *'dangerous'* (IS: 004-Kik).

The lady respondent IS: 004-Kik confirmed that elders are the key culprit for inciting the youth to violence. The elderly who under normal circumstances should appear as custodians of peace were mentioned as getting involved in the violence by putting pressure on the youth to engage in violence in the name of safeguarding the community. It would seem, from the above narratives, that respondents are questioning the moral authority of the leaders and/or elders who as respected members of the community are expected to be role models for the community.

In the survey questionnaire, open-ended question: *'Which groups of people are involved in violent conflicts in this Sub-County?'* The different respondents apportioned blame to different conflict actors with some mentioning more than one actor. The segregation depicted in Chapter 2 and which is evident in Njoro to date could explain why blames and counter-blames are common. This brings to the fore the need for the Peace-Building from below that brings all stakeholders on board. As a result, this will lead to empathy among different communities' members. Further, this would address the use of derogatory terminologies that were noted among the communities living in Njoro Sub-County.

Majority of the respondents highlighted the youth and politicians as the key actors. More importantly, communal violence in Njoro Sub-County cannot be attributed to one single actor. All, including boys and what some referred to as 'hired goons', take part in active violence leading to atrocities. Although the general view was that politicians and the youth are the perpetrators of violence, some indicated that different categories of people are engaged in violence, for instance, the women in some communities who feed, incite and encourage their husbands and sons to go to war and even hide weapons for them. This highlights the importance of engaging women and the youth as active members at the different levels of the peace-building process.

4.4 Impacts of Communal Violence

Having addressed the causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, and in line with the second objective of the study, the next was the impacts of communal violence. A look at the impacts of communal violence assists in identifying the most appropriate approach to peace-building. The impacts were categorised into three: the general impacts of the violence on essential sectors, on the food security and finally on the supply of goods in Njoro Sub-County. Further, to capture any additional information, the respondents were asked: '*What in your opinion are the additional effects of these conflicts not mentioned in the survey questionnaire?'* These three categories are analysed in detail in the following sub-sections.

4.4.1 The Impacts of Communal Violence on Essential Sectors

Under the above sub-heading, respondents were given four essential sectors that have been affected by communal violence and were asked to select all those that apply. These were market accessibility, health services accessibility, access to education and the rise in the cost of living. Table 4.6 below is a graphic of the responses and the percent of cases that mentioned each category.

Table 4.6: Impacts of Communal Violence on Essential Sectors

How are essential sectors affected by communal violence?			
Essential sectors	**N**	**Percent of Responses**	**Percent of Cases**
Market accessibility	373	26.0%	94.2%
Health services	344	24.0%	86.9%
Access to education	358	25.0%	90.4%
Rise in cost of living	358	25.0%	90.4%
Total **396(99.2%) valid cases** **3(0.8%) missing cases**	**1433**	**100%**	**361.9%**

Figures do not add up to 100 percent - a multiple response question

From the figures indicated in Table 4.6 above, communal violence was noted to have an impact on the essential services such as 'market accessibility' which was the most selected of all the options that apply by 373/396 respondents (94.2% of the total 361.9% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 26.0% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown. This was equally supported by respondents during the interviews who claimed that they could not access the various commodities including basic necessities such as food. Thus as argued by Bora et al., (2010) in Chapter 1 of this Thesis, people lack food not because production is poor but because accessing it becomes a problem. Just like the cases of U.S.A and Thailand as discussed by Allard et al., (2017) and Wangthamrong, (2010) respectively in section 1.1 of this thesis, the communities in Njoro suffer self-inflicted hunger. As noted during the research several respondents linked the inaccessibility of markets to low economic

growth in Njoro Sub-County. One respondent while addressing the same question shared:

> *Poverty strikes. Business transactions are interfered with. We can't open our shops and other businesses. Everything suffers. You want something but you can't get it. Violence can be terrible (Que: 226-Mau-30-Kik).*

Yet another stated that:

> *There is loss of lives and injuries. Many people are killed in the fighting. Some are frustrated and contemplate suicide. Also, people do not go to some places to get commodities due to insecurity and fear thus they experience famine and hunger (IS: 009-Og).*

As numerous respondents pointed out, the standard of living in Njoro has been lowered by communal violence which has affected market accessibility. The lack of food and other goods featured prominently from almost every single respondent. Terminologies such as 'starvation and hunger'and 'slow economic growth' point to the suffering of the people due to inability to access goods and markets. The scenario created in Njoro Sub-County is the replica of the sufferings discussed by Beachler (2007) in section 2.3.3 in the Literature Review. As Najar (2014) adds in hia argument in Chapter 2, communities have been left deeply divided. Such situations lead to grievances from the members of the different communities and sometimes greed especially when some ethnic communities are incited mostly by their leaders to exclude others within Njoro Sub-County. As supported by the Human Security Theory in Chapter 2, security of the people should be the focus of any government. More importantly, when the people are suffering different wants such as food insecurity, it does not matter whether the security of the State does or does not exist.

The next sectors that were most selected were education and the rising cost of living which were selected by 358/396 respondents each (90.4% of the total 598.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 25.0% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.6 above in this section. Starting with 'access to education', the respondents highlighted that during violent conflicts in Njoro

Sub-County, schools and other institutions of learning become a problem. For instance, one respondent shared:

> *Our people are killed. In this place, people are displaced. Oh brother! Food stores are burnt. Livestock is stolen and killed. Oh my! Schools are closed. Just imagine even churches are closed (IS: 004-Kik).*

This view was supported by another respondent from a different community from the above who said:

> *People are killed. Schools are closed down. A lot does happen including people being evicted from their homes and houses being burnt. You see a completely different Njoro when fighting starts. You can't like it Sir (IS:007-Og).*

Furthermore, the respondents noted that their children cease to go to school due to fear and insecurity and yet at the end of the year, they will sit the same examinations with other children from other parts of Kenya who are not affected by the violence. This was perceived as a human rights issue where children are disadvantaged due to violence. The scenario depicted here is similar to the case of Mount Elgon as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. In this case, children were denied opportunities to learn and play in schools.

The narrative below captures this view:

> *The economic well-being of the people is affected. Further, closure of schools does happen. This affects education of children. Many days of learning get consumed by the violence that at times goes even for months. These children are expected to sit the same exams as the rest. This is very unfair (IS: 004-Kik).*

The above verifies the claims of Wangeci et al., (2014) that communal violence has compromised education in Kenya. This is in agreeement again with McGaha-Garnett (2013), section 2.3.3, that communal violence does affect major sectors like education through absenteeism, closure of learning institutions and destruction of the same. Affecting the education sector ultimately compromises the future of the countries where it takes place.

In addition, the 'rise in the cost of living' which was selected by a similar percent of cases as noted earlier, had an effect on the people and their lives. One of the respondents captured this by stating the fact that *"There is general decline in economic growth. Tumekuwa watu bure sisi" (IS: 010-Kik)* (Literal meaning from Kiswahili: "We have become useless people.") and supported by another who shared that *"The economic well-being of people is affected"* (IS: 004-Kik). Also from the different respondents, we capture the following narratives:

> *Loss of lives occurs. There is also destruction of property. You cry when things are set on fire. Jasho ya miaka mingi inawekwa moto.* Ah! Food stores are burned. Livestock is stolen. A lot does happen during violence in Njoro (IS: 011-Kik).*
>
> *(Literal translation from Kiswahili: "Sweat for many years have all gone to flames")

Most importantly, the scenario painted from the numerous respondents is that of a people whose standards of living have been affected. As a result, the people are disillusioned and traumatised and may suffer from mental disorder. This supports the arguments in section 2.3.3 of this research.

The respondents also stressed on the effect communal violence had on health services. The respondents in selecting all the options that apply chose 'Health services'. This was selected by 344/396 respondents (86.9% of the total 598.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 24.0% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.6 above in this section. One elderly respondent captures the effects communal violence has on key sectors especially the health sector in Nesuit, one of the Wards in Njoro Sub-County:

> *Getting to health centres is out of the question. Diseases e.g pneumonia attack young kids. Immorality cases cause things like rape. Even killings are common during violence. In general, many deaths occur. The youth die in the fighting while the aged, children and others fail to get medical attention. War is bad (IS: 013-Kal)!*

The above narrative was supported by a respondent from Mau Narok, another Ward in Njoro Sub-County:

> *As poverty increases there are diseases such as stress, high blood pressure, depression and others. People lack self-esteem while mistrust and self-efficacy increase. A feeling of being side-lined for not being a member of the right tribe, right political party etc. takes place* (Que: 217-Mau-30-Kik).

Interestingly, the respondents also pointed out that during the time of violence, water sources are diverted so that some ethnic communities - considered to be intruders - do not have access to it. Equally, that others poison the water sources leading to illness and sometimes to death of people, animals and also plants. This was confirmed by one of the chiefs, a woman, who pointed out:

> *There is displacement of people from their land. People die. Infrastructures like roads are destroyed. Water sources are diverted. At times, the water is poisoned, and food destroyed. Poverty level rises… (IS: 002-Kik)*

More importantly, damaging of roads compounds the problem with a number of areas remaining inaccessible even when calm is temporarily restored. Destroying infrastructure has an effect not only on the residents but also on interveners coming in to broker peace. This is similar to the case of Ethiopia captured earlier in the literature review.

The respondents further argued that, similar to health services, people have to contend with hard life as every sector is affected with even water being divereted or poisoned. There is increase of illnesses and deaths.

4.4.2 Ways in Which Communal Violence Affect Food Security

The respondents exposed to the survey questionnaire were given six choices and were free to select as many as apply. This was in reference to the ways in which communal violence affects food security. Table 4.7 below shows the responses.

Table 4.7: Effects of communal violence on food security

How communal violence affect food security			
Effects on food security	**N**	**Percent response**	**Percent Cases**
Shortage of food	358	17.7%	89.9%
Widespread destruction of roads	355	17.6%	89.2%
Burning of crops	334	16.6%	83.9%
Killing animals (donkey)*	247	12.2%	62.1%
People migrating in large numbers	360	17.8%	90.5%
Unsafe transport routes	364	18.0%	91.5%
Total **398(99.7%) valid cases** **1(0.3%) missing cases**	**2018**	**100.00%**	**507.0%**

Figures do not add up to 100 percent - a multiple response question

***Donkeys are used as a means of transport for goods and water*

'Unsafe transport routes' and 'people migrating in large numbers' were the two most selected options of those choices that apply. The most selected was 'unsafe transport routes' by 364/398 respondents (91.5% of the total 507.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 18.0% responses out of the total 100%. The second most selected option was 'people migrating in large numbers'. As a result, farms were left unattended; there was burning of food in food stores and also leaving a considerable number of traumatised populations needing humanitarian aid for a time. This option was selected by 360/398 respondents (90.5% of the total 507.0% cases). The

proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 17.8% responses out of the total 100%. Equally, in the post-conflict setting, such people would need counselling and assistance to deal with trauma before they could resume their daily activities. The sharing sums up the extent to which communal violence affects people, animals and even crops. These selections were supported by some of the respondents that participated in the interviews as they highlighted the extent of the destruction during the time of violent conflicts. As noted in this narrative in Kiswahili, "*Watu anakufa. Ni hasara tupu tugu. Kila kitu anaharibiwa. Jagura, mnyama, pinatamu na kadhalika* (IS*: 009-Og). (*Literal translation from Kiswahili with first language interference: "People die. It is total loss brother. Everything is destroyed. These include food, animals, and human beings and so on). This is also supported by another respondent who shares on what else happens: *"They move to their original homes (reserves). No job" (Que:246-Mau-33-Kik);* and yet another, *"Migration from their homes. People run for their dear lives" (Que: 260-Mau-33-Kik).*

More specifically, during the forced migration, women suffer more as they are left with the burden of shielding their children and the elderly from violence, providing for them and at times helping their men and sons that are engaged in the violence by providing the food supplies. For example, one respondent claimed:

> *Violence makes life hard especially for women. They have to take care of the family and provide for the men involved in fighting. They take care of the elderly population. They also contain the youth at home and making them busy (IS: 003-Kik).*

In Chapter 1 of this Thesis, Cilliers, (2018) avers that migrations of communities coming about from communal violence is detrimental to lives especially those of wives and children. Insecurity increases turning away investors and people who would develop the economy and prosper nations.

As shown in Table 4.7 above in this section, 'shortage of food' was the third most selected option of those choices that apply. This was selected by 358/398 respondents (89.9% of the total 507.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this

category was 17.7% responses out of the total 100% responses. The high percent of cases that chose this option may be evident in the narratives captured especially in the interviews. For instance, most of those interviewed shared that during the violence in Njoro Sub-County many farmers were maimed, traumatised or killed leading to food shortage and also had a bearing on food security. It is such kind of situation that Cilliers, (2018) in Chapter 2 refers to as self-inflicted food shortage brought about by violence. Safarpour et al., (2020) in the section 2.3.2 calls it manipulation of food. Deliberate efforts are done to make people vulnerable. This is contrary to what Human Security Theory advocates. The security of a people is more crucial to that of the state. Security of a people entails being provided with the basic necessities of life. Equally, in Njoro Sub-County, whatever crops they had would either be burned in the farms or in the stores. 'Burning of crops' was one of the selected options of those choices that apply. This was selected by 334/398 respondents (83.9% of the total 507.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 16.6% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.7 above in this section. The narrative of this female Chief corroborates the views expressed by the other respondents: *Oh brother, food stores are burned. Livestock is stolen and killed. People lose their property and turn into beggars. Nothing gets spared (IS: 002-Kik).*

According to the respondents, property that took many years to amass gets ruined within seconds. Inaccessibility of food due to widespread violence in the different parts of Njoro Sub-County has left people vulnerable and undergoing untold suffering. The sufferings faced by the communities living in Njoro Sub-County are a true reflection of the sufferings brought about by communal violence as captured in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

As pointed out by majority of the respondents, the killing and maiming of farmers together with the destruction of infrastructure goes hand in hand with the burning of crops in the field. The crops in the farms and in the storage barns are destroyed as well. As mentioned earlier in this section, this has compromised and complicated the food situation in Njoro Sub-County. According to most of the respondents, while in Kenya the food insecurity is generally due to climate change, in their Sub-County, this is due to

the violence that is cyclic. In fact, they stated that they were also to blame for their own suffering. Njoro Sub-County, similar to the case of the U.S.A discussed in Chapter 2, suffers food insecurity due to violence despite the area being productive.

