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Impact of Communal Violence on Human Security in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru County, Kenya

By

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Abstract

This article establishes the extent to which communal violence impacts on human security in Njoro Sub-County of Kenya. Communal violence has impacted negatively on human security in this Sub-County posing threat to the community and their livelihoods. This article highlights the negative effects which have left the communities stratified and in intractable conflicts that have adverse impacts on sustainable development. The views in the journal are derived from the field work carried out in Njoro Sub-County in March-April 2020 as part of PhD thesis. Through a case study, the researcher employed a qualitative approach to engage the narratives of communities experiencing and observing the violent conflicts in the Sub-County. This study was guided by the constructivist philosophical stance that emphasizes on the importance of engaging the subjective narratives of the grassroots communities. The population of the study comprised 16 respondents selected purposively from across the Sub-County. The narratives were captured through an interview schedule, coded and analysed thematically. Therefore this article argues for the involvement of all stakeholders inclusive of those at the grassroots as advanced in John Paul Lederach's framework of actors, for realization of sustainable development.

Key words: Human Security, Communal Violence, Sustainable Peace, Growth, Development

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Introduction

This study examines the extent to which communal violence impacts on human security among communities. It argues that communal violence has adverse impact that need to be effectively addressed. The study adopted a case study approach. Informed by the constructive position that knowledge is constructed and a qualitative approach to collection of data, the researcher captured the narratives of the communities living in the six Wards of Njoro that is Kihingo, Njoro, Mauche, Mau Narok, Nesuit and Lare. The narratives of the communities in Njoro provide insights on the impacts of communal violence. Njoro Sub-County is multicultural in nature and has suffered intractable perennial communal conflicts. The argument advanced in this article is that people living in Njoro are the best placed to address the violence they experience and/or observe and therefore their narratives are key to the realization of sustainable development. It is in view of this that the researcher tapped on their experiences, knowledge and understanding.

The study is anchored on two theories: the Human Security Theory and the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory. The Human Security Theory as propagated by Jyoti Singh underscores the importance of paying attention to the security of the human beings first before thinking of that of the State. On the other hand, the Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory of John Paul Lederach underlines the importance of engaging communities in matters that affect them by stressing on the inclusivity in the peace-building process. This approach, points to the failure of a peace-building process that tends to exclude those at the grassroots in favour of the 'outside expert'.

Since it is the communities who experience the adverse effects of violence, they are best suited to address it. The peace practitioners and peace-builders need to pay attention to what the narratives of the communities at the grassroots level say. The deployment of a militaristic approach to addressing communal violence such as sending the security forces escalates the violent conflicts.

Statement of the Problem

Communal violence has afflicted communities globally, regionally and nationally. Kenya and specifically Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru County, the focus of this article, is no exception. These violent conflicts are common phenomena especially during election periods where there have been atrocities, widespread displacement of persons, destruction of infrastructure especially learning institutions and medical centres. Additionally, resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has posed challenges due to their living conditions, and also the issue of reintegration. Equally, the violent conflicts have social, economic and political impacts posing a challenge to sustainable development. However, despite the peace-building approaches in place, the violent conflicts are unabated. More importantly, the approaches to the violence have been mainly militaristic, top-down and generic; excluding the narratives of those at the grassroots. Thus the argument of this article on the importance of engaging the narratives of those that matter, in this case, the people that are involved and/or observe the violence, for sustainable development.

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Sampling

Purposive sampling was done in picking respondents. Since the research was dealing with a sensitive issue, there was need to pick informants equipped with the necessary information. The first informant led the researcher to the next informant. However, the researcher was careful in ensuring the geographical spread of the informants across the Njoro Sub-County.

Theoretical Framework

Communal violence causes havoc (Okumu, 2017). Thus the danger is immense and can last for long periods of time. The extent of the impacts of violence is only fully understood by the communities that are affected. In this article, the impacts of communal violence on Human Security have been derived from the narratives of the local communities.

