UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

EFFECTS OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION EFFORTS IN

KENYA - A FOLLOW UP TO 2007 POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE

IN MUKURU SLUMS, NAIROBI

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project paper is my original work and has not been presented to any other university

Signature.......................... Date...17/11/2009...............

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This project paper has been submitted with my approval as the university supervisor

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents who taught me the value of education. To my soul-mate Philomena and my two wonderful kids Brenda and Brandon for their unwavering and priceless gift of encouragement and support

May the Lord Always shelter you All under His Wings

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ABSTRACT

Violent conflict is a major human rights, development and social problem world over. There are different forms of violent conflict which includes; territorial wars, interstate and intrastate conflicts, conflicts among individuals that result into lack of development, loss of livelihoods, displacement, loss of employment opportunities and changes in the structure of the economy. When violent conflicts occur in the society, there are various methods applied in solving the conflicts and ensuring that such conflicts do not re-occur. One of the most popular methods of solving these conflicts and ensuring that they do not occur again is in the use of peace and reconciliation. This study is focused on the impacts of peace and reconciliation efforts in Kenya.

In Kenya's history, members of different ethnic groups co-existed, traded and inter-married in a mutual relationship between pastoralists and agricultural communities. There have been some conflicts here and there, triggered by old cultural beliefs like cattle rustling, but the events of December 2007after the contested presidential elections between PNU candidate Mwai Kibaki and ODM candidate Raila Odinga, claims that the elections were rigged sparked off the worst politically instigated conflict that forced the international community to step in and initiate talks between the rival groups.

Most studies focusing on violent conflict touch on the actual physical conflicts and the impacts of the violence on society. There is very limited information regarding the impact of peace and reconciliation efforts. This study will be an assessment of the impact of the peace and reconciliation efforts in ensuring that the communities that raised arms against each other achieve total reconciliation and the once peaceful environment between communities returns. This study has attempted to fill this knowledge gap. The objectives of this study are: to undertake an analysis of the impact of peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums; to analyze the activities of major actors in reconciliation and peace building efforts in Mukuru slums; to analyze the activities of major actors in bringing back peace and reconciliation among the people of Mukuru slums and to examine the impact of major actors in bringing back peace and reconciliation among the

people and to analyze the role of the government of Kenya in bringing back peace and reconciliation to the people of Mukuru slums.

Only specific social and political factors were included in the study, some of which include; education level, age of respondents, designation of respondents, length of living in Mukuru slums, gender, effects of the violence on peoples lives and the role of the government of Kenya in bringing back peace and reconciliation. Existing literature on violent conflicts and peace and reconciliation efforts were examined with regard to definition and scope of violent conflicts, society perspectives of peace and reconciliation efforts including efforts by different groups in mitigating violent conflicts. This research is grounded on the macro theory of conflict theory and a micro theory namely frustration-aggression theory.

Primary data for the study was obtained using questionnaires and key informant interviews. A total of 140 respondents were interviewed, the findings were analyzed using a statistical package for social sciences, while content analysis was done for the qualitative data. The findings indicated that peace and reconciliation efforts had a great impact on reducing conflicts in the area as indicated by a mean of 4.8 with a standard deviation of 0.41. The means adapted to promoting peace and reconciliation suited the situation in Mukuru slums. Also the findings established that the change in political situation in Mukuru area and gender of the respondents had no impact on promoting peace and reconciliation.

Key recommendations arising from the study includes; the promotion of peace and reconciliation to other parts of the country as this has proved to bear fruits in the case of Mukuru slums. The methods used in promoting peace and reconciliation should be people initiated and not necessarily use of rule of law.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
UN	United Nations
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia
ICC	International Criminal Court
PNU	Party of National Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KICC	Kenyatta International Conference Centre
KANU	Kenya African National Union
ODM-K	Orange Democratic Movement- Kenya
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency syndrome
AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
JRFC	Jesus Revelation Fellowship Church
IPPG	Inter Party Parliamentary Group
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
NGO	Non Governmental Organization

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Some relationships are inherently unpeaceful. They do damage to one or more of the parties concerned, through physical violence, in economic, social or psychological ways. Absence of peace is characteristic of many situations that do not present overt conflict. Unpeacefulness is a situation in which human beings are impeded from achieving full development either because of their own internal relations or because of the types of relations that exist between themselves (as individuals or group members) and other persons or groups. Thus the internal relations within an individual may be so discordant and conflicted that his enjoyment of life is destroyed and his capacity to act is paralyzed. He does not, as we say, enjoy peace of mind. Again an unharmonious marriage in which the capacities of either partner (or both partners) cannot flower, is unpeaceful, on a much larger scale, is the relation between the colonizer and the colonized, and that between under-privileged minorities, racial, religious, or linguistic and the majorities responsible for their lack of privilege; so also, in some senses, is that between the world's small number of wealthy nations and its many poor nations. War is such a relationship; it epitomizes all the evils of unpeacefulness. Conversely, in my terms, peace is a condition from which the individuals or group concerned gain more advantage than disadvantage. Ideally, it means something even more positive; the harmonious and constructive collaboration typical of a happy marriage, or an effectively run common market.

In general, books dealing with peace or its opposite are concerned with hostilities between nations, groups, or individuals, and the ways in which they may be curbed or prevented. Lack of peace is usually associated with physical harm or obviously disturbed, unhappy, or potentially violent relationships. Galtung J (1969) in speaking of peace and violence says: "Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations", and violence is defined as the "cause of the difference between the potential and the

actual" (p.3). Galtung divides violence into personal violence, physical and psychological; and structural violence, by which he means uneven distribution of power over resources (p.11). The absence of the former he calls negative peace and of the later he calls positive peace or social justice. The two together constitute peace in the full sense. Galtung maintains that violence (though I would term it unpeacefulness) exists whenever an individual's potential development, mental or physical, is held back by the conditions of a relationship. It may seem peculiar to suggest that emotional, social, or education deprivation or a lower level of health, should be regarded as a symptom of "unpeace" if conditions are otherwise peaceful and if the people concerned are satisfied with their lot.

The American Negro ghetto communities in the 1950s were relatively peaceful in the sense that the blacks, though suffering violence, seldom responded in kind. The anger that flared in the 1960s on a large scale in many places was therefore not anticipated. But in the earlier, as in the later decade, the black communities were under-privileged and subtly discriminated against. Their educational level was lower than that of surrounding communities, their standard of nutrition was poorer; their life-expectancy was lower and many suffered from psychological difficulties. Yet one might even say that, despite their disadvantages, black people in the 1950s were satisfied; they were "better off than their fathers" or "knew their position" and were therefore, at peace with the world. But it is clear that these were the conditions that led to violence, the unpeace – which no one would objectively deny – a few years later. Thus even if domination by one group produces the abject submission of another, the relationship (which is necessarily based on inequality) bears the seeds of rebellion when the level of awareness rises in the dominated group, the seeds germinate.

The legacy of violent conflict is invariably the widespread destruction and degradation of physical capital and infrastructure; reduced levels of human capital leads to deaths, diseases, displacement; loss of employment opportunities and livelihoods; weakened institutions and decline of social capital, particularly the bridging type of networks that

reach across ethnic or communal divides, growth collapse and capital flight; and changes in the structure of the economy.

Armed conflicts generally result in the reduction of a country's human capital. While the most direct human capital costs are deaths as a result of war- related violence, battle deaths usually constitute a small proportion of the total number of casualties. In many recent conflicts, civilians have been deliberately targeted by armed groups, either to achieve certain strategic or political objectives, such as the creation of an ethnically homogeneous territory or to deny safe havens to rival combatants, or simply in order to loot civilian homes and other assets. Civilians have also fallen victim to the increasingly indiscriminate use of weapons such as landmines. For instance, in Nepal landmines killed 415 People between 2004 and 2006, 57 percent of whom were children.

It is suggested that land scarcity and its distribution aggravated by other factors such as high rate of population growth and environmental degradation has contributed to the violent and tribal clashes in Kenya. Historically, members of Kenya's forty two ethnic groups have co-existed, traded and intermarried, in a mutual relationship between pastoralists and agricultural communities. Moreover ethnicity was, prior to the mid-twentieth century a more fluid concept than commonly supposed. In addition violence has occurred primarily in the areas reserved for European farmers in colonial times, known as the white highlands, rather than in the most densely populated areas. The shortage of agricultural land in the latter was not sufficient to cause large scale violence without particular grievances against defined segments of the population. Thus while land tenure could be characterized as a condition that facilitates the mobilization of grievances it is not in itself a sufficient cause of violence.