Apart from the killing and maiming of farmers, destruction of property and burning of crops, the respondents pointed at the 'widespread destruction of infrastructure' especially of roads which had a huge impact on food security in Njoro Sub-County. This was selected as an option by 355/398 respondents (89.2% of the total 507.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 17.6% responses out of the total 100% responses. Apart from the effect it had on food security, it also hampered movement of both people and goods. For instance, a respondent confirmed that there was, *"Poor standard of living due to destruction of infrastructure and properties"* (Que: 243-Mau-30-Kik). Another respondent supported this narrative by pointing out that, *"Financial status of people lowered due to destruction of infrastructure and homesteads" (Que: 166-Nj-30-Kik).*

More importantly, destruction of infrastructure has been linked with reduction of trade and businesses in Njoro Sub-County. From the numerous voices of the respondents, the destruction ultimately has adverse effects on people's livelihoods leaving them vulnerable to an extent that they adopt a dependant's status. Destruction ofinfrastructure especially roads concurs with the view expressed by Clarke, (2015) that communal violence spares nothing. It makes transport difficult adding to the miseries affecting the different communities.

Additionally, domestic animals especially the donkeys were killed during the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. Notably, killing of animals (especially donkeys) was selected as an options among those provided by 247/398 respondents (62.1% of the total 507.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 12.2% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.7 above in this section. Donkeys are used to transport crops such as dry maize once it is harvested from the fields. They can also be used as a means of transport to take goods to the market. Killing them therefore means that it will have an effect on food security and also contribute to the delay or failure in transportation of the goods to the markets.

Related to the factors on food security is migration and neglecting farms as a result of the outbreak of violence. Multiple respondents, as has already been captured in different narratives, mentioned 'fear' - due to communal violence - as a factor to food insecurity as people are afraid to engage in the daily activities or even to leave their homes unattended. Furthermore, in order to save their lives, many other people migrate in large numbers, thus neglecting their farms as pointed in the narrative below:

> *Imagine people migrate to the neighbourhood and churches. People are full of fear. You can't remain in your home. It is a serious thing. People seek government intervention. Some engage in fighting and yet others migrate to the neighbourhood. In other instances, they raise alarm to call neighbours for help. Wakati huo huwa kimeumana sana* (IS: 014-Kik).*
>
> *Literal translation from Kiswahili 'At that time, the situation is out of control'.

This complicates the food security problem further. Those migrating, as respondents claimed, leave crops and animals untended. As a result, this hampers economic growth not only in Njoro Sub-County but also in its environs. The scenario depicted in Njoro Sub-County is similar to the picture painted in section 2.3.3 of Chapter 2. People who would fend for themselves are disorientated and destitute. A pastor supports this view when he declares that "there is general decline in economic growth and also concludes in Kiswahili that *"tumekuwa watu bure sisi"* (IS: 010-Kik) which in English literal translation is "the residents of Njoro have become nobodies" Thus, despite the fact that Njoro Sub-County is a potentially rich area in terms of agriculture, communal violence has turned people into dependants as noted in the narrative below:

> *My dear…our people are killed…Oh brother, food stores are burned. Livestock is stolen and killed. People lose their property and are turned into beggars. Nothing gets spared (IS: 002-Kik).*

In order to further understand the phenomenon of food security in Njoro Sub-County, the respondents were asked to rate the sharing of resources during times of peace and at the times of violence. Table 4.8 below shows sharing of resources (including food)

being low during violence while the reverse happens during peace. Respondents were given questions using the Likert scale ranging from ‘very high’ to ‘very low’. Table 4.8 below displays the contrast of the two periods. Equally, Table 4.10 that follows later shows inflation of prices as well as hoarding of goods during violence as opposed to the situation during peace.

Table 4.8 Sharing of Resources

Respondents on sharing resources during time of peace and violence		
Ranking	**Percentage during peace**	**Percentage during violence**
Very high	20.6%	2.0%
High	23.8%	2.3%
Average	44.9%	14.3%
Very low	7.0%	22.6%
Low	3.8%	58.9%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

From Table 4.8 above, it is evident that the sharing of resources shows a sharp contrast between the periods when there is peace and when there is violence in Njoro. As prices of food shoot upwards, sharing of resources reduces drastically and ushers in stiff competition. This is expected as people's resources and ability to be productive is adversely affected when there are extensive and violent conflicts. The findings based from the views of the respondents, are that the available resources are channelled towards acquisition of food among other basic needs. The resultant effect is reduction in sharing whatever little is available. The competition over resources has not only increased but has also led to self-centeredness and to some extent the stereotyping of others as 'intruders, coming to take away our meagre resources'. More importantly, in Njoro Sub-County, the reduction in sharing available resources has made the different ethnic communities to remain apart leading to increased suspicion and mistrust. This has become a precursor of tension and conflicts. Thus, despite the many years of independence, Branch's claim that many have not enjoyed the fruits of independemce discussed earlier in this thesis is true in the case of Njoro.

Additionally, the researcher used the likert scale to ask respondents to show their rating on their opinion regarding inter-communication in times of peace and violence. The options given, as in the earlier sub-theme, had a five-point scale ranging from 'very high' to 'very low'. As expected, it is evident that when there is peace in Njoro Sub-County, inter-communal communication is generally high (27.6%) as opposed to when there is violence (3.0%) as displayed in Table 4.9. below.

Table 4.9: Inter-Communal Communication

Views on inter-communal communication in times of peace and violence		
Ranking	**Percentage during peace**	**Percentage during violence**
Very high	27.6%	3.0%
High	24.6%	4.3%
Average	36.8%	15.8%
Very low	7.0%	19.3%
Low	4.0%	57.6%
Total	**100**	**100**

The rating above is supported by the narratives especially of one of the members of Nyonjoro church who shared in Kiswahili:

> *Wakati wa vita, uhusiano huwa mbaya sana. Ni chuki tupu. Hata majirani wa siku nyingi hawaongei hasa wakiwa wa makabila tofauti. Kila mmoja huogopa isiwe ni mwenzake anamchongea (IS: 006-Kik)*
>
> (During violence, relationship between people is very poor. It is only hatred. This affects communication between long term neighbours especially if they belong to different ethnic groups. Everyone has the fear of his/her neighbour suspecting the neighbour could be a betrayer).

One respondent went further to blame elders as the cause of the poor communication and the restrained relationship between communities. When responding to the question

in reference to the people responsible for the conflicts in the Sub-County, this respondent, a respected retired Civil servant within the community, shared: *The youth but elders back them. Saa ngine wazee ntio shida. Ni wazee anachochea vijana. Wengine amesahau uongosi na kuwa watu ya fita (IS: 009-Og).* The literal translation, on the part in Kiswahili with first language interference states: "other times it is the elders who are the problem. It is elders that incite the youth. Some have forgotten leadership and have become people of war".

More importantly, a majority of the respondents opined that the affected communication during violence had a further negative effect in reducing co-operation between communities. For instance, that due to this strained relationship in communities, "*The economy is hampered as trade is affected. The variance of ethnicity is noticed. Enmity is seen openly. No hiding anything" (IS: 003-Kik).* This case of Njoro Sub-County concurs with the discussion in section 2.4 of this thesis that improving ommunication between communities could reduce communal violence and subsequently encourage sharing of resources.

The study further considered the willingness of the Peace Committees to meet as this was perceived to have a link with communal violence as a result of food insecurity.

Table 4.10: Willingness of Peace Committees to Meet

Respondents' views on Peace committees		
Ranking	**Percentage during violence**	**Percentage during peace**
Very high	7.8%	15.0%
High	15.5%	29.8%
Average	21.6%	39.3%
Low	30.1%	12.0%
Very Low	25.1%	3.8%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

Similar sentiments were highlighted by respondents when addressing some of the open-ended questions. One such question was' *'What in your opinion are additional effects of these conflicts not mentioned in the survey questionnaire?'* In responding to this, one respondent shared the following - as noted earlier in this chapter:

> *Lack of security and communication between the communities. Inter-communal rivalry increases. To an Ogiek, the Kalenjin and Kikuyu are enemies. Similarly, Kikuyu and Kalenjin cannot share. You can't borrow fire from your neighbour (Que: 144-Nj-30-Kik).*

The above account clearly points to the reduced communication between the different communities residing in Njoro Sub-County. While it is not unusual that relationships can be strained during conflicts or times of violence, one key question is: Why such deep rooted divisions and challenges to co-existence among communities that have lived together for decades and even intermarried?

The researcher further probed the respondents in order to find out the possible impacts communal violence has on supply of goods in Njoro Sub-County. The respondents were given five options from which they were expected to choose all those that apply as shown in Table 4.11 below. From the selections chosen, most of the respondents chose reduced inter-communal communication as the most affected by the violent conflict. This option was selected by 365/396 respondents (92.2% of the total 419.4% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 22.0% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.11 below:

Table 4.11: How Violent Conflicts Affects Supply of Goods

Effects	**N**	**Percent response**	**Percent Case**
Refusal to share during violence	342	20.6%	86.4%
Reduced inter-communal communication	365	22.0%	92.2%
Hoarding of goods after supply	278	16.7%	70.2%
Inaccessibility to some areas	342	20.6%	86.4%
Destruction of infrastructure	334	20.1%	84.3%
Total **396(99.2%) valid cases** **3(0.8%) missing cases**	**1661**	**100%**	**419.4%**

Figures do not add up to 100 percent - a multiple response question

The findings demonstrate that violent conflicts affect people's livelihoods as there is discontinuation of supply of goods due to destruction of infrastructure and also widespread insecurity in Njoro Sub-County. Some of these views are captured in the narrative below:

> *Loss of lives…There is destruction of property. You cry when things are set on fire.*Jasho ya miaka mingi inawekwa moto. Ah! Food stores are burned. Livestock is stolen. A lot does happen during violence in Njoro (IS: 011-Kik).*
>
> *(Literally translated from Kiswahili; 'The toil (sweating) that took many days is turned into ashes'.

In order to capture other additional information probably not anticipated, the respondents were given open-ended questions for instance, '*Apart from the different sectors mentioned in the Questionnaire, are there others suffering from communal violence?*' This question attracted varied responses indicating that communal violence has varied negative effects. Trade and the business sector were mentioned as some of the sectors that are most impacted. Some of the respondents' responses were, "*Transporting of goods, travelling and walking to different places is affected" (Que: 258-Mau-32-Kik); "Transport because the community bestowed with transport fear free movement" (Que: 327-Mac-32-Kal).*

The *'Boda boda'* industry, a sector that employs young people was mentioned as one of the sectors affected by communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. During the violent conflicts, some of these young people lose their jobs. As a result, they may become easy target for militia groups or politicians especially during election periods. Equally, the livelihoods of the youth and that of their families and also the country's economy are affected. This reality is captured in one of the respondents' narrative below:

> *There is burning of houses and theft of food from stores. Again, the youth become idle which is very dangerous. They are forced to be idle. Violence brings about closure of businesses. It also brings a paralysis in transport. Look at me, I have two 'boda bodas' but I earn nothing during violence. The violence has left*

people like me who worked hard to look for help elsewhere. I used to work hard. I should not suffer (IS; 016-Kik).

According to various respondents, the livestock sector equally suffers when violence breaks out. Livestock grazing gets affected as movement of herders from one point to the other while looking for pasture and feeds is rendered impossible during violence. As respondents pointed out, communities isolate themselves. Further, communities use the isolation to arm themselves and plan on how to confront their 'enemies'. Equally, communal violence hinders movement of livestock to better pasture due to fear of attacks. As a result, these animals die as evidenced in the narrative below:

Mainly deaths of people and livestock. It also affects movement of livestock from one place to another. During violence, herders are gripped with fear. Herds become famished (Que: 323-Mac-31-Og).

Further, as noted during the data collection, a number of respondents shared that religion and the opportunity to worship is affected as well. This hampers the spiritual growth of individuals and communities and often leads to lack of forgiveness and reconciliation. Other sectors such as the tourism industry were also mentioned as there is reduction of visitors to the tourist sites, and this affects not only the development of the Sub-County but generally the Nation too. Equally, an area that is affected though it is often overlooked is the building industry which offers not only employment for the jobless youth but also ensures housing for people. Those in the building construction are affected as they cannot access or buy materials due to the widespread violent conflicts. This was supported by one of the respondents who shared; *"The violence in Njoro affects construction of buildings. Prices of materials go up. Many can't afford …and also a number of casual labourers and especially the youth are then left jobless" (Que: 380-Kih-31-Kik).*

The flower industry was also mentioned, though by a handful. Referring to the flower industry, one respondent shared; *"Industries and flower farming is also affected. These are abandoned and people suffer lack of income"* (Que: 352-Mac-31-Og). Indeed, the flower sector similar to other sectors has suffered due to communal violence and this has

further compounded unemployment leading to the idleness of the people especially the youth. Equally, it has contributed to loss of livelihoods for different households leading sometimes to gender violence especially against women. Notwithstanding, due to loss of employment, the youth become easy target to politicians who incite them to engage in violence, as noted earlier in this chapter, especially during the election period.

From the narratives of the respondents, the Sports sector is also affected by the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. When for instance, asked to mention the other sectors affected by violence, a respondent wrote *"Sports and culture" (Que: 097-Njo-31-Ot).* Youth are left idle as they cannot participate in Sports during violence. Equally, the industries – which similar to the *'boda boda'* industry employ a number of youth shut down during violence leaving them jobless and frustrated or traumatised. Could this be the reason why most of the respondents were quick to blame the youth more than any other group for the violence in Njoro Sub-County?

4.4.3 Further Effects of Communal Violence

In a bid to capture all the effects of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, respondents were asked, *'What in your opinion are additional effects of these conflicts not mentioned in the survey questionnaire?'* Again, this attracted varied responses. The institution of marriage suffered a lot due to violence. Breaking of marriages featured quite prominently. Statements such as, *"Tribal hatred and family separations"* (Que:120-Njo-30-Kis) and *"Family breakdown"* (Que:071-Lar-30-Kik) were rampant. In an environment where the economy is shaken by unending violence, it is not uncommon to have shake-ups in the family. Stress and disorder occasioned by economic hardships and psychological torture have led to unstable families. Further, family gatherings are at their lowest during violence. When family gatherings reduce, bonding and bridging is adversely affected. As discussed by Silove et al., (2014) in section 2.3.3 of Chapter 2, mental problems develop as well as high rates of divorce cases. Equally, people become more vulnerable especially those that were self independent and fended for their families before the violent conflicts began.

A respondent supported this view as evidenced in this account:

> *There is breach of communication in almost every social set up. Every attention goes into the violence taking place. Tribal hatred and family separations arise. The time to socialize is taken away. Time and resources are directed to war and one's own safety (IS: 001-Kal).*

Bearing in mind that the family is the backbone of the society, disintegration of the families in Njoro Sub-County cannot be ignored. The future of the communities residing in the Sub-County, and in extension the country, is at stake.