Human Security Theory is anchored on communities getting all the basic provisions and living without fear (Singh, 2014). The Theory's underlying assumption is that the world experiences instability and frequent conflicts due to unmet needs. The unmet needs are inclusive of insecurity to communities that make people live in constant fear. Thus communities are left experiencing threats and intimidation which impact negatively on their lives. The key argument posed here is that when governments fail to ensure human security, competition over scarce resources ensues. A community rises against the other blaming it for its lack. The outcome is violence that leads to atrocities and lack of peace. In order to bring peace, governments send in armed security personnel leaving communities more aggrieved.

Galtung, (1996) asserts that for any sustainable peace, the key issues need to be addressed. Without addressing the key issues, in this case the negative impacts of communal violence, the solution to the violence will not be attained. Maina, (2011) argues that human security is of paramount importance if communities are to experience calm and attain development. The stability of any nation is anchored on the security of the people. Expansion of economies and attainment of peace-building are dependent on how secure communities are.

The Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory for its part is anchored on according a listening ear to the warring communities. Lederach, (1997) avers that it is the grassroots who understand the dynamics in the society and should therefore speak for themselves. Being the ones suffering the negative effects of communal violence, the communities at the grassroots level can best articulate the suffering they undergo. Proponents of this line of argument agree that local communities need to be consulted on the causes of communal violence, its impacts and the most appropriate approach of dealing with the menace (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013). Haider, (2020) has emphasized that the success of peace-building lies with the acceptance of the entire peace-building process. Thus the importance of bringing on board the grassroots communities without whom the success of peace-building is doomed. The Bottom-Up Peace-Building Theory is crucial to the study as it underpins the importance of listening to the people affected by communal violence. By listening to the communities affected by communal violence, the communities feel appreciated and participate in the peace-building process leading to sustainable peace. The active participation of such communities makes it easier for governments and other peace practitioners to broker peace. While narrating their ordeals, the communities vent out their anger, embrace the peace-building and own the entire peace-building process (Ogwari, 2012). With participation of the different warring communities in the name of narrating their sufferings, a rapport is built with the peace practitioners. The decisions arrived at by the peace-builders become accepted, are embraced and become binding to all the parties involved.

When the local communities are not heard, and governments keep sending in armed police to calm down violence, dissatisfaction abides leading to recurrence of violence. Karani,

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(2011) attributes the failure in peace-building to governments imposing peace without consulting with the key stakeholders. The deployment of armed police to scenes of communal violence in Molo has left communities with bitterness. This has led to recurring violence with no sign of sustainable peace. Although communities have been pacified, the bitterness in them has not been healed. Elsewhere, the communal violence witnessed in Kenya especially during election periods such as 1992 and 1997 with 2007-08 as the climax attest to dissatisfied communities (Wangeci et al., 2014). Forcing the violent communities to put down their weapons has left the communities with bitterness. 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. Hearing a community's the side of the story has before sending security forces to quell them is likely to help get a lasting solution to violence. It is for this reason that this journal article sought the views of the residents of Njoro on the impacts of communal violence.

A Synopsis of the Impacts of Communal Violence in Kenya

The nation of Kenya has experienced increasing levels of violence with most of the 47 Counties suffering the negative effects of the menace. Elder et al., (2014) opine that the violence that is spread across Kenya is in most cases organized along ethnic lines. This is done with the aim of causing fear and scaring away the other. In a bid to scare away other communities and get access to their land and other resources, people are incited into violence. Individuals are incited, mainly by politicians, to fight for their communities. Jenkins, (2012) avers that the failure by successive regimes to ensure equity in the country has left the different communities with bitterness. The bitterness has led to increased levels of suspicion between the different communities. Since the pre-colonial period, resources especially land ownership and appropriation has been a matter of concern. Communities have fought their neighbours over boundaries. The different communities have done all they can to outdo one another and possess both material resources and power. Rutten & Owuor, (2009) have argued that the desire for land coupled with the divisions that have developed over the years have led to huge gaps between Kenyans. These authors aver that land and ethnicity have turned into weapons of mass destruction. The fight over land has led to leaflets of warning being spread over certain areas inflicting fear in communities. Some residents, especially those of 'immigrant' communities, have had to flee from their areas of occupation. This happens mainly when general elections are about to take place. Although this has become almost a normal trend in the different parts of Kenya, the Rift Valley has become more affected with some families fleeing away from their homes only to come back after elections when the political atmosphere has cooled down.