Large scale inter-ethnic violence is a new phenomenon in Kenya. The causes of violence are intrinsically related to democratization and electoral cycle; its roots are politically instigated, not primordial. Domestic pressure to liberalize the political process, which began in the mid 1980's snowballed in the early 1990's led by urban professionals and mainstream church leaders.

Initially violent eruptions only happened in the rural farming highlands, but large scale inter-ethnic violence in Kenya was experienced in 2007 after the hotly contested presidential elections between PNU candidate Mwai Kibaki and ODM candidate Raila Odinga. Claims that elections were rigged sparked off the worst Politically Instigated conflict that forced the international community to step in and initiate talks between rival groups. The talks were chaired by the former United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Koffi Annan. The talks ended with the signing of the peace Accord and power sharing deal between the two political parties

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Although the post-election crisis in Kenya has ended, the impact of the brutal violence continues to be deeply felt. Communities that raised arms against each other are slowly reconciling. By working together, aid agencies, partners and the Kenyan government are helping affected people to rebuild their lives and inculcate a culture of peace. These organizations are continuing to support affected communities by providing a complementary set of services to help families reconcile with neighbours, return home if desired and restart farming activities and other income generating activities to support affected communities.

The organizations are also supporting forums to bring disputing residents together to discuss issues. They hold discussions with members of each ethnic group involved in the conflict. The various ethnic groups are then brought together to discuss their differences in a safe arena and explore avenues for forgiveness and reconciliation. They also work to provide counseling, workshops on sexual and gender — based violence and sanitation training all aimed at helping residents to heal after the post election violence and improve community health. Since the inception of these programs, residents are reported to have expressed willingness to open up and discuss their views openly. All these efforts have a one directional aim; to bring peace and reconciliation among residents.

Research questions
This study intends to answer the following;

a)   Are these organizations succeeding in their efforts to bring back peace and reconciliation?

b)   Are residents; who were shocked by the sudden turn of events by having their neighbours kill, rape and steal from them able to forgive their neighbors?

c)   Are the neighbours able to attain back the trust and co-exist as before without fearing for their security at night?

d)   Are they able to suppress the feeling of bitterness that is evident during open discussion forums?

There is literature on politically instigated clashes in Kenya after the disputed elections in 2007. The literature is either what people have written about the causes and the roles played by different groups of people to end the conflict. There is literature on what different organizations and the government of Kenya are doing to bring back peace and reconciliation. But as concerns the feedback, the fruits being borne from these efforts, only scanty and scattered literature exists. Moreover the existing literature is biased or looked at the reconciliation efforts from the rural areas. This study examines the impact of these peace and reconciliation efforts from the urban environment and more specifically a slum setting that was one of the affected areas by the conflict and also one where peace and reconciliation efforts are underway. The existing literature leaves a gap in our understanding of the impact of the peace and reconciliation efforts on the slums people. This study thus, is a modest response to filling the existing gaps

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objectives
The overall objective of the study is to undertake an analysis of the impact of peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives
i)   To identify the major actors in reconciliation and peace building efforts in Mukuru slums.

ii)   To analyze the activities of major actors in bringing back peace and reconciliation among the people of Mukuru slums

iii)   To examine the impact of major actors in bringing back peace and reconciliation among the people.

iv)   To examine the role played by the government of Kenya in bringing back peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slum

1.4 Limitation of the study

Various factors were a limitation in the carrying out of the study effectively. Due to the suspicion that has grown after the post election violence, it was difficult for the respondents to open up. To prevent this I worked closely with the provincial administration and local church leaders. I secured an introduction letter from the area chief that proved very useful in building peoples confidence. To ensure that an extensive area was covered and that the study was exhaustively carried out, I employed the services of two research assistant from the area to help in ensuring that all areas are covered. There was a limitation in some people using "sheng" (a combination of English and Swahili) which prompted me to ask for verifications from those who could understand. While peace and reconciliation efforts are being conducted in many parts of the country, it is unfortunate that I limited myself to Mukuru slums in Nairobi due to leck of time.

1.5 Scope of the study

The study examined the impacts of peace and reconciliation efforts and post election violence in Kenya. The period of study was the period between December 2007 and the date of the completion of the study as these peace and reconciliation efforts are still ongoing. In 2007, Kenya witnessed effects of the hotly contested presidential elections between PNU candidate Mwai Kibaki and ODM candidate Raila Odinga. Claims that elections were rigged sparked off the worst politically instigated conflict that forced the international community to step in and initiate talks between rival groups. The talks were chaired by the former United Nations Secretary General Koffi Annan. The talks ended

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with signing of the peace accord and power sharing deal between two political camps in March 2008 leading to some degree of calmness.

Several Aids agencies, bi-lateral and multi-lateral partners and the Kenyan government embarked on efforts to help the affected people to rebuild their lives and a culture of peace, they are continuing to support affected communities by providing a complementary set of services to help families reconcile with neighbours.

The area of study was Nairobi and in particular Mukuru Slums. Mukuru Slums was chosen because it was one the slum areas affected by political crisis where some atrocities against humanity occurred. Also the fact that Mukuru slum is home to people from several ethnic backgrounds that were involved in the conflict, and an area where peace and reconciliation efforts are in progress, it would be an ideal area to monitor the progress of the efforts.

1.6 Justification of the study

Armed conflicts generally results, in the reduction of a country's human capital, while the most direct human capital costs are deaths as a result of war–related violence, battle deaths usually constitute a small proportion of the total number of casualties. After the widespread conflicts in Kenya a trail of widespread destruction and degradation of physical capital and infrastructure; reduced levels of human capital due to deaths, diseases, displacement; loss of employment opportunities and livelihoods; weakened institutions and decline of social capital, particularly the "bridging" type of networks that reach across ethnic or communal divides, growth collapse and capital plight; and changes in the structure of the economy.

To ensure that a peaceful society where individuals from different ethnic backgrounds co-exist, efforts must be made to avert war and its effects. In Kenya after the post election violence, ethnic animosity combined with mistrust had threatened all the country's sectors of development which several aid agencies, partners and the Kenyan government are working together to ensure that firm foundations of peace and reconciliation are

established; to ensure that those events will never occur again and that the once friendly and hardworking society will get back to where it was.

Studies undertaken looked at the general impact of ethnic clashes on the society both in the rural and urban areas. The studies concentrated on the causes and the roles played by different groups to end the conflict. However, the issue of peace and reconciliation is only mentioned as an effort to bring the situation back to normal, but is this aim being achieved? Can we trust the organizations with the responsibility of bringing back peace and reconciliation? Do these organizations measure up to the task and do they have the capacity to enable neighbours regain the trust they had on fellow neighbours? Are they able to help suppress feelings of bitterness that people who lost their properties and loved ones have?

The study will, hopefully provide relevant information to peace practitioners involved in peace and reconciliation efforts on the progress of their efforts. Another intended beneficiary of the study is the government of Kenya in assessing the level of peace and reconciliation since the post poll crisis.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The problem of war and peace is as old as humanity. Symbolically it goes back to the biblical story when Cain, in a rage of envy, killed his innocent brother Abel. Evidently the use of violence or war between persons, communities or nations represents a breach of peace or equilibrium conditions. In other words, war is a disequilibrium phenomenon.

Since Thucydides analysis of the Peloponnesian conflict in ancient Greece, scholars of war have paid attention to the distinction between (a) the underlying or long-term cause of hostility or tension between nations and (b) the immediate events preceding a crisis which triggered a war (Lebow, 1981, p. 1). One view (inherited from Thucydides) is that a crisis only determines the timing of war which otherwise, in view of the long-term causes, was inevitable. A more recent, alternative interpretation is that the proximate causes of a conflict (crisis) can be evaluated as "an independent variable in international relations" and therefore may be considered as important as the underlying long-term causes (Lebow, 1981, p. 4).

These two views are significant as a part of the method of approach, but the fact of the matter remains that war, regardless of whether viewed in the short- or long-run, is always a phenomenon of disequilibrium conditions (economic, social or political) in the aggressor's country. This can be confirmed by a careful analysis of history of all times. No country which is living under conditions of stable equilibrium will ever start a war or ever did.

2.1.0 The Root Causes of the Post Election Violence In 2007

Independent Kenya began as a multiparty state in 1963, but later became a single party state in 1982 during the presidency of Daniel Torotich Arap Moi when the constitution of Kenya was amended to insert section 2(A) to make KANU the only Political Party. Nine years later in 1991, the government yielded to national and international pressure and

amended the constitution again to remove section (A). This was during a wave of democratization that swept the globe following the end of the cold war in 1989. The country held the first multiparty elections in 1992 and since then, cross-ethnic violence has characterized every national electoral exercise.