Deaths of parents during violence were adversely mentioned. *"…..Watu anakufa sana…." (IS: 009-Og)* Kiswahili for 'people die in large numbers' was mentioned by one respondent while another claimed:

> *Deaths occur in masses. We have lost a lot of people. During violence, bodies lie everywhere in Njoro. The place looks like a slaughterhouse. Children are orphaned! Deaths! Deaths and deaths! It is traumatizing… (IS: 005-Kik)*

The respondents also associated the rise in orphaned children in Njoro Sub-County to communal violence. Equally, the respondents pointed out that the death of parents had contributed to school dropout or non-attendance in schools. Additionally, orphaned children lagged behind in education. More importantly, through death of parents, children are forced to adulthood roles with a number becoming the heads of households. Also, some grandparents especially grandmothers are left to care for their grandchildren with meagre or no resources as some of them are vulnerable and dependant on the government assistance. This concurs with the deaths documented by the in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis (Waki, 2008). As noted in Chapter 2, the larger Molo where Njoro Sub-County was carved from in 2010 has been the epicentre of communal violence leading to many people dying. The number of deaths, injuries and displacements mentioned in section 1.1 of this Thesis attest to this.

Furthermore, in reference to other effects of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, respondents shared on how these has contributed to the decay in moral values and ethos

due to the rise in gender based violence especially to women and girls who are often defiled, raped and suffer intimate partner violence. Some of the views on gender violence is expressed in the following narratives: "*There is violence against women especially rape of girls and women"* Que: 118 Nj-030-Kal, "*Early marriages and spread of STDs increases*" Que: 176 Nj-030-Kik and *"We have witnessed increase in rape and defilement in our Sub-County and also marriages breaking. This is really an embarrassment to our culture"* Que: 289 Mau-030-Kik.

Further, it emerged that as a result of communal violence, the people living with disabilities and the elderly, as demonstrated earlier, suffer a great deal when violence breaks out. Given their physical attributes, they are unable to move fast and run away when violence takes place. This is well captured by one of the male pastors of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) church:

> *Yes, the special groups of people are neglected by their families during the wars". These are mainly the elderly and those that are very sick. (Que: 214-Mau-31-Kik).*

The majority of respondents mentioned multiple effects of communal violence. Among the other effects of communal violence mentioned by the respondents are blocking of roads, polluting of rivers, poisoning of livestock and water, theft, burning of houses as well as planning for revenge. Hence, this can lead to further violence. Some of the effects such as poisoning of livestock and water have given a new dimension to the violence taking place in Kenya (Njoro Sub-County). This shows the unique nature of Kenya hence the need to design peace-building with the local comunities in mind. It is important to note that such unique activities are not mentioned in the literature review in this thesis.

As has been articulated, some communities start 'importing fighters' while others start relocating. While responding to what happens and the peoples' responses to communal violence, a respondent said: *Also, people do not go to some places to get commodities thus famine and hunger (IS: 009-Og).*

> *There is major displacement of communities and deaths … There is migration to safer places. In many occasions, government intervenes by sending in troops (IS: 015-Kal).*

Although, the above immediate respondent expected the government of Kenya to address the different causes of violence especially on the land issue, for sustainable peace to materialise, there is need for all in Njoro Sub-County to find effective ways of addressing the issues together. A model such as employed by the late Bishop Korir (Chapter 2 of this thesis) would be an appropriate starting point. The late Bishop Cornelius Korir engaged the different parties in the communities and also the different leaders in aim of brokering peace and addressing the root causes to communal violence in the Eldoret area. As a result, before his death in October 2017, the Kalenjin, the Marakwet and the Pokot communities had embraced peace.

It was revealed that some of the people who are lucky to escape dying in violence take their own lives. According to some respondents, for some victims of the violence in Njoro, they opted to commit suicide due to the frustrations especially emanating from their experiences and observation as their own and other's property that took many years to amass is destroyed. This is supported by at least two narratives where one of the respondents points out that, "*Others get heart attacks while some commit suicide after losing hope. Some survivors move to start life elsewhere (Que: 242-Mau-33-Kik).* While another shared:

> *There is loss of lives and injuries. Many are killed in the fighting. There is poverty and deaths. Starvation and hunger also take place. Some are frustrated and contemplate suicide (IS: 007-Og).*

4.4.4 The Types of Weapons Used

From the onset of the research, a need to understand not only the causes and impacts of the violence but also the type of weapons used was in the offing. There was a feeling that this was the best way of addressing communal violence exhaustively. The research

gave special attention to the weapons used during communal violence in the area under investigation. This was intended to get a deeper understanding of the nature of the violence from its different angles. The respondents were given 3 (three) options to choose from. Interestingly, the number of those who chose 'use of guns' among all the options that apply were 124/399 respondents (31.1% of the total 217.8% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 14.2% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.12 below:

Table 4.12: The Type of Weapons Used During Violence in Njoro

Types of weapons used in violent conflicts			
Type of weapons	**N**	**Percent responses**	**Percent Case**
Use of bows and arrows used	390	44.9%	97.7%
Use of swords	355	40.9%	89.0%
Use of guns	124	14.2%	31.1%
Total **399(100%) valid cases** **0(0.0%) missing cases**	**869**	**100.0%**	**217.8%**

It is important here to note the percentage of cases that chose the option 'use of guns' from the list of those that apply is of interest. The reason is that these guns are in the hands of civilian population raising the issue of insecurity and the acquisition of these guns as noted by Kyalo, (2015) in section 2.5.2 of Chapter 2. As shown in the map indicated Appendix III, Njoro is in the area marked 'medium' in terms of availability of illegal arms. The porous borders displayed in Appendix IV have led to increased acquisition of illegal fire-arms in the hands of civilians. Equally, there exist gaps in the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process in Njoro Sub-County. This has created vulnerability among communities due to widespread insecurity due to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. In addition, the respondents were given an open-ended question; '*Are there other types of weapons used during communal violence other than what is captured here?'*

Many other types of weapons were mentioned. These included use of axes, machetes, homemade bombs, use of the dog to attack 'enemies', catapults, torching of houses, use of stones, use of clubs and spears, petrol bombs, knives, daggers, sharp sticks, nails planted along routes of the 'enemy' among others. Others included the use of fire to burn property which included crop fields, theft in a bid to weaken the opponents and force them into submission, fist fights, leaflets to incite and cause fear, propaganda and rumours, poisoning water sources, lies and cold war, and the blocking of roads. These are captured in the narratives shown below:

Table 4.13: Respondents on other types of weapons

Are there any other weapons used during communal violence?	
Respondents	**Respondents on the types of 'weapons'**
Que: 007-Nj-34-Kal	*Fire through burning of houses. Destruction and theft of household materials also take place. Nothing is spared*
Que:220-Mau-34-Kik	*Incitement leaflets or propaganda, nails and burning of houses using petroleum products like petrol*
Que:217-Mau-34-Kik	*Self-made guns. Stones*
Que:238-Mau-34-Kik	*Axes and homemade weapons*
Que:246-Mau-34-Kik	*Crude weapons like clubs, stones, catapult*

Of the many 'weapons' used, spreading of lies, rumours and propaganda about the 'other' community is a tool widely used in inciting people into fighting in Njoro Sub-County. Use of leaflets has also played a vital role in causing fear that has contributed to the displacement of the people that are considered 'foreigners' in Njoro Sub-County. As pointed out by those respondents that mentioned leaflets, the key message was to threaten and intimidate 'the enemies' to the extent that they leave their land. It is interesting to note the respondents' concept of weapons in some of the responses as noted in this paragraph.

Out of all the types of 'weapons' used, scores of respondents opined that the torching of houses was more widely used in comparison to all the others. Torching houses left many families helpless and without much option but to flee their homes. As confirmed by this respondent: *These have included use of fire. For those refusing to move away, torching of houses and other belongings is done to make the 'enemy' helpless (Que: 195-Nj-34-Ot).*

Most important, is the fact that people in Njoro Sub-County justify the acquisition and the use of weapons for self-defense and protection of property. They argue that they are forced to do this as the government does not protect them and only comes in when things are out of hand. Most interesting is the fact that spending on arms and ammunition rises steadily during the periods of violence in the Sub-County.

Table 4.14 below displays the variation of acquisition of arms and ammunition during violence and during peace. This was captured through a likert scale.

Table 4.14: Rate of Spending on Arms

Ranking	**Percentage during violence**	**Percentage during peace**
Very high	23.6	2.5
High	29.6	7.8
Average	25.1	13.8
Very Low	10.5	31.8
Low	11.3	44.1
Total	**100%**	**100%**

While spending on arms during violence totalled to 53.2% for 'Very High' and 'High', the expenditure during peace for 'Very High' and 'High' equalled to 10.3%. Although expenditure on arms is not as high during peace, the percentages are still an area of concern. This is an indicator that buying weapons even during peace happens, and the assumption is that this is in preparation for the expected violence in Njoro Sub-County. This is a clear indication that even when actual violence is not taking place, the general atmosphere in Njoro Sub-County is that of negative peace. People live in fear and suspicion of one another.

As a result, this affects the sustainable development in Njoro Sub-County. This can be captured in the ranking done by the respondents as shown in Table 4.15 below.

Table 4.15: Rate of Development in Njoro Sub-County

Ranking	**Percentage during violence**	**Percentage during peace**
Very high	2.5	25.1
High	2.5	33.1
Average	14.5	28.3
Low	22.6	8.8
Very Low	57.9	4.8
Total	**100%**	**100%**

Njoro Sub-County has good soils and favourable climate, as was witnessed during the research. It is therefore a highly productive area. However, due to the intractable conflicts, this Sub-County has low rates of production and experiences slow pace of development. For any significant development, people must be willing to meet and share ideas. In view of this, the respondents were asked: '*How would you rate willingness of grassroots peace committees to meet during violence in the Sub-County?'* Also, '*How would you rate willingness of grassroots committees to meet during peace in the Sub-County?'* While willingness to meet was quite low during violence, willingness to meet was higher during periods when there was no active violence.

The outcome of these questions is captured in Table 4:15 above that indicate hampered developments. Although willingness to meet during peace is higher in comparison to that of the period during violence, the enthusiasm that would be expected in an environment where peace is valued was missing. At the period of this research, though the area looked calm, the joy of communities meeting and sharing was not evident. This

could be attributed to the fact that people at the grassroots levels are often ignored by the government authorities when undertaking peace-building initiatives. This may aid in explaining why co-existence in Njoro, as witnessed during the research, did not attract the developments expected of areas with such agricultural potential coupled with its good climate.

4.5.1 The Meaning of Peace According to Respondents

Different people have defined the concepts 'peace' and 'violence' differently. This tends to come from their different worldviews. Among the various aspects of communal violence the researcher was interested in was the peoples' perception of the concept 'peace'. The respondents were asked to state what they understood by 'peace'. In order to find out how the general public in Njoro perceive the concept 'peace', respondents were given three (3) options to choose from. These were 'living in harmony', 'co-existence without fighting', and 'meeting of needs and wants'. They were asked to tick one from the options given and also to explain the concept from their own views. This approach was taken with the aim of finding out whether the way they defined and experienced peace would shed light on the violent communal conflicts taking place in Njoro. Table 4:16a below shows the responses of the 399 respondents.

Table 4:16a: Percentage on Respondents' Perspection of Peace

Concepts of Peace	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Living in harmony, without fear	309	77.4
Co-existence without fighting	80	20.1
Meeting of needs and wants	10	2.5
Total	**399**	**100%**

'Living in harmony, without fear' was the choice of the majority of respondents, 309 (77.4%). 'Co-existence without fighting' was chosen by 20.1%. The third choice 'meeting of needs and wants' was chosen by 2.5%. As demonstrated from the above discussions, 'meeting of needs and wants' as well as 'co-existence without fighting' does not mean that communities embrace the idea of living together as close neighbours. In order to help achieve 'positive peace' (absence of the three forms of violence: direct, cultural and structural), people do not only co-exist and meet their needs and wants but enjoy living in harmony (respecting each and all the freedoms as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. More importantly, for sustainable peace to be effective, the starting point would be from 'negative peace' – the context of Njoro Sub-County that experiences intractable violent conflicts. A combination, therefore, of both 'negative and positive peace' is of essence for the realisation of the sustainable development.

4.16b Respondents' Narratives on Perceptions of Peace

Respondents by code	***Respondents' Perception of Peace***
Que:3-Nes-33-Og	*Call for equality in sharing resources and power. We are pushed away from forests. Nobody cares about how we live. The government must stop the Kalenjin from raiding our cattle. Infact, the same government should resettle us. Without giving the Ogiek what belongs to him, we will keep demanding.*
Que:26-Lar-33-Kik	*You know what? We can't allow people to take what is ours and get away with it. We bought the land we are occupying. Fighting will only cease if our rights to land ownership are recognized.*
Que:28-Lar-33-Kik	*People are unhappy when government appears one-sided in compensating violence victims. Until resources are shared equitably and all people are treated the same way, peace does not exist. Why should the government favour a few people? Tell me?*
Que:95-Nj-33-Tur	*They develop deep hatred. I don't think this should happen. At times the Kalenjin graze in peoples land. Although I am a pastoralist, I don't support this. Let the Kalenjin keep their livestock without disturbing the Kikuyu. If everyone keeps to their line, Njoro will be calm.*
Que:234-Mau-33-Kis)	*Mau Narok people are good but with politicians here, there is no peace. The answer here is to do away with all of them. There is no good politician. If all are punished, we will enjoy life.*
Que:330-Mac-28-Kal	*Yes. All of us have our origins. You don't expect outsiders to come and dictate to you. It is important that those who met us*

	here listen to us. We love peace but outsiders should not come here and dictate to us.
Que:341-Mac-28-Og	*Fighting for resources e.g. water and grazelands. For pastoralists, there is no peace where water and pasture is missing. Guarantee us water and there is no fighting.*
IS:007-Og	*Ethnicity is a real issue here. Unless people agree to think as Kenyans first and make their tribal affiliations take the second stage, peace will not be realized. Each community must tolerate and empathize with the other for real peace to be realized.*
IS:013-Kal	*Historical injustices have remained unaddressed. When elected politicians continue favouring their communities and the long standing historical oppressions remain, do you expect people to pretend that they are okay and enjoying life? This is not justifiable. You Know the Swahili saying 'Amani haipatikani ila kwa ncha ya upanga'. There is no peace without justice.*

The meaning of peace and violence to some respondents refers to giving in to the demands of the other community. Above are some narratives from the respondents that captured their underlying concepts of 'peace'. Thus, if what they are highlighting is done, then according to them, sustainable peace will be realised.

It is interesting to get the perception of some government officers on what they felt was the meaning of peace. The perception of the security officers as captured below was found to sharply contrast with that of the communities. Thus, the importance of listening to communities as opposed to imposing decisions and sending troops against the communities engaged in violence. As captured in Chapter 2, it has been the norm for the governments to employ force when communities become violent instead of listening to their grievances.