The differences that started way back before independence have continued taking place. Archer, (2009), claims that 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 the 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. The suspicion created between the different communities has remained to date with cycles of violence being experienced. Communities have remained divided with settlement patterns clearly showing that the communities remain divided (Osuga et al., 2020). Particular areas

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and even estates in urban centres are dominated by particular ethnic communities. This is unhealthy for national unity.

Fear and tension have remained high among the communities especially those of minority groups. The minority have to abide by the wishes of the majority or face hostility. This is why some families are seen migrating just when elections are about to be conducted. The divisions and experiences of fighting are almost ingrained in the minds of the people. Elder et al., (2014) argues that although the 2013 general elections were generally calm, there was fear that fighting would break out. Equally, according to Mutahi & Ruteere, (2019), the 2017 general elections came with tension in a number of areas. Tension was evident across the country with areas like Kibera in Nairobi experiencing violent demonstrations. Talk of leaflets warning some communities to leave, especially in the Rift Valley, was live. Tension has gripped communities making the general elections to be approached with uncertainties. Equally, investments are done with fear and caution.

Communities have had to form ethnic militias in preparation for the imminent violence. Whether for self –defence or in order to attack the enemy, communities have come up with permanent or semi-permanent armed groups. Groupings including political parties and associations have been founded along ethnic lines. Wachira, (2012), states that the militias that are formed along ethnic lines, and whose members owe their allegiance to their ethnic communities, have terrorised the Kenyan communities. These include Amachuma, the 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 the recurring communal violence and ethnic loyalties continuing in the country, the criminal gangs have continued increasing and wrecking more havoc. There is no doubt that communal violence will continue having serious negative effects on the Kenyan communities.

On stratification, Kanyinga, (2014), affirms that land ownership and occupation has contributed greatly in dividing communities. The Rift Valley has been affected more with land buying companies favouring certain communities when it comes to land distribution. Land buying companies have been skewed in the division of land with successive governments failing to ensure equity. Those feeling that they have not had their fair share have vented their anger on their neighbors. There are claims that ethnicity and the politics surrounding land have caused conflicts, divisions and long term enmity among and between communities not only in Kenya but across the sub-Saharan Africa (Kamungi et al., 2005). With land being a major factor of production, scores of scholars have opined that unless the politics surrounding land appropriation are dealt with urgently, divisions and stratification will continue affecting Kenya for a long time (Boone, 2012; Jenkins, 2012). The Kenyan communities will keep drifting apart. The notion of 'foreigner/immigrant' and the indigene that has been propagated mainly by politicians will continue stratifying communities. The 'foreigner' (late entrant to an area) has been referred to as 'madoadoa' (spots/stains) more so during electoral times. The 'foreigner' has been accused of voting contrary to the 'indigenes' The emerging differences not only lead to clashes but enhance differences keeping the communities further apart. In the Rift Valley, the pastoral communities have claimed to be indigenes with claims that 'immigrants' should claim land where their ancestors are. Land ownership and access has been politicized. Herders have at times grazed domestic animals right into the crop fields bringing clashes with cultivators. A similar scenario is currently (September, 2021) being experienced in Laikipia (Njuguna, 2021). With the campaigns for

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the 2022 general elections gaining momentum, the differences between communities are increasing with killings and migrations taking place.