According to a report of the research undertaken by Kenya Thabiti Taskforce 2008 dubbed "Root causes and implications of the Post Election Violence of 2007". The single most important explanatory factor for the violence appears to be ethnic – based competition for the presidency because of the perceived socio-economic benefits expected to accrue to the president's ethnic community. Although Kenya held presidential elections from 1963 to 1992, the incumbent always ran unopposed; this undermined the intentions of effective leadership transformation. Indeed, the governments of former presidents Jomo Kenyatta (1963 – 1978) and Daniel Arap Moi (1978 – 2002) detained opposition leaders without trial demonstrating that state functionaries considered competition for the presidency treasonable.

The report goes ahead to say that, during the election violence witnessed in 1992 and 1997, the conflict epicenters were mainly the Rift Valley and the Coast provinces. The indigenous communities targeted the "migrant" ethnic communities ostensibly to drive them back to their original homelands. Although much of the past waves of violence were driven by competition over resources (e.g. land, employment and business opportunities) such violence still had political overtones. Practically, just before the general elections, indigenous communities would organize to drive out migrant ethnic communities to deny them an opportunity to vote. Consequently, this reduced the chances of the presidential candidate supported by the migrant communities from gathering the minimum of 25% of the vote from at least five (5) out of the eight (8) provinces as required by law.

The announcement of the incumbent president (Mwai Kibaki, candidate for the Party of National Unity – PNU) as the winner of the presidential vote triggered the violence. As the electoral commission of Kenya – ECK was struggling to finalize tallying to announce

the results amidst unexplained delays, one of the contending political parties the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), alleged (and later declared) that the PNU was rigged the presidential vote in its favor. The unexplained delays in processing the election results prompted the chairman of the ECK (Electoral Commission of Kenya) Mr. Samuel Kivuitu to "Ask what the electoral team was cooking? The ODM literally took Mr. Kivuitu's Comment as confirmation that there was rigging in favor of PNU.

At the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) Nairobi, where the ECK tallied the final presidential votes, Kenyans watched live the damning confrontations between i) ODM versus chairman of the ECK and ii) ODM versus PNU over allegation and counter allegations of rigging. Amidst strong protests from the ODM, the chairman of the ECK declared Mwai Kibaki as the winner of the presidential race. Immediately after the announcement, there were massive attacks on the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEMA) ethnic groups in ODM strongholds in the Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western, Coast Provinces and to a lesser extent in Nairobi. The Kisii ethnic group members were equally attacked especially in Luo and Kalenjin territories ostensibly because the community had traditionally been pro – Mwai Kibaki who in the 2007 election garnered a significant portion of their votes. In retaliation the GEMA Community mounted similar attacks 'against the Luo and Kalenjin ethnic groups mainly in Nairobi, Naivasha, Nakuru and other towns. In Mt. Kenya Region in particular, most people believe that an organized Kikuyu military called Mungiki executed brutal attacks against tribes viewed as "Anti – GEMA in Naivasha and Nakuru. Arising from violence government statistics indicated a death count of 1,500 persons, over 350,000 internally displaced persons and burning of homes, farms, business premises, vehicles, looting, e.t.c.

According to the report the diffusion of the conflict was, party propelled by Kin alliances and geo-strategic environment. Thus, the whole of Rift Valley, Western Kenya and Nyanza (Regions that host the Luo, Kalenjin, Luhya, Maasai Kisii and Kuria) formed a solid block (Excluding the Kisii) opposed to the Eastern one hosting GEMA and Kamba) with the exception of the coastal ethnic groups. The violent conflict was dividing the

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country into two contending geopolitical blocks (spiced with ethnic balkanization) suggesting a spiral into a civil war. In terms of viciousness, the violence was most brutal in the Rift Valley where the Kalenjin hacked or shot (with arrows) the Kikuyu and in Naivasha where the Kikuyu (Mungiki) hacked the Luo and Kalenjin with Machetes. In both the Kalenjin and Kikuyu orgy, the victims were indiscriminately men and women of all ages including children and the elderly.

In Luo and Luhya strongholds i.e. Nyanza and Western provinces respectively, the violence meted on those declared as political enemies was primary in the form of forceful eviction and threats but not killing (although few cases were reported) this was attributed to the cultural norms against bloodletting (a taboo that would supposedly render the killer develop mental disorders) as the causes of the non-slaughter among the Luo and Luhya ethnic groups. In terms of destruction of property, Kisumu witnessed the worst damage (over 50 shops were burnt) followed by Rift Valley where sprawling number of houses, farms and churches were torched.

The report goes ahead to explain that although the violence started as inter – ethnic, it quickly began gaining an intra-ethnic – interclass dimension. This was most evident among the Luo and Kikuyu. In Kisumu area, after "driving the enemy out", young Luo rioters began harassing their compatriots accusing them of being too healthy "or too happy". In Naivasha, once the Kikuyu (Mungiki) had flushed out their Luo and Kalenjin targets they imposed a dress code for Kikuyu women who were not to wear trousers. Drawing from the discourses of political theory and sociology of collective behavior and mass movements, the turn of events marked a shift in the character of the violence from an ethnic into class based. That is, it seemed as if the problem was not among the warring ethnic communities but among the "poor" versus the "rich" within each ethnic group. However, it is typical of ethnic conflict to have an intra – ethnic and inter – class dimension as a way of solidifying the group as a strategy of greater militarized conflict (Richardson and Sew, 1996). These events were preparing fertile grounds for a civil war in Kenya. [Kenya Thabiti Task Force 2008]

The report advances a number of causes of ethnic conflict, given that ethnic grievances just like social inequalities that produce them are bound to persist in any multi – ethnic society. The study found politico – economic reasons to be the most prominent, as well as socio – cultural and psychosocial factors.

On the part of political causes of the violence, many Kenyans (particularly ODM supporters) held the view that the ECK had lost its credibility and autonomy. These people viewed ECK as a political apparatus of PNU and by extension, Mwai Kibaki, who had unilaterally appointed the commissioners against the spirit of the 1997, IPPG (Inter Party Parliamentary Group) accord that required all political parties to be involved in the selection of ECK commissioners. The perception was enhanced by other factors including ECKs' delayed announcement of presidential results from Kibaki's strongholds, ECK chairman's' (Kivuitu's) own claim live on television and Radio broadcasts that the "electoral team was cooking results" and the swearing-in of Kibaki as president at an odd 1800 hours. There was a direct role of politicians in inciting ethnic groups against each other and greed for power.

Among the economic causes of the violence are those relating to means of livelihoods including ownership and control of means of production including land, capital and labor. There were grievances against the Kikuyu's dominance in regard to ownership of land and businesses in major urban areas outside the Mt. Kenya regions while "not allowing" other communities to own land and or do business in kikuyu homeland. Central province is viewed as the most homogeneous in terms of ethnic composition. With respect to control of business and employment by the Kikuyus in the Diaspora, kikuyu business people were often discriminating against local groups and stereotyping them as lazy and stupid.

The Rift Valley Nyanza., Western and coast provinces ODM politicians rallied supporters around the political philosophy of Majimbo (Regionalism). However, the local people operationalized Majimbo to entail eviction of the Kikuyu and or other ethnic groups declared as political economies for supporting a presidential candidate who was

not preferred by the local communities. The rationalization or justification (of political eviction through Majimbo) was that the Kikuyu (and or such other political enemies) controlled their indigenous homeland, central Kenya at the expense of the (local) indigenous communities.

Other economic factors leading to the violence included poverty and employment which led to the youth being paid to cause violence. In socio – cultural and psychosocial perspectives of violent conflicts, it concerns perceptions of the imagined community – imagined because people fight for members of their own community who they may have never interacted with and some of whom (e.g. criminals and deviants) would be in some other circumstances, be considered enemies. For instance when the Mungiki mayhem against the Luo and Kalenjin in Naivasha, Nakuru and Nairobi began the Kikuyu considered the illegal militia their savior or heroes despite the fact that only a few months before, the same group had caused similar atrocities amongst the Kikuyu in Nairobi and Central province.

In ethnic conflict according to the report, collective perceptions revolve around creation and projection of "enemy images" through which the other group is dehumanized, often animalized, which ultimately rationalizes violence including slaughter. There was intense negative inter-ethnic stereotyping and positive intra – ethnic stereotyping. The Kikuyu according to the report stereotyped the Luo and Kalenjin as lazy people who would not see opportunities around them and as ethnic chauvinists. The Kikuyu also stereotyped themselves as industrious and argued that other ethnic communities out of jealousy were victimizing them. On the other hand, the Luo and Kalenjin stereotyped the Kikuyu as arrogant selfish, pilfers and as ethnic chauvinists. The failure of the Kikuyu in the diaspora to be assimilated wholly in the "foreign lands" provoked stereotyping and resentment against them by the hosting ethnic groups. Lack of assimilation was amplified for example, through the Kikuyus tendency of imposing Kikuyu names or specific places within the foreign lands". The example cited include places in the heart of Kalenjin land but with imported Kikuyu names Kiambaa, Nyakinyua, Rukuini and Kiambogo.