Table 4.16c: Government Security Officers' Perception of Peace

Respondents by code	***Respondents Perception of Peace***
PC:001(Police Officer	*These people will give all manner of reasons. What is required here is thoroughly 'working' on these people. They give us sleepless nights. Give them some good beating and they will live in peace.*
PC: 003(Police Officer from the Critical Infrastructure Police Unit (CIPU).	*People here talk of different issues. Some talk of land while others mention cattle theft and so on. People have acquired sophisticated weapons. There is no peace until the government is able to get the illicit weapons from the people. Do you know that we in the police force have at times been injured by communities here? The communities have irked us with their attacks. We will not rest till we get the weapons.*
KAF:001 (Senior Government Officer)	*Each community has kept pulling to its side. I think we should mount one major operation here. Some amount of force is necessary. I believe in dialogue but when violence keeps recurring, a well-planned operation could put pressure on everyone to yearn for peace.*

**IS (Code for Interview Schedule) – respondents that participated in the interview*

Que (Code for Survey questionnaire) – respondents that participated in the survey questionnaire – views expressed in the open-ended question)

It is important to note the contrast in the narratives of the citizens and those of the Government Security Officers. While the citizens are advocating for more peaceful and nonviolent approaches in addressing the violence, the Government Security Officers are advocating for more militaristic and violent approaches. Could this explain the violent responses to the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County and especially by the Security personnel and the politicians? It would seem that this is the case in this context.

After getting the views of the respondents (those who filled in the survey questionnaire and those that were interviewed) on their perception of peace, they were asked to state

the interventions in addressing communal violence in their Sub-County. This was in order to identify the gaps as noted throughout the thesis. The assumption is that despite the peace-building approaches employed both by the government and other peace practitioners; the violence in Njoro Sub-County is unabated.

4.5.2 Intervention(s) in Place for Addressing Communal Violence in Njoro

As will be noted in the different narratives of the respondents, there are a number of peace-building initiatives in Njoro Sub-County. One of these initiatives is the *'Nyumba Kumi'* that is supported by the government in the aim of community policing. A number of respondents supported this initiative indicating that it was bearing fruit since it operates from the grassroots. More specifically, they commended the work of grassroots committees and '*Nyumba Kumi'*. However, they were of the view that for these groups to work effectively, the government need to recognise their efforts and support them in their peace-building efforts. When one of the female respondents, a chief living in Mukungugu was probed to support her view, which was similar to the above opinion, she opined that the "*Anti-Stock Theft Unit camps to be put up. Nyumba Kumi to be considered with small tokens. I want to see the peace I have yearned for many years (IS: 014-Kik).*

This narrative is also supported by another respondent who viewed the formation of peace committees and '*Nyumba Kumi'* initiative as key to peace-building in Njoro Sub-County. However, he was quick to point out that this can only be effective *'if it were not for politicians, there is hope' (IS: 010-Kik).* This finding is in support of Lederach and Paffenholz views that real peace is realised when the local communities are brought on board.

In addition, another respondent supported the role of local communities in peace-building already in place:

> *Elders from both communities meet to discuss conflict resolution and peace-building. In fact, this is what has saved our area. The elders are highly*

respected. Even disputes between Kalenjin and Kikuyu are solved by them. You know, the problem here is Kikuyu and Kalenjin misunderstandings (IS: 006-Kik).

A good number of respondents highlighted the key role women and youth play in advocating for peace. Women were commended for creating advocacy groups and the youth for their creativity in coming up with songs to preach peace. This is articulated by one of the female respondents in the following narrative:

Our women are highly involved in peace-building committees and barazas. Akina mama wako sawa. Unajua, kina mama wanapenda amani. Husamehe haraka na kusahau yaliyopita. Ni tofauti na waume kabisa (IS: 004-Kik).

(Literal translation from Kiswahili "Our women are highly involved in peace-building committees and forums. Women are good. Do you know that women love peace? They easily forgive and forget the past. They are completely different from men").

The above view was also supported by a male respondent who affirmed the key role that women play in building bridges of peace:

Assisting each other across the divide during ceremonies like funerals. You know women quickly forget differences. Women unlike us men are quick to forgive (IS: 007-Og).

The perception that women are natural peace-builders was supported by nearly all the respondents. The following narrative is interesting as it is highlighting the unique role that women can play not only as peace-builders but also encouraging their male counterparts to do the same as noted below:

'If women mean it, they can end the violence. Women have merry g o-rounds and take part in prayers. Everybody listens to women. Talking to their men can help (IS: 006-Kik).

The above three responses were captured as respondents addressed the question*, "What measures have been put in place by women?"* However, despite women playing such crucial roles, they were rarely invited to the negotiating table by the government

agencies which preferred, and often opted for, the use of force in calming violence. More importantly, this also brought to the fore the need to mainstream genders in all aspects of life as well as in peace-building as equal partners with their counterpart the men. This will assist in addressing the problem of 'masculination of violence' and 'feminisation of peace' which can lead to exclusion of one gender especially in post-conflict setting such as Njoro Sub-County.

On the other hand, the respondents were asked to state the measures taken by the youth in dealing with communal violence. One respondent had the opinion that the *'youth might not do much but they also encourage and preach peace during sports, interactions in schools and during music festivals (IS: 015-Kal).*

While the above respondent captured the youth in schools and the peace-building activities they are engaged in, the respondent below highlights the peace-building initiatives of out of school youth. The respondent states that, *'there are youth groups that bring youth together. They form a platform whereby youth issues are addressed (IS: 013-Kal).*

It was interesting that most of the respondents pointed to the fact that youth may not do much but are involved in peace-building activities in and out of school. Interestingly, throughout the research, the respondents pointed out that the youth are incited to engage in violence especially by politicians in Njoro Sub-County. One would therefore expect that the youth would be key actors in the peace-building initiatives. This would, therefore, point at the importance of inclusion of the youth in peace-building to ensure sustainable peace.

Respondents generally supported the initiatives taken by the local groups in their quest for peace in Njoro Sub-County. Most of them pointed out that despite the intractable violent conflicts in their Sub-County; the community-level interventions have contributed positively to addressing violence in the six Wards of Njoro Sub-County.

Furthermore, in the same question on the different types of interventions for peace already in place in Njoro Sub-County, the respondents were given six options. In responding to the question '*What measures are put in place to address violent conflicts*

in Njoro Sub-County?' Table 4.17 displays the percentages of each means of intervention. 'The involvement of the police to restore law and order' and 'engaging local communities, through the grassroots peace committees' which include traditional leaders is a key ingredient in ending the perennial conflicts that are experienced in Njoro Sub-County. These two choices were selected by most cases that is; 356/399 respondents (95.7% of the total 598.0% cases) for the first case. The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 23.1% responses out of the total 100% responses as shown in Table 4.17 below in this section. Also supported by 342/399 respondents (85.7% of the total 598.0% cases) for the second case. The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 22.2% responses out of the total 100% responses respectively.

The least selected choice of all that apply was 'intervention by youth creating songs'. This was selected by 171/399 respondents (42.8% of the total 598.0% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 11.1% responses out of the total 100% responses respectively. Since the local communities are aware of the issues in their Sub-County, initiatives by the elders, with the inclusion of women and the youth aim at restoring the elusive peace.

Table 4.17: Interventions Employed to Address Communal Violence

What interventions are in place to address violence in Njoro Sub-County?			
Interventions	**N**	**Percent of response**	**Percent of Cases**
Intervention by government sending security officers	356	23.1%	89.4%
Intervention by grassroots peace committees	342	22.2%	85.9%
Intervention by *'Nyumba kumi'*	270	17.5%	67.8%
Intervention by leaving all to God	209	13.5%	52.5%
Intervention by women groups	195	12.6%	49.0%
Intervention by youth using music	171	11.1%	43.0%
Total **398(99.7%) valid cases** **1(0.3%) missing cases**	**1543**	**100%**	**387.7%**

Figures do not add up to 100 percent - a multiple response question

Other than the six ways of intervening in communal violence captured in Table 4.17 above, respondents were asked to mention other modes of intervention people in Njoro employ when dealing with communal violence. The responses captured included people seeking refuge either in police posts (stations) or/and churches. Others called for dialogue such as '*Barazas'* (Kiswahili for informal meetings) which were organised while ensuring the presence of administrators with the aim of restoration of calm in the area. One respondent shared that, "*People also react by calling communal peace keeping. By interacting together through trading and other such gatherings (Que: 235-Mau-33-Kik).*

Another respondent shared that, "*People seek refuge in places like churches and schools. Urgent meetings are organized with the help of administrators (Que: 397-Kih-33-Kik).*

Some people, according to scores of respondents would lock themselves in their houses while others resorted to praying earnestly requesting for God's intervention. Crying and wailing for help from well-wishers was also mentioned as a means of reacting to the violence:

> *People hide in their houses. In instances where the enemy has come to burn houses, wails and cries for help reign in the air. Nobody can wait for death (Que: 212-Mau-33-Kik).*

As demonstrated in Table 4.17 above, intervention through sending in security forces has been the key intervention that the different regimes have employed. While this is necessary in times of overt violence, applying it when calm has been restored can be ineffective. This is in tandem with the argument advanced in section 2.2.3 in reference to the fact that interventions by the security forces only exacerbates the violence as opposed to bringing calm. As will be demonstrated in the next sub-heading, respondents were of the opinion that a different approach should be employed. A retired administrator with the Ministry of the Interior shared his view:

> *It (the government) sends troops but this is not a good solution. Serikali anafaa kuuliza mwananchi.* Again, some pastors secretly incite people instead of preaching peace only (IS: 009-Og).*

*Literal Kiswahili with first language interference for 'The Government should consult the public'.

In contrast with the findings and the narratives above, the intervention by the grassroots peace committees was the second most selected option from those that apply with 342/398 respondents (85.9% of the total 387.7 cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 22.2% responses out of the total 100% responses. Such intervention supports the bottom-up approaches advanced in this thesis. Since the

local communities are aware of the violent conflicts and their possible causes in Njoro Sub-County, it would seem that initiatives by the elders, with the inclusion of women and the youth, would restore the elusive peace. Table 4.17 above in this section displays the respondents' choices highlighting the key role played by the grass-roots peace committees in resolving the violent conflicts in this violent context.

However, despite the efforts in peace-building in Njoro Sub-County, some of the respondents' views seemed to give a sense of surrender to fate. For instance, of those that selected those that apply from the given options, 'intervention by leaving all to God' was selected by 209/398 respondents (52.5% of the total 387.7% cases). The proportion of selections accounted for by this category was 13.5% responses out of the total 100% responses. As much as leaving everything to God could be interpreted by religious adherents as having faith, the researcher noted an element of losing hope and a spirit of giving up among the different communities living in the area. This was attributed to the failure by governments to bring the grassroots population on board when restoring peace in areas affected by communal violence.

4.6 The Effective Means of Addressing Conflicts in Njoro Sub-County

Having considered the interventions utilised in Njoro Sub-County, the next interest of the research was on how best to address communal violence. Since the local people are the key stakeholders in this, the researcher considers them to be at the core of the peace-building efforts. These views are captured in the literature review especially in the works of the peace practitioner and scholar John Paul Lederach. Mac Ginty (2015), Paffenholz (2014) and Galtung (1996) argue for the inclusion of all the stakeholders in the peace-building process. Stakeholders that include village elders, the youth, women groups and the clergy are deemed as very crucial in sustainable peace-building. This is discussed extensively in Chapter 2 of this work. Respondents in the area of study were therefore asked to mention what they thought were the most appropriate approaches for sustainable peace-building. Their responses indicated that stern steps need to be taken to address the problem of inciters and proponents of violence in Njoro Sub-County. The

responses were captured through one of the open-ended questions where respondents were given the freedom to give their own opinion(s). Some of the responses were: "*There should be tough laws on inciters*" (Que: 289-Mau-35-Kik), "*Educate all communities -against violence*" (Que: 281-Mau-35-Kik), "*Government should use peace troops and counsellors of peace*" among other responses. Some went deeper and opined that the public should be "*Sensitized on the importance of peace. Settle land issues/ disputes amicably. Hold peace meetings more frequently* (Que: 264-Mau-35-Kik).

Some were of the suggestions that there is need to deal conclusively with politicians that incite the public to engage in violence:

> *Take serious action on politicians who ignite the inter-communal conflicts. Increase policing and educate people more on the importance of living in harmony and at least teach the people that elections are not a matter of life and death (Que: 249-Mau-35-Kik).*

Many views related to the above were shared, for instance, a male pastor from Mauche suggested that:

> *The business communities in marketplaces should be encouraged to hold dialogues to enhance peace permanently. In fact, this group suffers a lot. Most of the time they lose everything (IS: 001-Kal).*

Another respondent touched on the volatile issue of land and stated that:

> *Mau forest complex issues should be addressed exhaustively. Land issues affecting the Kalenjin, Maasai and Kikuyus need be addressed. In fact, this is where violence begins (IS: 002-Kik).*

Yet another shared on the issue of dealing with corruption:

> *Appointments and employment opportunities need to cater for all. Unfortunately, this is not the case here. Leaders are corrupt. Corruption makes only certain community to be recruited eg in armed forces. Our leaders fail to bring equality (IS: 007-Og).*

Abuse of drugs was another area that needed to be addressed:

> *Youth should engage in meaningful activities, avoid drugs and idleness. Here guidance by us, the adults, is necessary. With proper guidance, youth should desist from being misused especially by politicians. However, parents must act like role models* (IS: 008-Kik).

Different methods of intervention were mentioned that included suggestions such as that the village elders from the different communities could meet regularly; *'Nyumba Kumi'* initiatives should be encouraged; there should be efforts to deal with politicians that incite the public especially the youth; advocating for equity and non-partisan policies; assurance by the government that resources and appointments are shared equitably; addressing the issue of corruption and holding regular *barazas* (public meetings).

There were strong views that since politicians play a key role in inciting and 'poisoning' the minds of people in the community in Njoro Sub-County, punishing those bringing friction and disharmony would act as a deterrent to inciters. Furthermore, this would send a strong warning to people aspiring for political positions in the future.

As noted earlier in this section, a senior pastor shared that the violence and other problems facing Njoro Sub-County can be resolved through addressing the issue of land as noted in her shared narrative below:

> *Land ownership is very important. Land is taken very seriously here. Mashamba sio mchezo*. There is also inadequate resource distribution. This together with announcement of elections brings bitterness. It is chaotic here you know (IS: 010-Kik).*
>
> *Literal translation from Kiswahili: farms are not a game.

This was to emphasise the fact that land issues were serious and need to be addressed effectively. In fact, the issue of land as core to sustainable peace in Njoro Sub-County was supported by a majority of the respondents. They were of the view that the communal violence affecting Njoro Sub-County had strong connections with land issues. Some of the suggestions they advanced were ensuring clear marked boundaries

and issuance of title deeds. As already noted, it would seem that the occupation of forest lands is another issue that needs to be handled with caution so as to appease all groups, including the minority groups such as the Ogiek community.