The accruing fear and stratification between communities has led to increased acquisition of illicit arms. Rohwerder, (2015) claims that communal violence which is attributable to diverse but interrelated factors has led to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons as communities prepare to fight their neighboring communities. Kyalo, (2015) argues that through the vast unmanned borders of Kenya, illicit arms have easily found their way into the country. With the increasing levels of violence in the country, the call by the African Union for, "Silencing the guns by the year 2020" has not been achieved. On 9th June, 2021, at the Regional Traffic Police Training Centre located in Ngong (Ombati, 2021), President Uhuru Kenyatta led Kenyans in setting ablaze 5144 illegally acquired guns. This is an indicator of the existence of stratified communities that neither trusts each other nor the government that rules them. Klopp et al., (2010) attribute the increasing violence in the Rift Valley region of Kenya partly to the increased acquisition and the use of illicit arms that have found their way to the clandestine movements that are spread all over. The clandestine movements have the sympathy and support of the communities where they operate from. With support and funding from politicians, the movements continue operating with impunity. Hence, a vicious circle has developed. While communal violence has led to increased acquisition of illegal arms, the acquisition of the arms has led to increased communal violence.

Mutahi & Ruteere, (2019) have asserted that failure to address the root causes of communal violence has contributed to the perennial violence. They have claimed that the unmet demands of the communities coupled with incitement by political aspirants have left the country divided. According to the duo, in the 2017 elections, voting was done along ethnic lines with sharp divisions showing openly between communities. Voting blocs were formed with communities rallying behind the two leading candidates in the presidential race. Hostilities went live. Spontaneous clashes erupted between supporters of President Uhuru on the one hand and Raila Odinga (the leading opposition candidate) on the other hand. Stratification between the Kenyan communities remains an issue to date. Despite the popular 'handshake' between President Uhuru Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga on 9th March, 2018 (PSCU, 2018), the Kenyan communities are still divided. One is left wondering what more can be done to bring the communities together. Although the' handshake' was widely welcomed (Kiritu, 2019), the 2022 election campaigns appear to have reminded Kenyans that they belong to different ethnic groups.

Lives and property have been lost in communal violence. In the 1992 general elections, 779 people were killed in the violent clashes while an additional 56,000 people were displaced. Additionally, 200 people were killed in the 1997 elections while 100,000 people were left displaced (Cho et al., 2015). The total numbers quoted elsewhere for 1992 and 1997 are approximately 300 deaths and 300, 000 displacements (Boone, 2012). In the 2007-08 elections, 1133 people were killed with scores of others getting injuries. With the general elections taking place every five years in Kenya, and with clashes being reported even in-between the election periods, the number of people dying could be higher. Further, some of those injured are turned into dependents.

A spate of migrations has been reported as taking place during the periods of violence. As indicated above, 56000 people and 100,000 people were displaced in 1992 and 1997 respectively. In the 2007-08 elections, the displaced persons have been estimated at 650,000 (Elder et al., 2014). Most of the displaced people have found themselves in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps. The living conditions in the IDP camps have been horrific

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(Waweru, 2019). Congestion as well as lack of various basic necessities has been an issue. The squalid conditions in the camps have increased the level of bitterness among the displaced communities. Irked by the conditions the IDPs undergo, dissatisfaction has remained high with cycles of violence taking place. Despite the efforts to resettle the IDPs, the perennial complains still take place. The Molo area with over 50 IDP camps during the 2007-08 violence is one of the places where communities have been left with mounting bitterness (Onguny & Gillies, 2019). People who owned land have been turned into squatters. Further, efforts at reintegration as well as resettling the displaced persons have led to unplanned financial expenditures by the Government. The economy of Kenya has been strained,

The displacements of communities come with the abandonment of homes and agriculture affecting production. According to Raleigh & Dowd, (2013), violence has disturbed the peace that is required for the growth of economies. The geo-politics of groups and communities have destabilized communities. People are occupied with activities of attacks and self-defence making it hard to concentrate on important development ventures. Instead of peaceful co-existence and exploiting the synergy between the different communal groups in the country, hatred has almost become a norm. The differences between the different communities have led to tension, suspicion and mistrust. The outcome has been retrogression and retardation in the country that is well endowed with good climate and fertile soils. These have led to low standards of living, misery and suffering.