The report also found that the main protagonist ethnic group had strong feelings of victimization. The Luo felt they were perpetual victims of the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes. In particular, the Kalenjin felt they were victims of Kibaki regime especially because the regime had largely deconstructed their dominance in the public sector employment that Moi had left in place during his 24 years of tenure. The strong candidature of Raila Odinga and the partnership with the Kalenjin Kingpin, William Ruto presented both communities best opportunity to capture state power and the social economic benefits that go with it. The announcement of Kibaki as the presidential winner must have therefore angered the Luo and Kalenjin who were the strongest supporters of the ODM.

According to the Akiwumi report; a report of the judicial commission appointed to inquire into tribal clashes in Kenya. Tribal clashes in the Rift valley province started on 29th October, 1991 at a farm known as Miteitei, situated in the heart of Tinderet Division, in Nandi district, pitting the Nandi; a Kalenjin tribe, against the Kikuyu, the Kamba the Luhya the Kisii and the Luo.

The clashes quickly spread to other farms in the area among them Owiro, farm which was wholly occupied by the Luo and into Kipkelion Division of Kericho District which had a multi ethnic composition of people among them the Kalenjin the Kisii and the Kikuyu. Later in early 1992, the clashes spread to Molo, Olenguruone, Londiani and other parts of Kericho Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and many other parts of the Rift valley province. In 1993, the clashes spread to Enoosupukia, Naivasha and parts of Narok and the Transmara Districts which together formed the greater Narok before the Transmara District was hived off, and to Gucha District in Nyanza province. In these areas the Kipsigis and the Maasai were pitted against the Kikuyu, Kisii, Kamba and the Luhya among other tribes. The clashes revived in Laikipia and Njoro in 1998,

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pitting the Samburu and then Pokot against the Kikuyu in Laikipia and the Kalenjin mainly against the Kikuyu in Njoro.

In each of these areas non- Kalenjin or non Maasai as the case may be were suddenly attacked their houses set on fire, their properties looted and women raped in certain instances.

Some of them were either killed or severely injured with traditional weapons like bows and arrows, spears, pangas, swords and clubs. The raiders were well organized and coordinated. Their attacks were generally under the cover of darkness and where the attacks were in broad day light, the raiders would smear their faces with clay to conceal their identities. The attackers targeted mainly the Kikuyu but also the Kisii, the Luhya and the Luo, other non-Kalenjin and non-Maasai communities were not spared. The attacks were barbaric, callous and calculated to drive out the targeted groups from their farms, to cripple them economically and to psychologically traumatize them. Many of the victims were forced to camp in schools, church compounds and shopping centers. They lived in makeshift structures of polythene sheets, cardboard and similar materials. They had little food and belongings with them and lived in poor sanitary conditions with their children who could no longer go to school. There was also a general lack of concern by the provincial administration and the police force for their security and general welfare. In general according to the report, the clashes started and ended suddenly and left a trial of destruction, suffering and disruption of life hitherto unknown in this country. The causes of the clashes according to this report have been given as conflict over land, cattle rustling, political differences and ecological reasons among others. The issue of in-border conflicts between communities was used in many instances to conceal the real motive or reason for the clashes.

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According to a report by Peace Net- Kenya (Peace and Development Network Trust) titled Post Election Violence in Kenya; Facts and figures. The roots causes of clashes in Kenya are given as past injustices whereby three major historical issues that were considered unfair and targeted to specific communities are mentioned, these included political wars, assassinations and skewed distribution of resources. Other causes include, land, multi-party politics and ethnicity. The report goes ahead to reveal a number of opportunistic causes to this conflict which included election results and unemployment. It goes ahead to examine the magnitude and the scale of displacements, the 2007 being higher than in the past; the emergence of militia and vigilante groups with some like Mungiki taking advantage of the environment in order to expand their interests and areas of influences, particularly in urban slums suffering from weak state protection.

According to the report for any sustainable peace and development to be realized , the scourge of violent conflicts should be averted once and for all since it is a major impediment to the socio – economic progress of any country and hence the need to promote peace , security and stability . The report acknowledged that intrastate conflicts in Africa destroy the productive human capacity and infrastructure necessary for development, which in turn disrupts production and weakens social, economic gains.

The report is important to this study because it brings out the impacts that the violence had on the population; it stresses the need to establish structures that will ensure that peace prevails amongst the population for development to be achieved.

According to a report by MIKIKI Africa titled "Space for Change in Africa". A number of pertinent issues came up after the post election violence and the most urgent and effective intervention towards mending fences among communities or groups which were fighting one another was peace building efforts. These efforts would involve a number of activities targeted at uniting the communities. These include:

a) Organizing village barazas (informal meetings that elicit debate)

b) Organizing reconciliation forums where people open up to check other on why they attacked one another and air their sentiments about their fellow countrymen or the other ethnic groups.

c) Organizing seminars where experts in conflict resolution and peace building expound on peace issues and conflict resolution.

d) Printing brochures and pamphlets for the communities to enable them study the issues to foster proper understanding of each other and enable thrashing of issues to create debate.

The importance of this report to this study is that it forms the areas of intervention in peace and reconciliation efforts whose impacts the study endeavors to measure, the success of this study will be the ability to give a comprehensive report on the success or failure of these efforts.

World Vision Kenya with the assistance of World Vision Canada conducted a Kenya Post Election Violence Peace and Reconciliation Project dubbed "Amani Tour" in August 2008. This was about six months after the election violence and the major finding was that there was still deep-seated suspicion between communities that were affected by the post election violence. World Vision as part of its several responses to the effects of the violence arranged for a visit by Jean Paul Samputu, a musician and a victim of the Rwanda Genocide and Fatmire Teka, also a victim of the atrocities that took place in Kosovo. The two accomplished peace builders in their own rights, had opportunity to hold music concerts, public speaking and dialogue with leaders. They also participated in radio interviews in Nairobi, Eldoret, Kitale and Kisumu and TV interview in Nairobi to pursue peace. The report of the peace and reconciliation project is important to this study because one of its primary findings about there being suspicion between communities that were affected is what the intended study wants to assess exhaustively. It only mentions the suspicion but does not tell us to what extent the suspicion is felt and whether the suspicion is easing or if it remains high.

Kathina argues in his article unveiling women as pillars of peace; peace-building in communities fractured by conflict in Kenya that women were raped and injured, he goes ahead to explain all the other hardships that women encountered, the author contends that women were killed during the outbreak of ethnic clashes, a situation that forced them to challenge elders, the seers, warriors, administrators, youth and church leaders to work for peace. While the book looked at the effects of war on the society briefly, it concentrated on the role of women as peace initiators, in different Kenyan communities. It is believed that for one to understand the roles of different peace making organizations one has to look at how their activities impact on the society. However, Kathina's work provides important information to be used in the investigation of the impact of peace and reconciliation efforts after post –election violence in Kenya

2.1.1 Relationship between peace and war

In brief, the study of peace and war, like any other social, economic or political phenomenon is a study of equilibrium versus disequilibrium conditions, as applied in international relations. A genuine universal and lasting peace requires conditions of stable equilibrium or stability-from-within, as distinguished from unstable equilibrium or stability-from-without which via a different road may reach the same goal but under a different scenario. The distinction between stability-from-within, derived from below or from the bottom of the social body through a network of interrelated self-regulating mechanisms, and stability-from-without instituted from above or by the leadership of the social body through a set of regulated mechanisms, is not quite clear in the literature. The term stability is often used interchangeably with both meanings, thus it may be ambiguous and may lead to confused or confusing conclusions. A clarification is therefore necessary, as undertaken elsewhere (Rugina, 1986, pp. 16-51).

The existence of two possible roads leading toward the same goal of peace – the classical road of stable equilibrium and the modern road of unstable equilibrium or stable disequilibrium evidently complicates the issue but not beyond the limit of being soluble. We are dealing in this study with the contribution of two giant social thinkers – Leon Walras and Jan Tinbergen – where the two roads are mirrored step by step but not visible

unless we are willing to apply systematically a new research program of a simultaneous equilibrium versus disequilibrium approach (Rugina, 1983 and 1986).