More, and regular, peace rallies and community meetings were mentioned as ways of ending enmity and allowing co-existence among communities. During peace rallies, people learn the importance of living in harmony and also the negative impact of violent conflicts. In addition, there were suggestions that people learn to identify qualities of good leadership in those they plan to elect for public positions. Some of the respondents' narratives are captured below:

> *In the long-term land issues should be solved once and for all. Hapa ndio mambo yote iko.* We also need frequent meetings to share views. During the meetings, people need to be taught why they should live in harmony. Peace should be advocated (IS: 014-Kik).*
>
> *(Kiswahili for, 'Everything revolves around this').

Equally, this respondent was of the opinion that politicians need to be ethical and charismatic so that they lead by example as opposed to being the ones inciting the citizens to engage in violence. The respondents highlighted the need to choose credible leaders and also that the current leaders in their Sub-County need to change their attitudes to leadership. Equally, they emphasised on the need of educating and advocating harmony and co-existence so that the youth listen to teachings of peace as opposed to those of violence:

> *Politicians should desist from inciting members of the public. They should be taught to respect everyone and embrace peace. They are our brothers, but they need to change. People should not keep on fighting because of them. During meetings and 'barazas'* [public meeting], *there is need to teach voters to choose wisely when casting their votes. This is where we go wrong Sir. We are cheated and sometimes bribed to vote for them (IS: 005-Kik).*

Additionally, in reference to suggestions for effective interventions for addressing communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, most of the respondents highlighted on the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). Interestingly, most of them supported this initiative as a way of promoting peace and bringing cohesiveness among different ethnic communities. The BBI is commonly referred to as 'the handshake' due to the fact that the current President of Kenya, Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta and the leader of Opposition, Raila Amolo Odinga in March 2018 shook hands after a disputed election in 2017. This raises key questions, for instance, was this due to a top-down or bottom-up approach by the different level leadership especially those supporting this initiative? It would be interesting to find out, but this goes beyond the scope of this research.

However, going back to Kenya's history of violence during elections, and especially the 2007-08 post-election violence - that almost split Kenya into ethnic factions – one would conclude that the BBI's origin started after this period. During this time, the Kikuyu were perceived as the 'favoured' community and thus excluding all the other ethnic communities that form the population of Kenya. Following the politics going on in Kenya prior to the elections next year, 2022, an important question would be; what effect will rallies have, for instance the "Mount Kenya" BBI rally held in Meru, Kenya with the chant of "one man, one vote, one shilling" and also the notion that Nakuru and Laikipia Counties are now part of Mt. Kenya? Is it possible that such rallies could enhance the current polarisation in these Counties and compromise the peace-building efforts currently in place to address communal violence specifically in Njoro Sub-County?

Some respondents were of the opinion that during campaigns for political positions, all aspirants in an area should be compelled to hold joint rallies. The following narrative supports this view:

> *The leaders and mostly politicians should be dealt with seriously as they align themselves on tribal grounds. Remove politicians and all is well. Efforts like the BBI should be continued. People should team up. If you ask me, even political aspirants should hold joint political rallies. Whoever people elect should serve*

everybody equally. Losers should accept defeat and people move on (IS: 010-Kik).

Another respondent had a different view as captured in the narrative below:

Constant sensitisation of the public on the importance of peace is needed. Secondly, let the government allow for staggered elections. Presidential elections should be held at different times as this is where the problem lies (IS: 015-Kal).

From the above narrative, it is evident that the current mode of voting in Kenya (all leaders including the Presidential candidate are elected on the same day using the same ballot paper) may need to be reviewed. They perceived this as one of the key causes of violence as some articulated this further, "*the ethnic card plays a major role here"* (Que: 291-Mau-35-Kik). Some went further to point out that this entrenches the ethnic communities' divisions where those who are not considered the 'indigenous' people are treated as 'foreigners' and in the case of Njoro Sub-County they were evicted or left in fear for their lives and family. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, communities across Africa have in many cases voted along their ethnic affiliations.

Further, some respondents as captured earlier suggested that there should be regular transfers of government officers to avoid overstaying in particular stations. Related to this was the observation that positions such as that of the Deputy County Commissioner (DCC), departmental heads and the police serving in the area should be held by people of different communities other than those residing in Njoro Sub-County. The rationale was that an officer who stays long in one station of work tends to exercise nepotism or favour friends and their communities at the expense of others. The following is the view of one of the respondents to support these views:

Special police mobile camps. Regular changing of National Government Administrative Officers. Bringing police and Deputy County Commissioner from other communities apart from the ones living within Njoro. These will deal with the favouritism we see and also the feeling people have that it is their time to eat (Que: 296-Mau-35-Kik).

The narrative below also supports this view as a way of ensuring that communities feel represented and also the issue of poor governance is addressed:

> *Resources to be shared equally among communities. Governance should be put under constant checks if possible. Transfers to be done rotationally after 1 to 2 years to avoid overstay in a station* (Que: 008-Nes-35-Og).

Some of the respondents valued the critical role of the church leaders and pastors in uniting the communities. This supports the key role played by Bishop Cornerius Korir in Eldoret during the violence dubbed 'tribal clashes' of 1992 and 1997 captured in Chapter 2 of this thesis. When the church has been at the fore front in advocating for peace, the communities then are challenged to live together peacefully. The narrative below captures this important role of the church:

> *The Church has come together and formed an Interdenominational forum as a way of ensuring peace and harmonious living among members is enhanced. The Church should call for even more meetings and crusades. The pastors have a way of calming people down (IS: 013-Kal).*

Furthermore, the respondents pointed out that fellowship among different faith communities', together with intermarriages, would be some ways of addressing the issue of negative ethnicity.

Equally, of importance is that the government should facilitate peace-building by engaging and involving all stakeholders, including the clergy, who play a vital role of uniting the people. The respondents were further of the opinion that the government should be more vigilant especially during election periods for instance by erecting more police stations and posts, mobile police camps and more police personnel during the actual period of elections. Additionally, they highlighted the need for better intelligence gathering during the electioneering period. Thus the liberal peace approach is only necessary when violent communities have engaged in open fighting where communities are not willing to calm down. The liberal approach helps to calm down communities but leves people with bitterness hence the importance of adopting the bottom-up approach when communities have calmed down. Once the communities have calmed down, the

intervening parties should accord them an ear, bring them on board and discuss ways of building sustainable peace.

Other narratives emphasised the need to engage the youth through job creation, equitable distribution of resources which include land and fair allocation of bursaries. They also suggested the use of mass media in preaching peace messages and joint ventures such as tree planting by different ethnic communities. In so doing, the communities will have an opportunity for bonding and bridging. The above suggestions are also captured in the two narratives below:

> *There is need to engage the youth. Creation of job opportunities for them and education are needed. Also, a balance in sharing the opportunities available in the different economic sectors can make all communities happy (Que: 033-Lar-35-Kik)*

> *Preaching on the importance of peaceful co-existence even during peaceful times. Again, while people are co-existing and participating in projects together, mass media should be checked. Informal media groups are dangerous in inciting and spreading gossip (Que: 101-Nj-35-Kik)*

Some respondents suggested that the government needs to be proactive in dealing with land issues instead of waiting for violence to erupt. As pointed out in Chapter 2, land is at the core of communal violence in Kenya. One respondent shared that they expected the government to *"address issues of land amicably by assisting communities settle their differences e.g. in reference to access to grazing lands for all and not only one community (Que:007-Nes-Kal-35).*

Although, the above immediate respondent called for governments to address the issue of land, this requires to be done through consultations. Representatives from all communities should be brought to the negotiation table and be given the opportunity to dialogue and reach a resolution. As noted in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the late Bishop Cornelius Korir used this type of approach to broker peace among communities in the Eldoret context. Before his passing on in October 2017, the Kalenjin, the Marakwet, the Kikuyu and the Pokot communities had embraced peace.

Some respondents echoed the need to lift the caveat that has been put on Nessuit and Mariashoni settlement schemes arguing that it targets only some particular communities. This, they argued, was a catalyst for more violence in Njoro Sub-County. Some respondents had the view that songs and music that incites people –against each other - such as the one mentioned in this thesis by Kipchamba - should be banned. Yet, others had a different opinion that songs, music and sports can also promote peace in Njoro Sub-County. Below are some of the narratives to support these views.

Table 4.18 Respondents' Narratives on Effective Means of Addressing Violence

Respondents' narratives on effective means of addressing communal violence	
Code of Respondents	***Narratives of the Respondents addressing communal violence***
Que:013-Nes-35-Og	*Removing caveat of Nessuit and Marishoni settlement schemes*
Que:267-Mau-35-Kik	*Strict penalties for inciters. Songs and music that incite should be banned*
Que:352-Mac-35-Og	*Banning of other music which state other community land is beyond Naivasha which they claim was prophesied*

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the causes of communal violence, its effects, and the historical approaches of peace-building as well as the communities' suggestions for effective approaches to attaining sustainable peace in Njoro Sub-County. The findings are that the causes of communal violence are multi-faceted. More importantly, some of the causes of the violence are entrenched in the cultures and traditions of the communities. 'Ethnicity' and 'incitement by politicians' have emerged as the leading causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. Some of the other options in the multiple responses on the causes of communal violence that were most selected were: exclusion of communities, stock theft and poor governance in that order. Equally, it is evident that the causes of communal violence are inter-related and thus should not be addressed independently. It is therefore, the argument of this thesis that since the causes of the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County are complex, the one-size-fits-all approach may be ineffective. On the contrary, involving the subjective narratives of the people who experience or observe the communal violence, in this case the people of Njoro Sub-County should be at the centre of any of the peace-building interventions to ensure sustainable peace.

Human security is also an issue of concern in Njoro Sub-County. Despite the Sub-County being productive in terms of agricultural production, people live in constant fear of their neighbours and equally they are not assured of safety for their property especially land. Although the colonial boundaries left the communities divided, other factors such as corruption and incitement have also contributed to the stratification of communities. It would, therefore, seem that due to incitement and negative ethnicity, the unity that is expected after the many years of independence is lacking.

In dealing with the violence, successive governments have undertaken the liberal approach. It is interesting that despite the many years of peace-building in Njoro Sub-County, communal violence is unabated. This could be explained by the fact that the responses to communal violence in the location of this study tends to adopt the liberal

peace-building approaches (militaristic, top-down and one-size-fits-all). This only creates a cycle of violence. There is, therefore, the need to engage the different communities in finding effective means of addressing the violence. Communities need to show empathy to each other as a step towards unlocking the long-standing differences, some of which clearly show a reduction in sharing of goods as well as the reduced communication.

This chapter has evaluated the causes of communal violence, its effects, and the type of weapons in use during violence, the main actors in the Sub-County's communal violence, the meaning of peace from the perspectives of the local communities, the interventions in place and finally what needs to be done to effectively address communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. The findings are that the causes of communal violence are multi-faceted. Hence, the conclusion that those different factors, some inter-related, are at the centre of this violence.

Overall, the causes of violence are numerous and inter-related and should not be addressed independent of each other. The violence is associated with multiple negative effects that have led to retrogression of the communities living in Njoro Sub-County. Resources have been spent on wrong priorities such as buying weapons and repairing property that has been destroyed during violence. From the narratives captured in this chapter, it would seem that the top-down approaches that have been utilised to deal with the violence in Njoro Sub-County are ineffective. The reason is that violent conflicts in this area are unabated. Hence, the peace-building approaches that incorporate all the stakeholders, inclusive of the local communities taking a more active role are needed for sustainable peace to be achieved.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study and the conclusions drawn from the findings. Also, there are recommendations drawn from the thesis topic: *Dynamics of Peace-building in Post-conflict Community and Implications on Cohesion in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru County, Kenya.* The recommendations were arrived at with the guidance of the study objectives and the research questions. These focused on four major areas which included the causes of communal violence, the impacts of communal violence on communities, the interventions undertaken by the different stakeholders and what requires to be done for sustainable peace to be achieved. The study was guided by the following research questions:

a) What are the underlying causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

b) To what extent does communal violence impact human security in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

c) Which are the historical peace-building approaches in place for addressing the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

d) To what extent can grassroots peace-building approaches address communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya?

The study was premised on the fact that despite the peace-building approaches employed in order to achieve sustainable peace, violence has continued unabated in many parts of Kenya and Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru is no exception. Njoro Sub-County has experienced perennial violence.

The chapter is divided into six sections which include the Introduction, a Synopsis of the Chapters, Summary of the Research Findings, Reflections and Contributions of the Study, Conclusion and Recommendations.

5.2 Synopsis of the Chapters

Chapter 1 is an overview of communal violence across the world. It focused mainly on Africa region before narrowing down to Kenya. The chapter then advanced to the problem statement, objectives of the study and the research questions all assisting in justifying the importance of this research and the gaps the research aimed to address. From the chapter, it was clear that communal violence is on an upward trajectory hence the need to effectively address it ~~in~~ with the aim of attaining sustainable peace.

Chapter 2 engaged in the critical review of theories related to sustainable peace-building. Three theories were discussed. These are the Human Security Theory, the International Relations Theory and the Bottom-up Peace-Building Theory of John Paul Lederach. Although peace is a prerequisite for peaceful co-existence and development, attainment of the same has been elusive. The focus of this research was on communal violence and effective peace-building interventions in addressing it. The chapter further addressed the causes and impacts of communal violence by addressing the different dimensions of the violence. These included the frequency, the intensity and the magnitude of the violence. This was done bearing in mind the repercussions of the same on peace-building. One of the arguments in this thesis was that in order to address an issue, one must delve deep into it. The chapter addressed the approaches essential in attainment of peace.

This Chapter captured in depth the differences in culture and the history of the different communities. The different communities have their unique features which must be taken into account when engaging in peace-building interventions. Therefore, refocusing and rethinking peace strategies are necessary. This chapter cited the need to tailor the peace-building approaches while engaging in the subjective narratives of the people that matter and in this case, the residents of Njoro Sub-County. It is the assumption here that by engaging the people at the grassroots, other interested organisations in peace-building,

peace practitioners and those in authority at the different levels – as advocated in Lederach's framework of actors there will be sustainable peace in Njoro Sub-County.

Towards the end of the chapter is a focus on the situation of peace and violence in the Kenya context. The context of communal violence in Kenya took into account the establishment of the colonial boundaries that segregated Africans along ethnic lines. Further, it zeroed on the land tenure system in the country. The question of boundaries and land tenure as this research verified in Njoro Sub-County has been at the centre of the communal violence afflicting the communities living in this area. The chapter then advanced to the political and electoral violence in Kenya.

The literature depicted a situation of systematic and recurring violence in the country. It is important here to highlight the fact that different people and their geographic regions have different cultures and history. Therefore, this has to be put into consideration throughout the peace-building process. Kenya has its unique political, economic and socio-political stand. This means refocusing and identifying suitable and effective strategies of attaining peace in the troubled areas of the country, such as in the case of Njoro Sub-County. It is important to note that what has worked well in one context may not work as well in another context, in this case Kenya and specifically, the case of Njoro Sub-County. The continued use of the liberal approach in peace-building has left communal violence unabated. This thesis argues for a bottom-up approach to peace-building. This means that those that matter, that is those who engage in or observe the communal violence must be incorporated in the peace-building process.