Additionally, communal violence has led to psychological torture (Hickman, 2011). People have been left with depression making some to commit suicide. The human resource which is crucial in production has been affected leading to low production. 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) avers that psychological torture has long terms effects that are detrimental to individuals and communities at large. According to Silove et al., (2014), victims of communal violence face trauma. The symptoms of trauma remain long after violence has ended. Such victims of violence have high stress levels. With Kenya's economy experiencing slow growth over the years, communal violence contributes in making life tougher by increasing the dependence levels. Traumatized people cannot be productive hence the need by governments to do all that is possible for communities to live in peace.

Different sectors including education are affected by violence. 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. Learning gets disrupted as students become unable to attend classes. When violence breaks out, learners and teachers are affected with absenteeism becoming common. Concentrating on school work becomes hard where gun shots ring in the air. Educational standards are lowered. Compromising education has adverse impacts on the development and the future of the people. This has been common especially in the Mount Elgon region of Kenya. Communal violence leads to increased fear among the school-going children and the community as a whole. Additionally, boys who would be expected to be attending school are recruited into militias.

Mung'ou, (2018) claims that in the Mount Elgon region of Kenya, communal violence between the different communities has been detrimental to the education sector. The author attributes the violence to incitement by politicians and powerful individuals in the Mt. Elgon area. School-going children have been prevented from accessing schools. While boys have been engaged in the fighting, the girl child has been gripped with fear preventing her from attending school. Additionally, convincing boys who have turned into militias to go back to

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school is not an easy task. Intractable conflicts and atrocities have been witnessed impacting negatively on education which is core to the development and the future of the people. Compromising on education is a threat not only to the future of the people of Mt. Elgon but to the entire country and by extension the entire 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. Girls and women who go through such circumstances are left stigmatized in life. Thus while rape is done to force people into subjugation, it leaves the affected individuals with permanent scars that are hard to erase.

Contributing to the debate on the impacts of communal violence, Wachira, (2012) avers that other than rape that leaves the female gender traumatized, harmony has been affected by looting, attacks and threats. Criminal gangs have taken advantage of the confusion created by communal violence to exhort communities. People are deprived of property that took many years to amass. It is not uncommon to hear of criminal gangs controlling some 'matatu' terminals and even demanding what they term as a monthly 'protection fee' from some homes. A reign of terror has come into existence.

Perhaps the socialization taking place, caused by communal violence, is a matter of interest as people tend to regroup into ethnic groups. According to Onguny & Gillies, (2019), a situation of 'us' against 'them' has developed. Communities have socialized their generations to learn that the neighboring community is an enemy. As one is socialized, the consciousness of belonging to a particular society gets codified into him/her leading to identifying with and being ready to defend the community and fight for it. The other community is looked at with suspicious eyes. Permanent enmity is developed that could take quite long periods to cure. Instead of sharing the available resources, a sense of competition has been created. Co-existence has almost become impossible. With the isolated patterns of settlement in Kenya, the skewed socialization is likely to continue taking place. Unless the government re-thinks this, suspicion and fear will continue. Communal violence will therefore continue affecting the Kenyan communities.

Effects of Communal violence in Njoro Sub-County

Communal violence has left the communities living in Njoro Sub-county sharply divided. This is evidenced by a number of factors that include the voting patterns over the years, reduced communication between the communities and the settlement patterns of the communities across the Sub-County. The last four general elections as captured in the following table show divided communities that approach issues along ethnic lines. In Kihingo, Lare, Njoro and Mau Narok where the Kikuyu are the majority, only Kikuyu Councilors/Members of the County Assembly (MCAs) have been elected. In Nesuit where the Ogiek dominate, only Ogiek Councilors/ MCAs have been elected while in Mauche, those elected are Kalenjin.