How to do full justice to such exceptional contributions is not an easy job. I hope that the application of the new research program will make the task more amenable. We are dealing here with two social thinkers from two different historical milieus, who belong to two different schools of thought and use two different methods of approach and modes of reasoning. Walras was a classical thinker whereas Jan Tinbergen is a modern scientist. Yet both are concerned with the same problem of how to reach and maintain a universal and lasting peace. According to a report by Peace Net- Kenya (Peace and Development Network Trust) titled Post Election Violence in Kenya; Facts and figures. The root causes of clashes in Kenya are given as past injustices whereby three major historical issues that were considered unfair and targeted to specific communities are mentioned, these included political wars, assassinations and skewed distribution of resources. Other causes include land, multi-party politics and ethnicity. The report goes ahead to reveal a number of opportunistic causes to this conflict which included election results and unemployment. It goes ahead to examine the magnitude and the scale of displacements, the 2007 conflicts being higher than in the past; the emergence of militia and vigilante groups with some like Mungiki taking advantage of the environment in order to expand their interests and areas of influences, particularly in urban slums suffering from weak state protection.

2.2 Creation of Peace and Reconciliation Out of Chaos

Although it started with two Peace Conferences (The Hague, 1899 and 1907) (Eyffinger, 1999) and two attempts at establishing global intergovernmental security systems[1], the twentieth century was characterized by prolonged and extraordinarily devastating wars (Brzezinski, 1993), a century during which the terms "genocide"[2] and "ethnic cleansing"[3] were coined.

The impact of violence on human lives, economic development and the environment has been devastating (Cranna, 1994). The reality of today's conflicts presents a very

disturbing catalog of violations of humanitarian law. Parties to conflicts – states and non-state actors alike – seem to breach a new rule against civilian populations, prisoners, or even humanitarian organizations every day. Today's conflicts provide a powerful illustration of the absolute necessity of bringing aid and protection to war victims and, at the same time, of the extreme difficulty of conducting humanitarian operations in a context of anarchy [4].

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, we can no longer entertain the triumphant mood prevailing a few years ago during the celebration of the bicentennial of the French Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen [5], or the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations Charter, or the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights[6], or the four 1949 Geneva Conventions on the protection of war victims (Benvenuti, 1999).

We must now painfully remember the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide (Human Rights Watch, Rwanda, n.d.) and witness every day more and more war crimes and crimes against humanity. Are we beginning a new century of total war and genocide? Shall we suffer, without reaction, the endless repetition of attacks against civilians (through bombing, hostage taking and other forms of terror) and the legalization of torture? (Harding, 2003).

With so many tragedies today, one is struck by a feeling of predictability, the social equivalent of Greek tragedy, a time bomb waiting to be detonated (Prunier, 1995). Collapsed states bring entire populations back to the Stone Age, the only difference being modern weaponry. The new phenomenon of destruction of any social fabric, the complete disappearance of any form of authority excepting that of guns, the denial of basic values, and the increasing chaos and anarchy are making conflicts more complex, the suffering of civilians ever more cruel, humanitarian workers and the international community more helpless (ICRC, 1998).

According to an Auschwitz survivor, the psychotherapist Viktor Frankl (1985):Since Auschwitz, we know what man is capable of, and since Hiroshima we know what is at stake. In the words of military expert Dave Grossman: It has been learned how to enable

the Thanatos. Its known how to take the psychological safety catch off human beings almost as easily as you would switch a weapon from "safe" to "fire". We must understand where and what that psychological safety catch is, how it works, and how to put it back on (Grossman, 1995).

The chaos prevailing or threatening to prevail everywhere cannot be ignored any longer. Could it be used as a tool for renaissance, an opportunity for collective learning and evolution, in order to find a way out of today's impasse, to reach a new humanitarian order where the dignity of every human being would be effectively respected?

2.1.1 Making the best use of existing treaties protecting human dignity

Shall we find this new humanitarian order in existing treaties, such as the United Nations Charter, international humanitarian law and Human Rights instruments? Shall we find it in the revision of existing instruments of positive international law? Shall we endeavor to replace the UN Charter, the Human Rights instruments, the 1949 Geneva Conventions (Geneva Convention, 1949) by new treaties?

Existing instruments can indeed be quite useful if better implemented and enforced.

A revision of existing international treaties would most probably diminish – not improve – the level of protection of civilians and detainees. A new codification, in today's international situation, seems difficult and would most probably not address the main difficulty, namely implementation. We cannot discard existing instruments. Even if imperfect, we can benefit from making the best use of existing rules and principles of international law.

Humanitarian law has evolved from a law protecting only certain categories of individuals (from medieval knights to today's prisoners of war) to a set of provisions ensuring fundamental human rights guaranteeing the survival of civilian populations in wartime.

Humanitarian rules and principles are to be respected in all circumstances. This is especially important today, in the case of "collapsed States" (Zartman, 1995; ICRC, 1998), "postmodern wars" (Munkler, 2003; Fox, 1998), and anarchic conflicts[7].

2.3 Using formal and informal mechanisms of implementation of peace

Existing legal mechanisms for human rights and international humanitarian law could certainly be better used, even in today's chaos.

2.3.1 Governments

According to Common Article 1 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, States Party to these Conventions, individually [8] and jointly, retain the primary responsibility for their implementation. They can exert their influence through their diplomatic activities (discrete demarches or public denunciations) and national implementation measures, including training and criminal prosecution. Discrete good offices or pressures exerted with a sound knowledge of local complexities and players could improve results (Silber and Little, 1999) [9].

States party to the Geneva Conventions have been increasingly aware of their responsibility to respect international humanitarian law, as individual states and, increasingly collectively. The awareness of their collective responsibility is a more recent phenomenon, resulting from the combined pressure of public opinion, the ICRC and various human rights NGOs (Egeland, 1999)[10], bilaterally or before UN and regional bodies. This collective responsibility not only pertains to the enforcement of humanitarian rules. It contributes to national stability and international security, preventing disorderly movements of populations, the uprooting of displaced persons and refugees, and the spreading of uncontrolled violence around the world (Lifton and Markusen, 1990)[11].

The international community of States party to the 1949 Geneva Conventions should implement their collective responsibility according to Article 1, common to all four Conventions and to Protocol I (1977). According to this provision, "the High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for this Convention in all

circumstances" (Condorelli and Boisson de Chazournes, 1984; Veuthey, n.d.). Would this justify military intervention to put a stop to violations of humanitarian law? Should measures be limited to diplomatic steps, adoptions of resolutions? Should it include the use of sanctions and peace-enforcement operations in order to stop genocide and arrest war criminals?

2.3.2 The United Nations

According to Article 89 of Protocol I (1977) in situations of serious violations of the Conventions or of this Protocol, the High Contracting Parties undertake to act jointly or individually, in co-operation with the United Nations and in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

The involvement of the United Nations in the implementation of international humanitarian law has taken many forms: denunciations of violations of international humanitarian law in resolutions by the Security Council or the General Assembly, denunciations by the Commission on Human Rights, and even the dispatching of missions to specific areas, i.e. to Iraq and Iran in 1985 to investigate conditions under which prisoners of war were being held, and, since 1992 in the former Yugoslavia [12].

The most important step taken by the UN in this context was the establishment of international criminal tribunals such as the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)[13]. The ICTY was established by the Security Council in May 1993 for serious violations committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. The Tribunal has competence on the following offenses:

a) Grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions;

b) Violations of the laws and customs of war;

c) Genocide; and

d) Crimes against humanity.

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The International Tribunal on Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the Security Council in 1994; it was the first time an international criminal tribunal had been established with respect to an essentially non-international conflict.

Those ad-hoc Tribunals need adequate resources and political support (Guest, 1999)[15]. Their existence – as well as the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) – does not do away with the requirement in the 1949 Geneva Conventions for all Party States to see to the punishment of grave breaches wherever they occur (Henzelin, 2000; Ratner and Abrams, 2001).

2.4 Impact of peace and reconciliation

2.4.1 Building of respect for others in the communities

In a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)-made documentary of Mandela's life (BBC, 2003), an incident is shown where Mandela, as the keynote speaker at a gala event, publicly criticizes Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's president at the time, for arriving 45 minutes late for the event and, as a consequence, delaying the proceedings for everyone present. In essence, Mandela chastises Mbeki for wasting other people's time and, thus, for not showing due respect to them. This incident portrays Mandela's life-long capacity to view others, irrespective of status, as equals deserving of having their needs (such as not to have their time wasted) taken seriously. This regard for the basic humanity and value of all people, even enemies who incarcerated him for twenty-seven years, is a distinguishing feature of Mandela as a leader. It was this capability, in particular, that generated considerable faith in him by all sections of the South African community, and that enabled many who were otherwise fearful of the new African National Congress (ANC) government to put their trust in Mandela and his vision of a "new" South Africa where all human life would be respected and cherished.