A key factor to note from the analysis of chapter 2 is that local communities play an important role in contributing to sustainable peace. They should therefore, be incorporated throughout the peace-building process. Therefore, peace-building approaches need to be tailored to suit the communities that are engaged in the violence in a particular context.

As demonstrated in this chapter, security is not only about the State but also the welfare of the people. The mandate of government security agencies should revolve around addressing fear, violence and threats among communities and also ensure that the

communities are free from want (issues regarding their basic needs and other needs that are addressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Thus therefore, the need to address the issue of Human security as opposed to address State security only. This will assist in ensuring peaceful co-existence and sustainable peace.

Chapter 3 engaged in the methodology and methods adapted in this thesis. There was explanation on the rationale for the study design, the philosophy adopted, sampling and determination of the sample. The researcher further explained the pilot study and the instruments of data collection as well as the collection of the actual data. There was justification for the choice of the use of mixed method and collection of data in the six Wards of Njoro Sub-County. The study used an interview schedule and a survey questionnaire. This was done to ensure triangulation of the data and data analysis. While the interview schedule mainly captured the qualitative data, the survey questionnaire centred mainly on quantitative data. The tools complemented and supplemented each other as well as capturing the key details.

A pilot study was considered in order to sharpen the tools and make the necessary amendments in the study. It preceded the main data collection. The main data collection involved 16 participants taking part in the interview while 399 respondents filled the survey questionnaire. During the research, the researcher strictly adhered to ethical issues as dictated by St. Paul's University and the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and as required by ethical boards when researching vulnerable populations. Privacy was taken into account. Respondents were asked to give their written or verbal consent and assured confidentiality and anonymity considering that this was also a sensitive research. The security of the respondents was provided during this period. Additionally, the researcher observed the 'do not harm principle'. Equally, the researcher was reflexive in order to cater for own and the respondents' biases. In reference to the methodology, this was centred on bottom-up approaches of giving 'a voice' to the respondents in the form of their subjective narratives. The argument of this research, therefore, is that the subjective voices/narratives of the local communities' experiences, their beliefs, their attitudes and their interpretation of 'violence' and 'peace' need to be given attention for sustainable

peace to be achieved. Of importance also is the view that militaristic or top-down interventions that ignore the narratives of those that matter and in this case the residents of Njoro Sub-County only leads to a cycle of violence.

Furthermore, Chapter 3 expounds on the rationale of the selected data analysis method. Data analyses were based on the purposive and snowball sampling for the 16 respondents engaged in in the interview schedule and on probability and multi-stage sampling for the 399 respondents that responded to the survey questionnaire. The respondents' age range was 30-69 years. Respondents were distributed proportionately in the six Wards based on the 2017 projected population by KNBS. Due to the huge nature of the data, with both closed-ended and open-ended questions, the data was analysed through use of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics were used to capture unique features of the data that would not be captured in Tables. The interviews were dealt with using thematic analysis.

Chapter 4 contains the data collection, analysis and interpretation of the findings. The chapter captured respondents' views on the causes of violence, the effects of the violence and the coping mechanisms adopted by the government and the communities suffering the violence. It engaged the respondents on their interpretation of 'peace' and 'violence', the weapons in use during communal violence, and the mechanisms that ought to be put in place. The chapter interacted with respondents on their experiences of violence with the aim of observing their perceptions and experiences. This was also aimed at capturing their subjective narratives which was of importance to this thesis.

It was imperative to engage with the communities as the hidden features, such as the history and the cultures of the different communities, came out as areas that need to be addressed when addressing the intractable communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. For instance, when interacting with the respondents, it became clear that the history passed down from one generation to the other had a major role in the violence. From some of the respondents, the Kalenjin in particular, the history of their land had been passed on from one generation to the other. Songs were composed by people such as Kipchamba, passing information that Kalenjin land extended all the way to Naivasha, a key trigger to the violence in Njoro Sub-County. As will be noted in the next section, it is difficult to

convince one who has received this kind of information to change their minds. Since the bottom-up approach advocated in this work advocates for establishing new mechanisms that have the grass-roots support, involvement of the local communities is crucial in ensuring sustainable peace in a case such as Njoro Sub-County.

Chapter 5 sums up the entire work. It gives a summary and discussion and conclusion of the five chapters. It summarises each objective and further gives reflections of the study and its contribution to scholarly literature. The chapter culminates with the final conclusion and the way forward.

5.3 Summary of the Research Findings

This thesis employed the bottom-up approach as an appropriate tool of engaging the different stakeholders as the means of attaining sustainable peace. The approach was aimed at engaging the subjective narratives of the residents of Njoro Sub-County inclusive of the top authorities with the aim of addressing the problem of communal violence. The major assumption was that by engaging these subjective narratives, the gaps noted in the literature review would be bridged thus addressing the perennial violence in Njoro-Sub-County.

5.3.1 The Underlying Causes of Communal Violence

As has been indicated in the first objective of the study, the research sought to find the deep-rooted causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County that have impacted negatively on peace-building. This was informed by the study's assumption that the recurring incidences of violence in the area were caused by issues some of which had not been identified. The underlying issues could best be brought to the surface through interacting with the local communities. It was with this in mind that Chapter 2 heavily dwells on the past history of Kenya. In developing this chapter, it was evidenced that the communal violence taking place in Kenya today cannot be isolated from some of its roots which date back to the colonial history. The colonial administration created

boundaries that segregated the different communities living in Kenya. This is highlighted in section 2.5.1 of this Thesis. Furthermore, it came up with policies that prevented the free movement of Kenyans. Communities became isolated from one another, a key point highlighted earlier in Chapter 2, endorsing the negative impact that the boundaries created by the British have on the Kenyan communities to date. At times, even members of the same community were separated from one another. Osuga et al., (2020) lament, in Chapter 2, that the boundaries created by the British have impacted neatively on the Kenyan communities to date. It is important however to note, as argued in Chapter 2, that the violence experienced especially in some parts of Kenya today cannot be only attributed to colonial history. New issues such as entrenched corruption, negative ethnicity, lack of commitment and accountability by government officers, attitude of 'it is our time to eat' and different forms of exclusion especially of women, children, minority and vulnerable groups have contributed extensively to the existing violence that is witnessed across the Republic of Kenya and Njoro Sub-County is no exception. Hence, successive peace-building should consider both the present and the past. Looking at one in isolation of the other and deploying Security officers, as has been the norm, will not yield the desired sustainable peace.

In the case of Njoro Sub-County, although all the different ethnic communities living there are caught up in perennial conflicts, the main antagonists are the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu communities. This was evident from the different respondents interviewed during the study. The Luhya, the Luo, the Maasai and other smaller groups such as the Turkana and the Samburu, among others, suffer violence although they hardly bear any responsibility. Accessing this information was only possible because the different respondents were accorded the opportunity of expressing themselves. Different respondents were given time to share their narratives of experiences of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. This was with the aim of understanding the violence from those that are actively involved in this violence, either as perpetuators, victims or both. Thus, underscoring the need to listen and consult the people at the grassroots in dealing with the issues that concern them and affect their communities. As the field research confirmed, the different ethnic communities in Njoro Sub-County are confined to distinct geographical locations creating some form of segregation. This type of

segregation has informed their different worldviews and their unique ways of handling issues.

In reference to the causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, the respondents selected the major causes of communal violence from the list provided in the survey questionnaire. Other causes were captured in the open-ended questions and in the Interview Schedule (IS). These were ethnicity, incitement by politicians, and exclusion of communities, stock theft, and poor governance; land grabbing, corruption and lack of goods and services. It is worth noting that although some factors were given more weight by the respondents, all the factors are inter-related. For instance, the researcher noted that ethnicity was attributed to the isolation caused by settlement patterns. With the isolated settlements, politicians easily played the 'ethnic card' and incited their communities to violence against their neighbours. It was interesting that land grabbing which seems to capture the discussions among the general public in Kenya as a key factor to violence among communities, especially during elections, was not the most selected option that apply (selected by 265/399 respondents forming 66.4% of the total 598.0% cases) as opposed to the most selected. This is a departure from the scholarly work of for instance by Kameri-Mbote (2006), Grada and Gráda (2009), Claassen (2014) and Kanyinga (2014), among others highlighted in this Thesis who support the argument that land has been a major cause of communal violence. Although land may be a serious cause of communal violence in other countries and some other parts of Kenya, it does not rank highly in Njoro Sub-County.

'Ethnicity' was selected by 382/399 respondents (95.7% of the total 598.0% cases) and confirms the detailed discussions captured in Chapter 2 of this Thesis as a key cause of communal violence.

Additionally, while among the public violence is attributed to 'negative ethnicity', in the findings of this thesis, it was evident that 'negative ethnicity' is apportioned to politicians who use it for their own benefits especially to win elections. The role of politicians in inciting the violence in Njoro Sub-County hasd left communities sharply divided. In essence, for sustainable peace in this context, Njoro Sub-County, the citizens must ensure that they elect credible, accountable, charismatic and people of integrity.

More importantly, with the isolated settlement patterns, excluding particular communities in development plans and sharing of resources becomes easy to achieve. As argued out in section 2.5.1 of this Thesis, different communities are confined to particular geographical settlements in Njoro Sub-County. Due to the existing patterns of settlement, cultivating or grazing on land deemed to belong to the other community is taken as intrusion. As noted in chapter 2, the historical injustices on land have remained a thorny issue in Kenya. Again, the history of this dates back to the colonial days when particular communities are claimed to have got more than their fair share of the national cake. Coupled with the different cultures such as that of the Kikuyu which attaches great significance to the soil (land), it would seem, therefore, that conflicts among communities are bound to happen. Hence, taking time to engage with communities in order to delve into their perception on issues such as land is one way of addressing issues pertaining to land.

5.3.2 The Impact of Communal Violence on Human Security

The second objective of the study was on the impact of communal violence on human security. Apart from the negative impact of violence on the economy and the socio-political aspects of life, the psychological torture experienced by both the old and the young were perturbing. The narratives and the facial expressions of the respondents helped the researcher understand the ingrained suffering of the people of Njoro Sub-County arising from communal violence. Similarly, this is in agreement with the arguments advanced in this Thesis that communal violence leads to disastrous outcomes such as mental torture. Cases of killings and people committing suicide after losing their property and belongings among other sufferings have left behind a traumatised population entrenching the violence further. This, points to the need for peace-building approach that will enhance restorative justice as the first step of healing and reconciliation among communities.

Although Njoro Sub-County enjoys plenty of rain and has good soils and climate, it has suffered food insecurity due to the perennial communal violence affecting it. As

demonstrated by the respondents in the narratives captured in Chapter 4, the burning of crops in the field and in food stores is a common phenomenon during communal violence. The violence also hinders the supply of food and other essential items during violence. Roads are either damaged, blocked or both, curtailing the transport of goods. It was further revealed that while transport routes remain unsafe during violence, animals such as donkeys – used as a means of transport - are killed. Food security is core to any sustainable development. This therefore underpins the importance of addressing the highlighted key causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County.

Accessing the various services such as education and health services is affected too impacting negatively not only on the literacy levels and the health of the population but also on the future generations and the country's economy. Survival becomes even harder with individuals and communities hoarding goods. Therefore, as violence escalates, sharing of goods becomes almost non-existent. Additionally, communication between the different communities is cut off. More importantly, with the lowered communication and the refusal to share the different essentials of life, fear and suspicion increases leading to renewed tensions. This creates vicious cycles of unending violence. Equally, this adversely affects the people's livelihoods and their relationships with each other. Thus, effective peace-building initiatives to address the issues of human security in Njoro Sub-County are of paramount importance.

5.3.3 The Historical Peace-building Approaches

Objective three was aimed at rating the effectiveness of the historical interventions employed in addressing the violence. For instance, when interacting with the respondents, it became clear that the history passed down by one generation to the other had a major role in perpetuating the violence in Njoro Sub-County. From some of the respondents, the history of their land had been passed down from one generation to the next. Songs and narratives were used to explain about wealth and property. For example, as pointed earlier in this thesis, among the Kalenjin, the songs by Kipchamba indoctrinated the listeners about the boundaries of their land. They were ready to fight

and even lose their lives than observe their land being occupied by their perceived enemies. More importantly, it is difficult to change the mind and attitude of one who has been formed in this kind of ideologies. Therefore, for any peace-building to be effective, it is essential to bring communities such as the Kalenjin elders and their neighbours together for sustainable peace. The culture and history of a people cannot be ignored when working towards sustainable peace. Thus, the earlier claim in this Thesis referring to the Asia context can be applied to Njoro Sub-County.

Furthermore, the interventions in place seem to provide 'quick-fix solutions' which have not effectively addressed the violence in Njoro Sub-County. Indeed, militaristic approaches, although supported by liberalists, leave communities with unresolved demands. For instance, as evidenced in Chapter 4 of the thesis, in the case of Njoro Sub-County, there is escalation of violence as soon as government security forces deployed there leave the area of violence. In fact, from the narratives, it is obvious that the top-down approaches and the use of force to address communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, do not adequately address the violence. Scholarly works captured earlier in this Thesis are a confirmation that militaristic approaches, which tend to adopt a liberal peace approach to peacebuilding have failed to deliver peace in Molo where Njoro Sub-County was carved from. It is in view of this that this thesis argues for peace-building approaches that engage the people's subjective narratives in order to understand the root causes of the violence from their perspectives.

More importantly, the respondents considered the role of the *'Nyumba Kumi'*, community elders and pastoral leadership as a key component in solving the violence in Njoro Sub-County. The different proponents of the bottom-up approach to peace-building cited in this Thesis support localised initiatives for effective sustainable development. However, despite its key role, the potential of the bottom-up peace approach in addressing communal violence have not been utilised. There is therefore the need to tap into this wisdom, the indigenous knowledge and the inclusive approaches that are readily available in the communities and have been tested over a period of time.

5.3.4 The Potential of Local Peace-Building Approaches

While the third objective of the study examined the approaches already in place, the fourth objective concentrated on the potential of the local level peace-building approaches. This was in support of the argument of this thesis that for sustainable peace-building, those involved in violence whether as perpetrators, victims or both need to be involved in the peace-building processes.

From the respondents' narratives, it was evident that they supported the involvement of the people at all the different levels of peace-building as advocated by Paul Lederach. They pointed out different groups such as the women, community elders, and church leadership and also the communities already engaged in the '*Nyumba Kumi'* initiative. This highlights the importance of the inclusion of the local communities' subjective narratives on communal violence and the possible peace-building interventions, for sustainable peace in Njoro Sub-County. Thus, the emphasis of the bottom-up approach in peace-building as advocated in this thesis.