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Table 1: Elected Councillors/MCAs in the last few 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

Source: Data extracted from the following documents: Data for 2002 - The Kenya Gazette Vol CV No. 2 - 8th January 2003; Data for 2007 - The Kenya Gazette Vol CX No 8 - 25th January 2008 (IEBC)

As already mentioned, the settlement patterns in the Sub-County indicate the existence of a people who are stratified. Each community live almost exclusively isolated from the other communities. As the researcher was collecting the data, it was clear that each community expressed an air of importance regarding the other communities. It was common to hear one community accusing the other and blaming it for the sufferings it was facing. It was not uncommon for one community to refer to the other communities with negative connotations. For instance, the Ogiek were being referred to as "watu wa msituni" meaning 'people of the bush'. Although it is a fact that the Ogiek generally occupy forested areas, the term was demeaning. Equally, the Kalenjin would refer to the Kikuyu people as 'jorindet' meaning 'thief'. The Kikuyu were referred to this way with arguments that they had come to snatch land in the Rift Valley. During data collection, the researcher realized that there was very little communication between the different communities.

Njoro Sub-County has experienced many communal violence related deaths. Although the exact number of deaths for the Sub-County has not been captured, those of the larger Molo District where Njoro Sub-County was carved in 2010 portray the area as suffering serious impacts of violence. During the 2007-08 post-election violence, the number of deaths in the larger Molo area have been estimated at 150 people with 170 others receiving injuries. Most of the deaths were concentrated in Mau area which lies mostly in Mau Narok Ward of Njoro Sub-County (Waweru, 2019).

Further, communal violence led to burning of 1564 houses in the larger Molo area displacing 66,000 people. This data for the 2007-08 election violence is an indicator of the

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losses that many people undergo. As indicated, Mau area of Njoro Sub-County was the epicentre of the violence. The photos attached here are an indication of the atrocities people faced in Njoro Sub-County.

Photos Showing the Outcome of communal Violence in Njoro Sub-County

The photos were taken in 2020 during PhD research



Remains of a house burnt down in Store-Mbili village. It has not been repaired but the owner continues cultivating the land.

Source: Photo taken by first author.

The burning of homes comes with displacement of communities. This has affected agriculture and other sectors of the economy. Some farms have been neglected with others experiencing change of user. The following attachment shows a farm where planting of food crops have been replaced with trees. This was been done after the owner realized that he was not enjoying any benefit from the farm as animals would be grazed on his farm crops and at times, the crops would be set on fire..

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A house burnt down at Mwireri village on 31-12-2007 when the retired president, H.E Mwai Kibaki was declared President. The owner relocated but rents the land.
Source: Photo taken by first author.

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A commercial building housing a bar, hotel, butchery and lodgings. Vandalized during the 2007-08 elections, it has not been rebuilt
Source: Photo taken by first author.

Waweru, (2019) states that following the 2007-08 post-election violence that pitied mainly the Kalenjin against the Kikuyu communities in the Rift Valley, the larger Molo had over 50 IDP camps where horrific living conditions were experienced. Although all the IDP camps have since closed down, the residents of Njoro narrated vividly how terrible life was in the camps. Churches and schools turned into centres for Internally Displaced Persons. Such centres included Mutarakwa Primary School which has now expanded to house a secondary section. Despite the horrifying conditions and the poor state of living, Mutarakwa primary school in Lusiru Location housed many families.