Mandela's concept of respect has no soppiness or "political correctness" about it. He does not hesitate to confront others when appropriate or to debate the justness of others' values – but it does reflect his belief in the fundamental value of all human life. As a

consequence, he is consistent in his dealings with all irrespective of status, station, race, gender, creed, age or nationality. He does not engage in psychological games with others, even his opponents, but balances earnestness with his trademark humour – reminding both admirers and detractors alike that those in positions of power are themselves only human.

To build trust in this way necessitates the abandoning of notions of superiority, of ego and hubris and relating to others on an equal footing. To respect the humanity of others requires an unusual security-in-self; an acceptance of self and, with it, empathy for the vulnerability of all humankind. It is, thus, not surprising that few leaders can emulate Mandela as one who transformed a national environment from brutal conflict to peaceful co-existence in just a few short years. Against the backdrop of the situation that Mandela faced, the task for business leaders is relatively simple. Even so, relatively few seem able to transcend self-preoccupation to create an environment of trust and collaboration towards a shared goal. For those business leaders who do succeed in this task (leaders such as Ricardo Semler of Semco), their capacity to create the cultural conditions for such a "way of life" within an organization seems still to be somewhat "mysterious" given the intense study of their practices and the relatively few organizations that have been able to emulate them

Mandela's strategy of pardoning those from all sides of the conflict who were deemed by the truth and reconciliation commission to have confessed their guilt openly and shown sincere remorse with respect to their crimes against humanity, was a master stroke in healing the emotional wounds of the past in order to build the trust required for a new future. As Bill Clinton (BBC, 2003) has stated, this act was without precedence in human history and as a strategy for building trust between former enemies it has been remarkably successful. Mandela (BBC, 2003) explained his rationale succinctly: without sincere confession there can be no forgiveness; without forgiveness there can be no reconciliation; without reconciliation there can be no peace.

2.4.2 Honor Commitment

Too often leaders fail to honor the rules in their everyday behaviors. Expedience tends to supplant principle when convenient while the mission, vision and values espoused in public can fail to be enacted in practice. In one business transformation example with which I am familiar, the owner of an Australian software firm reached consensus with his workers on a set on binding core values by which the firm would operate as it attempted to compete through innovation on a global scale. The owner, however, went on to personally violate these same values on a daily basis. It seemed that in his mind the commitments that bound his staff did not apply to him. Needless to say, no trust was generated within the organization and the renewal process quickly lost momentum. While the organization has survived, it has not achieved its vision of becoming an innovative global organization.

In contrast, great business leaders like Ricardo Semler of Semco create revolutionary companies that go from strength to strength. Via recognizing the interests of all stakeholders and championing those interests both publicly and privately they build the trust necessary for collective success (Semler, 1989, 1994, 1995, 2004). Political leaders need to honor their pledges to people, equitable distribution of resources, provision of security are some of their core functions, but when they use the people to cause chaos for their political gain, societal fabric is severed.

According to a UNDP crisis prevention and recovery report 2008 titled post –conflict Economic Recovery Enabling Local Ingenuity. Armed conflict terrorizes and kills large numbers of people. In the Democratic republic of Congo, nearly a decade of violence in the 1990's led to over five million deaths, due directly to conflict related casualties as well as disease and malnutrition exacerbated by conflict. In a few short years, civil war in C'ote D'ivore displaced 750,000 people internally and triggered refugee outflows of half a million people. And of course, genocide slaughter in Rwanda and Bosnia provide particularly tragic examples of the extreme human full of violence and war.

The report analyses in detail the enormous and political consequences of violent conflict which includes substantial loss of livelihood's employment and incomes, debilitated infrastructure, collapse of state institutions and rule law, continuing insecurity and practical social networks. Afghanistan is given as an example of one of the most impoverished conflict – prone states in the world, and ranks near the bottom of all human development indicators. The report is about how countries can rebuild the foundations and establish the conditions for self–sustaining, inclusive growth in the immediate aftermath of violent conflict. It focuses on economic recovery as a requirement for human development after post – conflict experience.

It examines the challenges of recovery from three angles. First, it looks at indigenous drivers of economic recovery. How best the capacities and institutions that have survived a conflict be nurtured and reinforced. How the efforts and initiatives of households, communities and enterprises can be strengthened as they strive to rebuild their lives at the end of a conflict. The report also examines the Macro economic policies that post – conflict countries can deploy in pursuit of recovery. When war ends, countries face serious macro economic problems including massive unemployment, moderate to high inflation, chronic, fiscal deficits, high levels of external and domestic debt and low domestic revenue. Successful economic recovery subsequently involves the challenging task of steering a course that manages inflation whilst attaining respectable growth, makes the best use of aid, builds a conducive environment for private investment and attains reasonable peace autonomy.

This report is entirely concerned with the economic aspect of recovery after conflict situations, although the economic recovery is important to achieve in order to rebuild the economy, it can not be achieved without first of all ensuring peaceful co-existence between the populations. Also economic growth cannot occur in an environment full of chaos; this report hence does not sufficiently address the requirements of a complete recovery environment peace building being the primary requirement. The re-establishment of monetary and exchange rate management regimes requires a peaceful

population based on trust and confidence in the government agencies conducting the activities.

2.4.3 Building of Humanitarian Agencies and Programmes

Another UNDP Early Recovery Report 2008 titled Guidance note on Early Recovery, the report states that early recovery and humanitarian efforts occur in parallel, but that objectives, mechanisms and expertise are different. Early recovery efforts have three broad aims according to the report these are:

Augment ongoing emergency assistance operations by building on humanitarian programmes, to ensure that their inputs become assets for long –term development and thereby foster the self –reliance of affected populations and help rebuild livelihoods through re-establishing and facilitating access to essential services such as health, education, water and sanitation, finances and primary infrastructure (road repair, transport and communication), and restoring environment, assets: ensuring appropriate transitional shelter; distributing seeds, tools and other goods and services that help to revive socio–economic activities among women and men; providing temporary wage employment for both women and men, urgently restoring environment needed to allow for rebuilding of livelihoods; restoring basic levels of collective and human security, strengthening the rule of law and the capacity of the state to respect, protect and fulfill the rights of the people; and introducing risk reduction and conflict prevention to build back better and prevent the reconstruction of risk

Support spontaneous recovery initiatives by affected communities and change the risk and conflict dynamics through e.g. supporting national government capacity to lead early recovery planning and programming , providing support based on local knowledge and practices; strengthening the self help efforts and capacities of the affected population, especially displaced people to contribute actively to rehabilitation and reconstruction ; promoting community approaches to restore basic levels of security; identifying negative coping mechanisms to ensure that community recovery and rehabilitation activities do not generate discrimination practices or secondary risks.

2.5 Establish the foundations of longer –term recovery

The communities in Mukuru Slums should focus of coming up with programmes that will hinder occurrence of violence through for example early needs assessment, planning and resource mobilization for recovery, taking into account the different needs, resources and vulnerabilities of women and men; planning that involves all relevant national and international stakeholders and enables women's organizations to participate fully in all phases of recovery; creating strategic alliances between communities and local authorities ensuring the participation and inclusion of vulnerable, marginalized and discriminated groups; raising human rights awareness and strengthening the capacities of local communities to claim their rights while building the capacities of the authorities to respond adequately to these claims ; rebuilding /restoring reinforcing national and local systems, including identifying , personnel and training or retraining them to restore state capacities to direct and manage the environment phase.

This report moves ahead to explain the importance of early recovery in the first stages of an emergency. The report covers recovery in its broadest context, moves from infrastructure that is physical recovery, economic recovery and social aspects of early recovery but it does not at all mention peace and reconciliation among members of the society. All the efforts that the report recommends to be done after a post –conflict situation are not possible if first the residents who had initially gone up in arms against each other are not reconciled. Infact chances of the population relapsing back to conflict are left open hence the need to first address issues of peace and reconciliation.

The report in its bid to cover all aspects of recovery targets to address the most important aspect of development that is peace and security, my study will restrict itself to peace building and reconciliation efforts in society as this is significant for any development after a conflict situation. The report also covers a very wide range of societies and has; chances of not giving the exact forms of interventions that fit a certain area are limited due to diversities of culture and the different forms of conflicts that occur. My study will restrict itself on the Kenyan context and more so on the urban environment in a slum area with diversity in culture and background.

2.6 Equality before identity

The internal reasons of what multiculturalism offered have been discussed in terms of ethnic classification, economic resources based on social identity, inequalities and causes of conflict in the previous section. Within this perspective reason for equality before identity is crucial to question social identity and its overpowering influence for development as self interest and human motivations play a substantial role in the market economy and share important social values.