5.4 Reflections and Contributions of the Study

Although numerous resources including time and money have been spent on peace-building, a noticeable gap is yet to be filled. The research revealed that communities still live in fear and do not enjoy real peace. Despite communities experiencing occasional calm, deep-seated issues have prevented them from enjoying living in harmony and sharing ideas to help attain sustainable peace. The available literature on peace-building highlighted in Chapter 2 of this thesis, unearths the fact that despite the peace-building interventions in place, communal violence in Njoro County is unabated. Equally, as captured in the narratives of the respondents in this thesis, the role of the local communities in Njoro Sub-County has been largely overlooked in peace-building processes. This leaves the community aggrieved and vulnerable to violence.

As shown in the thesis, communal violence in Njoro Sub-County is persistent. Notably, during the analysis of these data, there were violent conflicts that led to some loss of

lives. For instance, as late as the 11th July 2020, hostility and evictions were reported in the Mariashoni settlement scheme of Mau Narok in the Sub-County. In September, 2020 renewed tension broke out between the Ogiek and their Kipsigis neighbors. GSU camps were set up at Ogiek secondary and Doswa primary schools in a bid to end the tension. Kenya Television Network (KTN) reports of 29/9/2020 indicated that one person lost his life while 7 others were injured. Marginalisation and segregation have led to frustrations and dissatisfaction among communities in Njoro Sub-County. As captured in Chapter 4, the different communities engage in violent conflicts that entrench the 'we-they' attitude. There is need, therefore, for a paradigm shift in the approaches to be employed that would ensure that all the communities are actively engaged in ensuring peace prevails in Njoro Sub-County. Each community and its members have their own worldview which needs to be brought to the fore in addressing the communal violence. Notably, the use of the top-down approaches that could have worked in resolving conflicts in other parts of Kenya and globally, may not necessarily work in Njoro Sub-County. Thus, the importance of tailoring the interventions to a particular context; a more inclusive, multi-sectorial and long-sighted approach is required. Apart from acceptability of such an approach, it is also suitable and unique to the environment and the culture of the affected communities.

From the narratives of the various respondents, it is evident that peace-building efforts by the local groups are embraced by the people. However, these are overlooked as the government more often than not sends in security forces to disband the warring groups. The fact that peace initiatives by locals are embraced demonstrates the importance of involving women, the youth, the elders and other groups at the grassroots level to help attain peace. Advanced in this thesis is the argument that the involvement of the local communities would assist in addressing the perceived causes of communal violence such as ethnicity, incitement by politicians, exclusion, stock theft, corruption and poor governance among others. As the findings of the research show, ethnicity, political incitement and exclusion of communities are the leading causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. However, these three causes and the others mentioned in the previous sections are inter-linked. In fact, as the findings have demonstrated, it is problematic to separate factors such as ethnicity and exclusion of communities as

exclusion is exercised along ethnic lines. Similarly, political incitement is carried out by political aspirants through the blaming of other ethnic communities. Provision of services and the sharing as well as the distribution of resources such as land have also been attributed to ethnicity. This confirms the fact that dichotomising the different causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County is unpractical and may not achieve the intended results in the peace-building process.

5.5 Conclusion

This thesis finds that the violence in Njoro is caused by multiple factors that complicate peace-building initiatives. The causes are all interrelated. Some of these factors are entrenched in the cultures of the people making them problematic to deal with at the surface level. Further, the violence when not effectively addressed can escalate and lead to devastating outcomes and even loss of lives. The study further established that the efforts put in place to address communal violence – mainly militaristic and informed by liberal peace approaches - in the context of Njoro Sub-County are ineffectual.

More importantly, the argument of this thesis is that for any peace-building efforts to be effective, the affected communities must be included in the peace-building process. Thus, addressing the conflicts without considering the environment and the communities affected will be a task in futility. It will continue wasting resources with very little being achieved or completely missing the target. For instance, the lack of involvement of women in the peace-building process has contributed to the marginalisation of women voices and contribution. Yet, in the context of this study and from the respondents' narratives captured in Chapter 4, women are key players in communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. In the narratives captured in Chapter 4, women have the ability to influence their husbands and the youth to embrace peace. The environment to be considered entails the different stakeholders, their socio-economic interactions and the political context in which they operate. As one engages the different stakeholders, their worldviews and processes of thought need to be put into consideration. The knowledge, experiences and expertise of the local communities is vital to the success of peace-

building. The church has the potential of bringing different communities together. Elders as captured in the narratives in Chapter 4 are heads of households. On their part, the youth bore the largest blame of taking weapons and engaging in communal violence. By bringing the youth on board, there is the possibility of a lasting solution to communal violence in the location of study.

Although a considerable number among the local communities might not have achieved much academic qualifications and might be labelled 'illiterate', their experiences in life and their conceptions of peace and violence could be what is required in the attainment of the elusive peace. The elders in the community are in the know of what is required for the larger community to enjoy peace. In fact, elders in a community carry with them enormous amount of wisdom. Tapping on this wisdom is crucial. Overlooking the local communities as the study found out has led to protracted violence in Njoro Sub-County.

Most importantly, importing solutions from outside the communities involved brings only a temporary solution which often causes grievances and leads to people's sense of exclusion. It is in view of this that the thesis argues for the involvement of the subjective narratives on the communal violence and the possible peace-building approaches of addressing it. The *'Nyumba Kumi'* initiative is one such initiative among many others some of which were highlighted mainly in Chapter 4 of this thesis. The study found out that those engaged in this group are highly respected and instrumental to peace-building among communities. The respondents were of the opinion that the relevant authorities should consider giving the members of this initiative a token of appreciation since the '*Nyumba Kumi'* and peace committees are drawn from the local people. Equally, they bring people together creating environments for peace-building. It is the view in this thesis that this initiative is in touch with people's experiences in Njoro Sub-County. Most importantly, such groups can be utilised to gather information and report on arms and ammunitions. Additionally, with proper intelligence gathering and timely reporting, the resources spent by government on arms and ammunition, as well as ferrying security forces and feeding them would be spent on matters of development and not in addressing violence.

Another key argument of this thesis is that there is need for the government to consider regular transfers for its officers. Among the findings of this study is that overstaying of government officers in particular stations is linked to communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. From the findings, it was apparent that such Officers are easily compromised by people who have become their close acquaintances by virtue of their long periods of stay. Alternatively, others have given up hope of leaving the area of work and thus tend to relax and take their duties casually.

The key conclusion of the thesis is that in order to address the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County, there is need to tap from the wisdom, the indigenous knowledge and the approaches and experience of the local communities.

Equally, as argued earlier in this thesis, it is important to rethink on the settlement patterns as these have led to geographical/ethnic nationalism among communities. Furthermore, settlement patterns have contributed to the sense of entitlement leading to some communities excluding and displacing others that they consider to be 'foreigners' and/or enemies.

5.6 Recommendations and Contribution to Policy Making

This thesis emphasises the importance of involving the communities affected by communal violence in the entire peace-building process. By engaging with them, peace practitioners are able to identify the root causes of violence. This is evident in the area of study where the causes of communal violence are multi-faceted and intertwined. The violence caused by factors such as ethnicity, political incitement and exclusion have taken the lead in causing division and animosity among communities. Therefore, it is important not to associate the violence with only one cause such as land. As noted in the narratives in this study, while land is a cause, it is not the key cause in the case of Njoro Sub-County. This highlights the importance of engaging those at the grassroots as pointed out throughout this Thesis.

Further, the impacts of communal violence are are disastrous and have long term effects. Apart from causing deaths, injuries and destruction of property, widespread displacement of persons, communal violence has led to increased cases of rape, theft, single parents, orphaned children and people suffering mental disorders. Accesiing the various services have not also been easily available due to financial implications. This highlights the importance of governments effectively addressing communal violence for sustainable development. Hence, the recommendation of this Thesis that all the relevant stakeholders such as women, youth, community and church leaders and all the various localised existing peace structures must be brought on board for realisation of lasting peace. Additionally, contextualising interventions based on the interests of the warring communities should be paramount. Therefore, the government and policy makers should take into consideration the views and the needs of the different communities, the different groups of people involved in the violence in drafting and implementing the policies. More importantly, they should highlight the history and identify the underlying causes of the violence. As a result, this would ensure that the interventions do not only address the surface level of the violent conflicts by use of militaristic approaches as these only sets a foundation for further violence in Njoro Sub-County, the location of this study.

This study aimed at finding out the appropriateness of peace-building from below. The interventions currently in place portray the liberal peace-building approaches which have not effectively addressed the violence in the location of this study. The aim was to find out the underlying causes of the violence, the impacts on human security, the peace-building initiatives in place and also the possible effective peace-building initiatives that can address the violence in Njoro Sub-County. The approach undertaken was guided by the assumption that different communities have unique ways of handling problems as well as solving the violence afflicting them. It is, therefore, essential that the communities are consulted and involved in the matters that affect their lives. Borrowing from Haider in Chapter 2, the peace-building process should address the different audiences with a keen focus on their distinct interests.

Based on the narratives of the respondents in this study, it was observed that more attention is needed in a number of areas. As suggested earlier in the thesis by Mac Ginty, (2015), there is need to involve the local communities in peace-building. This peace-building process is largely lacking basing on the narratives and experiences of the respondents of this research study. Hence, it is important for government authorities, peace practitioners and peace-builders to engage the local communities.

5.6.1 Areas of Further Research

There is need to curb the proliferation of small arms and light weapons – which have been at the centre of the communal violence - by identifying their source among the different communities residing in Njoro Sub-County. Although weapons such as swords, bows and arrows are easily made and/or acquired, the use of sophisticated weapons such as guns left the researcher with unanswered questions. 14.2% of the respondents mentioned the use of guns during communal violence. This helps confirm that illicit arms easily get their way into Kenya as portrayed in Appendix IV. The recommendation is that research in proliferation of small arms and light weapons – especially acquisition and utilisation since guns bring more fatalities than other weapons - their source and acquisition is an issue that need to be explored further. Hence, the importance of addressing the issues of proliferation of arms and violence as captured in Chapter 2 on the setting ablaze by the President of the Republic of Kenya – Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta of 5144 illegally acquired guns on 9th June, 2021. However, the researcher is also aware of the difficulties - ethical, legal and practical - in making this a topic for further research. The dilemma of guns would perhaps reduce the intensity of the violence in Njoro Sub-County and the rest of Kenya.

Further to research on use of guns, future studies should consider looking deep into the social dynamics of culture which includes the history and traditions of the people. These are some of the issues that featured repeatedly during the study. The history of the communities as passed down through music and oral traditions have led to deep-rooted beliefs. The beliefs include labelling other people as ‘foreigners’ and ‘enemies’ and treating them as such. It is such dynamics that lead people to vote and elect leaders along ethnic lines in Kenya and specifically for this thesis, Njoro Sub-County. Table 2.1

in Chapter 2 brings out this picture properly. Stereotyping and labelling of communities has led to violent conflicts among communities. As pointed out in Chapter 4 of the thesis, the use of derogatory terminologies such as *'jorinde'*, meaning 'thief', has been employed to denigrate the Kikuyu. On the other hand, the Kikuyu have used their high numbers to ensure that those voted in office are their kith and kin. It would be important to get the genesis of the animosity from the cultural aspect. A study in this line would shed more light and expand the findings by Archer (2009) as already cited in chapter 1 of this Thesis.

The patterns of settlement and their link to communal violence would also benefit from a research study conducted to ensure peace-building. From the field, it was evident that there exists systematic link between the recurring violence and the ethnic patterns of settlement. From the narratives by the different respondents, occupation of certain regions solely by particular communities made them develop a sense of 'independent nationality' and some self-isolation. This way, ethnic identity, ethnic-centeredness and affinity along tribal lines gained roots. Though this kind of setting has existed since the colonial days, a study should be carried out to find out how this impacts on communal violence. This thesis could not delve much in this direction due to its scope.

Although this study focused on communal violence, there is need for future researchers to delve into the structural issue of land. This issue of land as a trigger to communal violence was mentioned by the respondents but mainly in association to incitement of the communities by the politicians. The findings of a study on historic injustices with specific reference to land issues and incitement by politicians can be of interest to the government and policy makers. Equally, such findings could assist further in arriving at a lasting solution to the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County. Research in this area would add to the work of Musembi & Kameri-Mbote (2013) as reported in chapter 2. Being a source of livelihood, land has been at the centre of the violence in Njoro. However, this research did not delve deeper into issues of land due to the scope of the work even though respondents kept mentioning this issue.

Another area requiring further research is what almost every respondent highlighted. This is 'political incitement'. In fact, political incitement was ranked second among the

different causes of communal violence. Perhaps this would be an interesting area to study as fear and influence of politicians featured prominently as a contributing factor to the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County. Politicians were attributed with the power, the money and the influence to decide the direction their communities would take especially during elections. This mainly affects the youth population.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Survey Questionnaire

Good morning? I am John Kibe Maguta, a doctorate degree student at St. Paul's University. I am collecting data on **'Dynamics of Peace-Building in Post-conflict Community and Implications on Cohesion in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru County, Kenya.'** I will be carrying out this research in Njoro Sub-County. The study is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in Development Studies. It targets respondents between 30 and 69 years. The information collected is meant for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

I request you to assist me by filling in the provided questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. Please note that you are free to ask questions where you are not clear. Kindly answer all questions to the best of your knowledge in the spaces provided. Also, where choices are provided, tick the most appropriate one. In the case of multiple response questions, you are free to tick all those that apply.

Questionnaire number:……...

Date:…….