As has been captured from the voices of the different respondents the researcher interacted with, the general interaction and sharing of ideas between members of the different communities is greatly affected. All energy and time are directed to the communal violence. This amplifies the divisions created between the different communities. Socialization is hard even among members of the same community. Hence, divisions as cited earlier are a common thing where communal violence takes place (Najar, 2014). When asked, *'What happens when conflicts occur?"*, the responses received included:

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> "Inter-communal social set-up is affected. Divisions are created even between friends and neighbors coming from the different communities" IS 001
> And
> "We get lots of damages. We have lost a lot of people. 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 005

The Swahili words mean, 'During violence, relationships go very low. It is pure hatred. Even neighbors who have lived together for many days stop communicating with each other especially if they come from different ethnic groups. Each looks at the other with suspicion that the neighbour could be betraying him/her.

The general destructions coupled with burning of food stores, brings starvation. The economy is ruined with some people who were self-dependent turning into beggars. Trade comes to a standstill. As some respondents pointed out, mental breakdown affects some people due to displacement and the family break-ups that come with communal violence. Communal violence lead to damaging infrastructure making it hard to access the various facilities that include markets, health centres and institutions of learning. When asked the immediate question above, some of the responses captured included:

> "Our people are killed. In this place, people are displaced. Oh brother, food stores are burned. Livestock is stolen and killed. Oh my schools are closed. Just imagine even churches are closed!" IS 004
> And
> "People are killed. Schools are closed down. A lot does happen including people being evicted from their homes and houses being burnt" IS 007
> And
> "Normalcy ceases to exist. Life becomes completely disrupted. I don't know whether you are getting me! Many people become dependents. Our neighbors and even the rest of Kenya are affected. The economy suffers a great deal. The 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

In Njoro Sub-County, as evidenced here, morality has been affected with some people who were well-disciplined changing their behavior. Some turn into petty crimes in a bid to get their daily bread. Such kinds of people are easy targets for politicians. It is such people who are recruited into militias for use by the politicians.

Further, in Njoro Sub-County, cases of rape, defilements and immorality increase with communal violence. Diseases, especially pneumonia, become widespread. The situation is made worse by the fact that with damaged roads, access to health facilities is not easy. At the same time, it is a risky affair to venture out during the fighting period. With diseases on the increase and with the killings in the field, some children turn into orphans or semi-orphans. Desperation increases among the families surviving communal violence. The following excerpts are indicators of the desperation faced by the residents of Njoro:

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> "Violence brings about closure of businesses. It also brings a paralysis in transport. It makes life hard especially for women. They have to take care of the family and provide for the men involved in fighting" IS 003
> And
> "A lot of destruction. Watu anakufa sana. Ni hasara tupu tugu. Kila kitu anaharibiwa. Jagura, mnyama, pinatamu na kadhalika" IS 009

The words in Kiswahili uttered with mother tongue interpolation literally mean, 'people die in great numbers. It is total loss. Everything is destroyed. Food, animals, people and so forth'. Nothing is spared when communal violence breaks out.

Though from different communities, respondents in the area of study shared similar sentiments on the negative effects of communal violence. When asked, *"In your opinion, what is the key effect of communal violence in this Sub-County?"* some of the responses given are as captured in the following table:

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Table 2: Responses

Respondent	Response
2	My dear, there is increased ethnicity catalysed by political incitements in Njoro Moreover, our people are killed. In this place, people are displaced. Oh brother, food stores are burned. Livestock is stolen and killed. People lose their property and turn into beggars. Nothing gets spared.
3	The economy is hampered as trade is affected. The variance of ethnicity is noticed. Enmity is seen openly. No hiding anything.
5	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. Political incitement (bitterness still showing) has brought tragedy mwalim.
11	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.
13	There is no access to education. Market accessibility is also not easy. 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!
14	People seek government intervention. Some engage in fighting and yet others migrate to the neighbourhood. In other instances, they raise alarm to call neighbors for help. Wakati huo huwa kimeumana sana.