Lessons from the colonial time of moving the economy towards a market-oriented system of earning income show that conflict created in the form of confrontation, threats, personalized politics, and long-standing prejudices between races contributed to ethnic conflict that affected people and Fiji's development. The leaders of Fiji have pledged for national reconciliation to build a society based on goodwill and compromises. The words of wisdom also plainly apply to how markets and societies work, any lack of political, economic and racial values of its respective functions affect growth, thus reason for equality before identity is essential.

The sense of social identity has a significant impact on human behavior and it is central to human life. But the question of social identity has to be asked, "Where identities emerge by choice or passive recognition and how much reasoning can enter into the development of identity" (Sen, 1999, p. 6). In the Theory of Justice (Rawls, 1971), the framework of fairness for a group of people involves arriving at rules and guiding principles of social organization that pay particular attention to everyone's interests, concerns and liberties. Applying Adam Smith's assumptions of self-interest and human motivations to a market economy suggest that social role or such values matter (Smith, 1976).

Taking into consideration Smith's (1976, pp. 26-7) famous words of "why the butcher, the brewer, or the baker wants to sell their products, and why the consumers want to buy them", the economic functions of such activities relate to production and the distribution processes. Essentially, success of a market-based economy depends on social norms where productivity and discipline is greatly influenced by work ethics. Important to the

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"culture of the Fijian way of life" raises the question of the glory of capitalism that everyone wants to share yet moral quality of good business behavior is just as important and administrative structures and ultimately causes the collapse of the state and peace – time economy.

2.8 Theoretical framework

A number of theories have been advanced and can be used o explain the eruption of violence and the need for peace and reconciliation. This section examines some of these theories. However, this research is be grounded on one macro theory and one micro theory. The conflict theory represents the macro theory in which the research will be grounded while the micro theory that will inform the research will be frustration-aggression theory.

2.8.1 Conflict theory

Conflict theory of violence assumes that conflict is an inevitable part of all associations which are characterized by super-ordinate and subordinate relations as well as competing goals. Society is viewed as an arena of competition and competing interests and violence is a likely outcome.

Winston, Rinehart and Hold (1995) have observed that, according to social theory of social change, most social change is the result of conflict between groups with opposing interests. Conflict theory is rooted in Carl Marx's theory of class conflict. Ralf Dahrendorf like all conflict theorists agree with Marx's beliefs that conflict is a central feature of all societies. He however disagrees with Marx's idea that class conflict is the moving force in human history. Danrendorf holds that social conflict can take many forms. Conflict can occur between racial or ethnic groups, it can also occur between religious or political groups or between males and females; young and old and people with differing opinions and self interests. This research intends to borrow a lot from Ralf Danhrendorf's view that conflict can take other forms, in order to explain the violence that occurred in Kenya, because this is a phenomena in which conflict was a central feature. The theory will be used in order to understand the root cause of violence.

2.8.2 Frustration-Aggression theory

Frustration-Aggression theory has been treated as a micro theory within the broad framework of conflict theory which represents the macro perspective. Frustration-Aggression theory views the expression of aggression either as a response to the emotion that an individual feels when some goal is blocked and as a response to frustration being the product of learning (Steinmetze 1988; Abraham 1995 and in Oyekanmi 1997.)Violence is seen to be highly related to social stress such as poverty and job loss. Odhiambo (2005) notes that Frustration-Aggression theory states that violence is seen to be highly related to social stresses such as poverty and joblessness, a fact that makes violence very rampant in slums. The frustration-aggression theory was supported by structural theories which explained that people with fewer resources relative to other members of society are known to experience higher levels of frustration and stress. They also have less material emotional, psychological and social resources to cope adequately. Frustration from material deprivation may result in armed violence against neighbors perceived to belong to a certain ethnic group, blaming them for their predicaments. Hence one would expect a greater prevalence of violence among the poor, large families and in crowded suburbs.

Zanden (1987) notes that for over forty years, the frustration-aggression hypothesis has been a popular explanation for aggression behavior. According to the original version of the theory, frustration produces aggression; aggression never occurs without prior frustration. Frustration refers to the interference with or blocking of the attainment of some goal. According to frustration-aggression theorists, frustration activates an aggressive drive. Presumably, frustration remains a motivating force until it is discharged in aggressive behavior.

2.8.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The differential performances of diverse ethnic groups are most influential contributions of social capital and its differential impact on growth. This study engages in an analysis

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on ethnic diversity-economic growth nexus in the case of Kenya Mukuru slums where social stability is a necessary condition to achieve growth. This study engages in an analysis on ethnic diversity-economic growth nexus in the case of Kenya's Mukuru slums where members of society are known to experience higher levels of frustration and stress. They also have less material, emotional, psychological, and social resources to cope adequately. Frustration from material deprivation may result in armed violence against neighbors perceived to belong to a certain ethnic group, blaming them for their predicaments. Hence one would expect a greater prevalence of violence among the poor, large families and in crowded suburbs.

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The differential performances of diverse ethnic groups are most influential contributions of social capital and its differential impact on growth. This study engages in an analysis on ethnic diversity-economic growth nexus in the case of Kenya Mukuru slums where social stability is a necessary condition to achieve growth. While these factors alone may not be sufficient to achieve growth and maintain social harmony, domestic institutions and good governance are regarded as significant factors. In a society of diverse ethnic communities, bridging social relations with democratic governance and acceptance of the ethnic groups to be part of the social fabric are relevant to manage conflict and restore peace and reconciliation.

Multiculturalism has become an indispensable issue to analyze the question of nationalism, stability, equality, social justice, and democracy. As seen in the global context, the dominant groups have homogenized different socio-cultural sub-groups

leading to communitarians and multiculturalism. Kenya's society, through the colonial migration, has contributed to this social fragmentation. Different social structures and development processes, and failure to recognize the significance of cultural studies and civic education in fostering an integrated community allowed deep differences as well as social conflicts in Kenya. This had led to both vertical and horizontal inequalities.

The land property rights of ethnic Kenyans are protected by the Constitution that restricts availability of land as a factor of production to other communities. Absence of land property rights itself is central to the problems where the livelihoods of other communities (minority groups) are threatened which raises insecurity. Insecurity of land as a means of production increased with non-renewal of land leases and/or exorbitant rents. This problem heightened with the December 2007 elections faced violence and damage to their assets. Onus is then on the people to safeguard their rights based on a concept of peace and reconciliation where generations of the labor force are employed and empowered for economic progress through cultivation of the land and/or business for long-term growth.

An important development in the aid field occurred as developing countries face conflicts, development assistance has been utilized for security and conflict settlement. In this framework there is a larger role of aid to provide security to a nation to achieve its development objectives. An examination of the opposing nature of ethnic diversity and land issues in Kenya will provide not only an insight of ethnic conflict, but also the role of aid to solve conflict, restore peace and reconcile

2.8.4 Conceptual Model

In conclusion, socio political factors determine the impact of peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru Kwa Njenga slums. Below is a diagrammatic representation of this conceptual model.