Question	Question	Response	Code
1	Observe gender of respondent	Male Female	1 2
2	Kindly tell me your name		
3	What is your age (Record complete years)	……Years	
4	Which ward do you come from	Mauche Njoro Nesuit Kihingo Lare Mau Narok	1 2 3 4 5 6
5	Select your ethnic community	Kalenjin Ogiek Kikuyu Kisii Other(Please specify)	1 2 3 4 5
6	Select your level of education?	Primary Secondary Tertiary (University/College)	1 2 3

7	What are the possible causes of communal violence in Njoro Sub-County?	Ethnicity	Yes…1 No…2
		Poor governance	Yes…1 No…2
		Lack of goods and services	Yes…1 No…2
		Corruption	Yes…1 No…2
		Exclusion of some ethnic communities	Yes…1 No…2
		Land grabbing	Yes…1 No…2
		Incitement by politicians	Yes…1 No…2
		Stock theft	Yes…1 No…2
8	What is the frequency of violent conflicts in this Sub-County?	Every election year Unpredictable Every year Rarely happens	1 2 3 4
9	What areas are affected when violence occurs in Njoro Sub-County?	Market accessibility	Yes…1 No…2

		Health services	Yes…1 No…2
		Access to education	Yes…1 No…2
		Rise in cost of living	Yes…1 No…2
10	In what ways do violent conflicts affect food security?	Shortage of food as farmers are maimed and/or killed	Yes…1 No…2
		Wide spread destruction of infrastructure especially roads	Yes…1 No…2
		Burning of crops	Yes…1 No…2
		Killing of domestic animals especially donkeys used for transportation	Yes…1 No…2
		People migrating in large numbers	Yes…1 No…2
		Unsafe transport routes	Yes…1 No…2
11	In what ways do the violent conflicts affect supply of goods in Njoro Sub-County?	Hoarding of goods	Yes…1 No…2
		Inaccessibility of some areas	Yes…1 No…2

		Inflation of prices	Yes…1 No…2
		Destruction of infrastructure especially roads	Yes…1 No…2
12	How do people respond when violent conflicts occur?	Seek help from neighbour(s)	Yes…1 No…2
		Migrate to other areas in Kenya	Yes…1 No…2
		Cross the borders to other neighbouring counties/sub-counties	Yes…1 No…2
		Raid food from neighbours	Yes…1 No…2
		Seek government help	Yes…1 No…2
		Engage in violent fights	Yes…1 No…2
		Destroy each other's property	Yes…1 No…2
		Kill each other	Yes…1 No…2

13	What is your understanding of peace?	Living in harmony and without fear Co-existence without fighting Meeting of needs and wants	1 2 3
14	Which of the following have an effect on peace building during the violent conflicts in your Sub-County?	Refusal to share resources Reduced inter-communal communication Hoarding of goods Inaccessibility of services Destruction of infrastructure	Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2
15	How would you rate inter-communal communication during peace in the Sub-County?	Very high High Average Low Very low	1 2 3 4 5
16	How would you rate inter-communal communication during violent conflicts in the Sub-County?	Very high High Average	1 2 3

		Low Very low	4 5
17	How would you rate sharing of resources during peace in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very low	1 2 3 4 5
18	How would you rate sharing of resources during violent conflicts in the Sub-County?	Very high High Average Low Very low	1 2 3 4 5
19	How would you rate willingness of grassroots peace committees to meet during peace in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very low	1 2 3 4 5
20	How would you rate willingness of grassroots peace committees to meet during violent conflicts in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very Low	1 2 3 4 5

21	How would you rate prices of food during peace in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very Low	1 2 3 4 5
22	How would you rate spending on arms and ammunition during violent conflicts in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very Low	1 2 3 4 5
23	How would you rate spending on arms and ammunition during peace in the Sub-County?	Very high High Average Low Very Low	1 2 3 4 5
24	What types of weapons are used during communal violence in Njoro Sub-County?	Bows and arrows Swords Guns	Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2

25	How would you rate devotion of time on development activities during violent conflicts in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very Low	1 2 3 4 5
26	How would you rate devotion of time on development activities during peace times in the Sub-County?	Very High High Average Low Very Low	1 2 3 4 5
27	What interventions are taken to address violence when it occurs in Njoro Sub-County?	Government sends in troops Grassroots peace committees calms violence *Nyumba kumi* restores calm People leave to God to intervene Women form groups to advocate for peace Youth create songs with peace messages	Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2 Yes…1 No…2

28. In your view, is there any other cause of violent conflict in Njoro Sub-County not captured in this questionnaire? Please share…….

29. Which groups of people are involved in violent conflicts in this Sub-County?

……

30. What in your opinion are additional effects of these conflicts not mentioned in the survey questionnaire? ……..

31. Apart from the different sectors mentioned in the Questionnaire, are there others suffering from communal violence? Please share ……..

32. Apart from what is captured in the survey questionnaire, are there other ways through which communal violence affects Supply of Goods? Please share……

33. In what other ways do people react to violent conflicts other than what is captured in the survey questionnaire……..…

34. Are there other types of weapons used during communal violence other than what is captured here? Please share……...……

35. In your opinion, what more can be done to address the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County?.....

APPENDIX II: Interview Guide

Good morning? I am John Kibe Maguta, a doctorate degree student at St. Paul University. I am collecting data on **'Dynamics of Peace-Building in Post-conflict Community and Implications on Cohesion in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru County, Kenya'.** I will be carrying out this research in Njoro sub-County. The study is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in Development Studies. The information collected is meant for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I have requested through your leaders that you allow me to interview you.

I request you to assist me by filling in the provided interview guide. Kindly answer all questions to the best of your knowledge. Where the question is not clear, kindly ask for clarification.

1. What in your opinion are the causes of violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County? ……

2. Which category of people mainly involved in these conflicts? ……

3. What is the frequency of these conflicts? …….

4. When do the violent conflicts often occur in Njoro Sub-County? ……

5. What happens when the violent conflicts occur in Njoro Sub-County? Please share ……

6. In your opinion, what is the key effect of communal violence in this Sub-County? …….....

7. What are the current responses to the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County? ……

8. What measures have the following put in place to address violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County?

a) The government ……

b) The local communities …….

c) Women …….

d) The youth……..

e) The church ……

9. In your opinion, are the current interventions to the communal violence in Njoro Sub-County adequate? Please share. ……..……

10. What other interventions would you recommend to address the violent conflicts in Njoro Sub-County? ……..

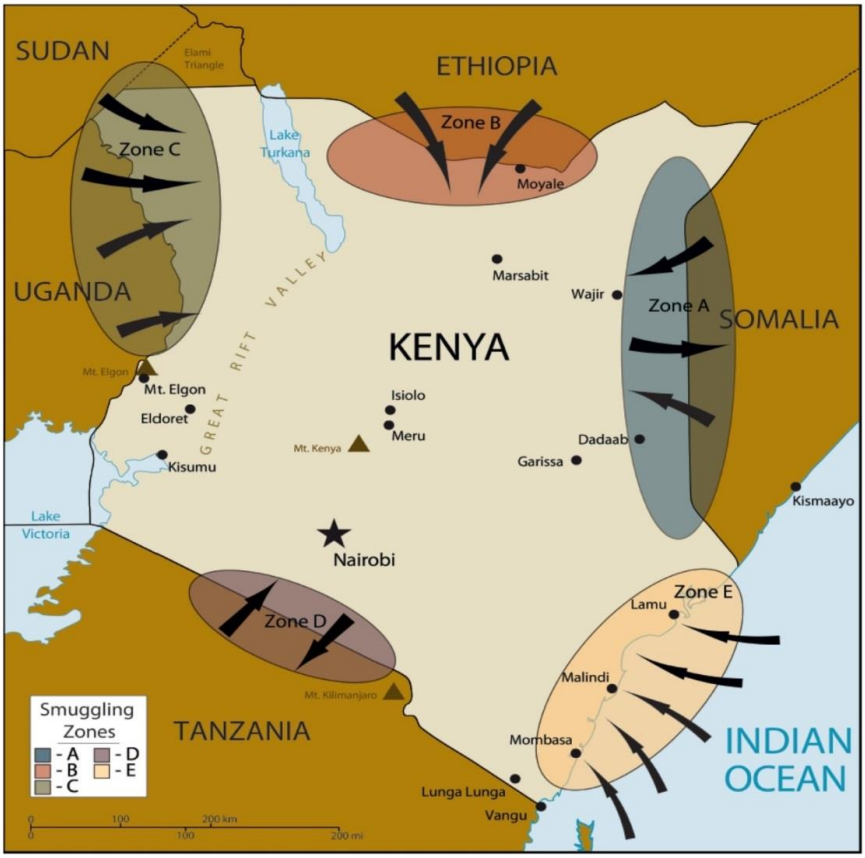
APPENDIX III: Counties by Level of Arms Volatility



Source: KNFP and Small Arms Survey (2011)

Source: Wachira, T.W. in McCarthy, E.S. ed., (2020).

APPENDIX IV: Routes Where Arms are Sneaked in



Key: Zone A: The Somalia-Kenya border (682 kilometres); Zone B: The Ethiopia-Kenya border (861 kilometres); Zone C: The Uganda-Kenya border (933 kilometres); Zone D: The Tanzania-Kenya border (769 kilometres); Zone E: the Indian Ocean Coastline (536 kilometres).

Source: Wachira, T.W. (2012) adapted from Gastrow; 2011

APPENDIX V: Map of Kenya Showing Nakuru County



APPENDIX VI: Photos Showing Violence Outcomes



A commercial building in Davishon village of KIhingo Division destroyed in the 2007-08 violence. It contained a butchery, hotel, bar and lodgings. It has not been re-built.



The plot in Meta village of Mau Narok Division had wooden houses that were burnt down with only the stone toilet structure remaining intact.



Remains of a house in Store-Mbili village. It has not repaired but the owner continues cultivating the land.



Mutarakwa primary school in Lusiru Location was an epicentre of clashes, it housed many families. Today it has a secondary school.



This photo shows farm forestry near Nesuit market in Nesuit ward. The owner planted trees after constant burning of his crops.



The magnificient house in Lare Division was torched on 31st December 2007 immediately Rtrd. H.E Mwai Kibaki was declared president. The owner left and rents the farm out.

APPENDIX VII: Recommendation To Conduct Research

ST. PAUL'S UNIVERSITY

Private Bag 00217 LIMURU, KENYA
Email: office@spu.ac.ke
Website: www.spu.ac.ke

Tel Office: +254 (0) 20-2020505/10
Mobile: +254 (0) 728-669000
(0) 736-424440

9th December 2019

National Commission for Science and Technology,
P.O. BOX 30623-00100,
Nairobi.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Recommendation for John Kibe Maguta to conduct PhD research.

This letter confirms the above named person is a fourth year student of the Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies at St. Paul's University.

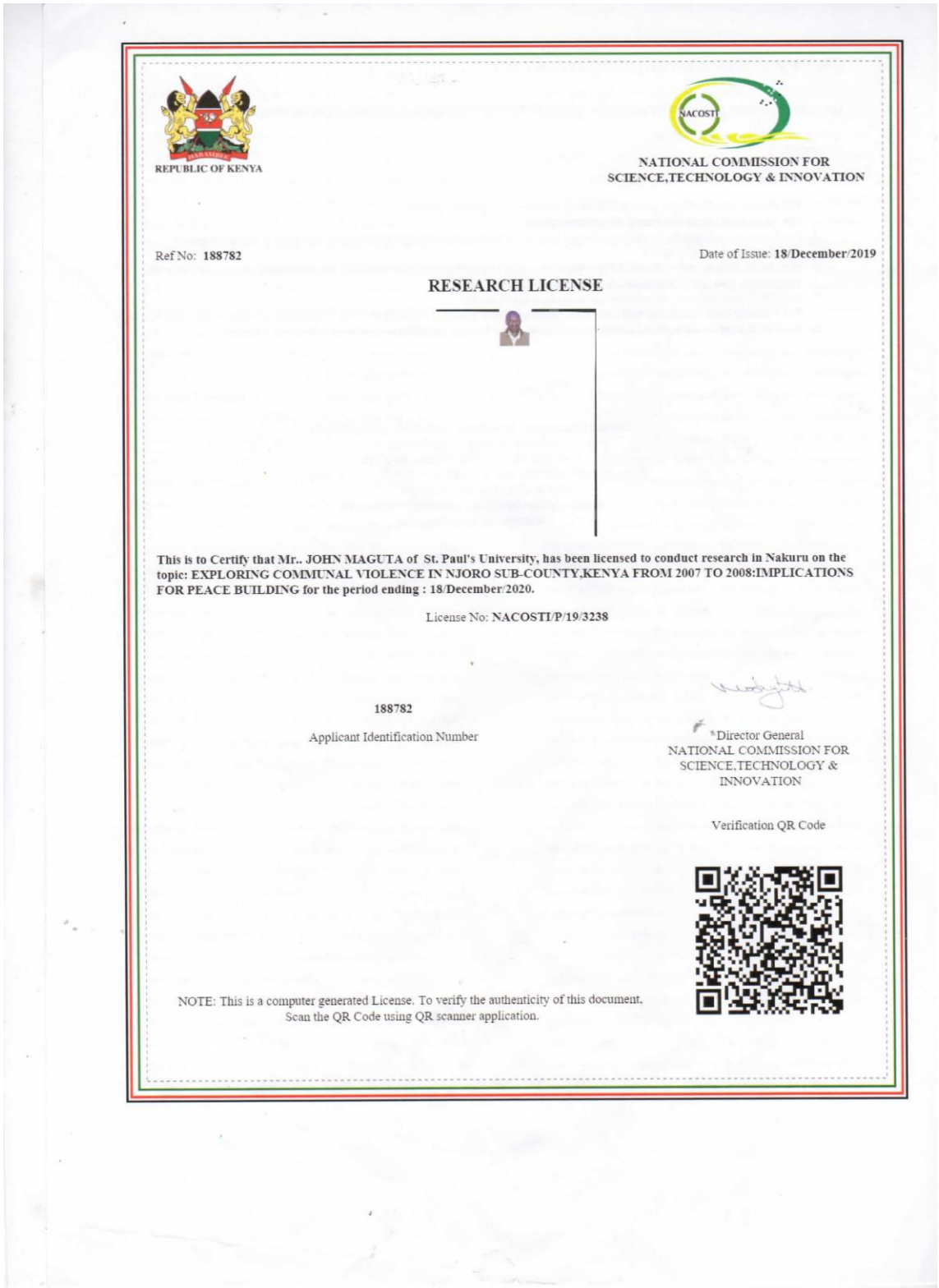
The final year consists of a major research work leading to a dissertation. The student's selected topic is *'EXPLORING COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY, KENYA FROM 2007 to 2018: IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE BUILDING'.*

Kindly grant this student the required permit.

Yours Faithfully,

Dr. Sammy Githuku
Director, Postgraduate Studies

APPENDIX VIII: Research Liscense



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **188782**

Date of Issue: **18/December/2019**

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Mr.. JOHN MAGUTA of St. Paul's University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nakuru on the topic: EXPLORING COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN NJORO SUB-COUNTY,KENYA FROM 2007 TO 2008:IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE BUILDING for the period ending : 18/December/2020.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/19/3238**

188782

Applicant Identification Number

*Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code

NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

APPENDIX IX: Permission To Carry Out Research By Nacosti

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND CO-ORDINATION
OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegrams: "DISTRICTER
Email: dcnjoro08@gmail.com

When replying please Quote:-
Ref. No. ED.12/10 VOL.I/162

DEPUTY COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NJORO SUB-COUNTY
P.O BOX 500
NJORO

3rd January, 2020

All Assistant County Commissioners
NJORO SUB-COUNTY

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION No. NACOSTI/P/19/3238
JOHN MAGUTA KIBE

This is to inform you that the above reference person and a PHD student at St. Paul University has been authorized to conduct research within the Sub-County.

The topic of research is " **Exploring Communical Violence in Njoro Sub-County, Kenya from 2007 to 2008: Implication for peace building"** for the period ending 18th December, 2020.

Kindly accord him any necessary assistance.

J. N. MBUGUA
DEPUTY COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NJORO SUB COUNTY

Copy To:
JOHN MAGUTA KIBE