Source: Field data 2020

When asked to mention other additional effects of communal violence in Njoro, occurrences like suicide were mentioned. Cases of frustrated residents taking their lives were higher

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during active violence in comparison to when fighting was not taking place. Respondents further lamented about unequal distribution of resources. In particular, one respondent said:

> We have a serious problem in this place. People have been indoctrinated to vote along ethnic lines. Anything to the contrary is taken as betraying the community. Those that are voted in reward their communities by ensuring that the bulk of resources go them ARE: 013.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This article has deliberated on the different effects of communal violence that have continued to negatively impact the lives of the communities living in Njoro Sub-County of Nakuru County. With no sign of ending communal violence as is demonstrated by its continued spread to the entire 47 Counties of Kenya, the menace continues to threaten the public. As pointed out in this article, the violence has led to losses of lives. As Cho et al., (2015) have claimed, violence leaves people dead and others injured. If violence is not stopped, people will continue dying leading to loss of manpower and stagnation of economies.

Elder et al., (2014) opines that divisions have been created between the different communities especially in the Rift Valley. With Kenya having multiple ethnic groups, unless a solution to communal violence is sought fast enough, its negative effects will continue ravaging communities. As confirmed during the field research, communities in Njoro are stratified with each occupying distinct areas away from other communities. While the Ogiek ethnic community is concentrated next to the forest and almost every member of the Ogiek community lives in Nesuit Ward, The Kalenjin community are concentrated in Mauche Ward. The other four wards with exception of Njoro that is more cosmopolitan are Kikuyu dominated. This kind of dominance by particular ethnic communities in particular areas need to be addressed. It is such kind of scenarios that lead to skewed socialization and voting patterns along ethnic lines.

As argued earlier, when communities are stratified and live in suspicion of their neighbors, they develop negative attitude towards other communities. This is clearly evidenced by the voting patterns as captured in Table 1 above. It beats logic why a Kikuyu would only vote a fellow Kikuyu, a Kalenjin vote in only a fellow Kalenjin with a similar trend for other communities. It is such scenarios that lead communities into arming themselves to deal with the enemy 'other'. In fact, those occupying government positions were blamed for favouring their communities and segregating the other communities in service delivery. Such favouritism makes those segregated to develop enmity towards those favoured by the system. Kyalo, (2015) is right in averring that proliferation of small arms and light weapons is done in a bid to fight the 'enemy'. There is a need to rethink the patterns of settlement in Kenya and also check on the source of the weapons and how they find their way into the hands of the civilian community.

Furthermore, it is important to have the voters educated on matters such as going to the ballot. 'Inciters' and 'war-mongers' have been voted in and this has hampered unity, growth and development in Njoro Sub-County. The electorate has often gone for our 'kith and kin'. Voters need to be educated on how to detect quality in political aspirants regardless of their ethnicity. Additionally, the government should have in place punitive measures on the politicians and other powerful individuals who incite communities into violence. In fact, during this research, incitement especially by politicians was cited as a key factor igniting the violence in Njoro Sub-County.

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Further, for peace practitioners to effectively address communal violence there is need to hear the sufferings faced by communities. It is for this reason that the researcher took a constructivist stance. Involving the relevant stakeholders helps unravel issues better as opposed to imposing peace without listening to the communities. Mac Ginty, (2015) underscores the importance of involving the local people in peace-building. The local people, if given a chance, have the solution to the violence afflicting them.

It would be important to re-look at the way people in Njoro Sub-County are socialized. The segregated settlements occupied by particular ethnic communities together with the deep-rooted traditions have made the different communities to appropriate to themselves particular areas and to blame their neighbors for their suffering. It was evident that the Ogiek who live in the largely forested Nesuit Ward take forests as their sole possessions. On the other hand, the Kalenjin community has been accused of claiming that their land spreads all the way to Naivasha. Generations have been socialized believing that certain areas belong to them. Thus there is need to encourage the communities to share settlements and get them to embrace and empathize with other communities.

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