Figure 4.1 Conceptual Model

Social harmony

Fair distribution of resources

Democratic political process

A peaceful society

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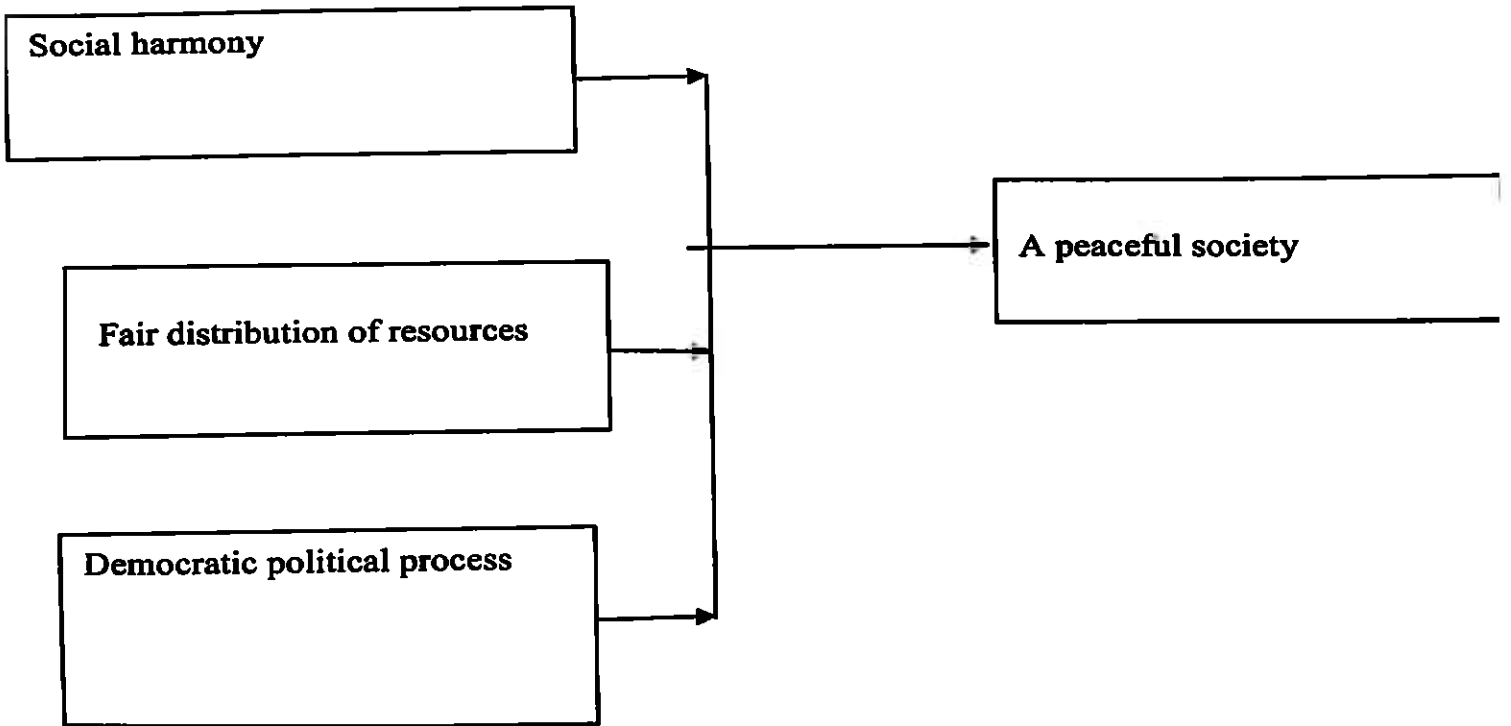
Operational definitions of variables

Dependent Variable

A peaceful society; This was the dependent variable of the study. The level of peace in Mukuru slums was measured according to the percentage of the respondents who stated that they experienced violence after the 2007 election violence. The level of violence experienced was measured in terms of the ways in which different respondents were affected by the violence which included; loss of lives, property destruction, physical injuries and loss of jobs. The impacts of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums was measured in terms of; how the situation is at the moment, whether life is back to normal, whether residents still identify themselves according to their ethnic backgrounds and whether there is still suspicion among the residents.

Independent variables

The independent variables of the study are as follows;

a) **Social harmony;** This was measured using the following indicators;

   i)   Whether residents still identify themselves according to their ethnic background. A positive response from the respondents will indicate a high level of ethnicity in Mukuru slums. A society where residents identify themselves according to their ethnic backgrounds is a society divided along ethnic lines.

   ii) Whether residents are satisfied with the role of the government in the reconciliation efforts. A positive response will indicate satisfaction with the government's role and also residents support to the government. A society where citizens respect the government supports its activities lives in harmony is a united society.

b) **Fair distribution of resources;** This was measured using the following indicators.

   i)   Residents' comments on how the government distributes the national cake, when citizens are satisfied with the distribution of the state resources, peace

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prevails and it becomes hard for residents to attack others accusing them of benefiting more from the states resources.

c) **Democratic political process;** the eruption of the 2007 post-election violence was due to claims that the presidential elections were rigged, politicians involvement in spreading hate messages and hiring of youths to cause violence indicates a poor democratic political process, where residents becomes aggravated and feel cheated prompting them to react in a violent manner.

d) **Good governance;** This was measured using the following indicators;

i) Involvement of the government in peace and reconciliation efforts.

ii) The government's commitment in ensuring security and availability of job opportunities especially for the youth.

A combination of all the above factors provides a peaceful environment in the society and this eventually leads to economic growth and national development.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Site Description

The study was carried out in Mukuru Slums; one of the biggest slum in Kenya with approximately population of 50,000 people.Mukuru slums is approximately 10 kilometers from Nairobi Town The slum is made up of two main villages; Mukuru Kwa Reuben and Mukuru Kwa Njenga which are further subdivided into smaller villages, Mukuru kwa Njenga is made up of;

- Wape wape
- Forty eight (48)
- Milimani
- Vietnam
- Motomoto

Mukuru Kwa Reuben is made up of;

- Vila franca
- Imara daima
- Reli
- Tumaini

. Mukuru slums experience conflicts and violence frequently and after the 2007 presidential conflict, some parts of the Mukuru Slums recorded severe violence that left majority homeless and many loss their property with reports of death cases.

Mukuru Slums are bordered by Pipeline, Risiana, Kwale and Avenus Park and Imara daima. People living in Mukuru are from different tribes; mostly Somalis, Kisii, Kikuyu, Kamba and a few Luo's and Luhyas.Families live in corrugated iron shacks measuring 10'X10'.Large families are crammed into these tiny space to survive, the people are landless, some were pushed from their rural homes by tribal and land clashes Most of the residents majority of whom are youths are jobless and work as casual laborers in the manufacturing industries situated close to the slums area, others operate small scale

businesses selling vegetables and fruits or hawking various items. Earnings are pitifully low and inadequate to feed their families .Fire out breaks are a common occurrence and it is believed that some are caused to force residents out of the land The most common diseases includes malaria, typhoid, dysentery and cholera. HIV Aids is also among the biggest killers. The study is limited to Mukuru Slums because of its centrality and proximity to the researcher.

3.2 Research design

Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) define a Research Design as the programme that guides the investigator as he/she collect, analyses and interprets observation. It is a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relationships among variables under investigation. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies; a questionnaire was administered to the residents of Mukuru slums and a key informant interview guide conducted on the key informants who included provincial administration, pastors, village elders and NGO'S directors.

3.3 Sampling Procedures

Lucey (2002) defined sampling as the process of examining a representative set of items. She further adds that sampling is done to gain an understanding of some features or attributes of the whole population, based on characteristics of the sample. Considering that Mukuru Slums has a population of approximately 50,000 residents purposive sampling was used. By definition, purposive sampling allows a researcher to select a sample on the basis of his or her expertise knowledge of the target population; it allows the researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. The researcher and his two research assistants were well informed on the distribution of post election violence in the slums. Indeed the researcher and his two assistant could easily identify the villages which were greatly affected by violence.

Based on the knowledge on the distribution of violence and severity in the slums, the reasearcher selected a sample of villages; namely Vietnam, Motomoto and Reli. Moderately hit villages included Vila Franca and Milimani and those villages not affected by the violence at all which included Tumaini and Imara daima. This was done randomly

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to capture diversity and control biases. The researcher noted that those areas severely affected by the violence only, could not assist in achieving the objectives of the study on impact of peace and reconciliation adequately in the slums.

To maximize on time and other resources, the researcher collected data from villages most hit by the violence while the two assistants were allocated those areas less affected by violence and those which never experience violence at all. The field work was completed in two weeks to collect data.

Table 4.1.1 Sampling Data

Persons	Days	Villages Covered
Researcher	3	Vietnam,.Motomoto and Reli
1st Researcher Assistant	3	Vila Franca and Milimani
2nd Researcher Assistant	3	Tumaini and Imara Daima

For the purpose of the study 20 respondents inclusive of male and women were selected randomly from each village including the key informants therefore giving a sample size of 140 respondents.

Table 4.1.2 State of violence in Villages

State of violence	Villages	Respondents
Severely Affected by violence	Vietnam	20
	Motomoto	20
	Reli	20
Moderately affected	Vila Franca	20
	Milimani	20
Never Affected at all	Tumaini	20
	Imara Daima	20
Total		140

3.5 Units of Analysis

A unit of analysis has been defined by Singleton (1988) as what or who is analyzed in the study. The unit of analysis in this study is the impact of peace and reconciliation a follow up of 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, a case on Mukuru Slums in Nairobi.

3.6 Unit of Observation

The units of observation in this study are the residents of Mukuru Slums who were affected by 2007 post-election violence. There are various organizations which have joined the government in promoting peace and reconciliation in the country. For this study the various organizations that have combined hands in promoting peace and reconciliation in the Mukuru Slums were analyzed.

3.7 Sources of data for the Study

The researcher utilized both the primary and secondary data. Primary data is the data collected afresh and for the first time and happens to be original in character as defined by Kothari (1990). Primary data was collected through the use of unstructured questionnaires for the key informants and structured questionnaire for the residents who are the respondents in this study. The Key informants included the Chiefs, Directors of NGOs, Village elders and Pastors. The questionnaires were distributed to the sample population who completed and returned them for analysis. Face to face interviews were conducted to elicit critical information from the key informants.

Secondary data refers to already existing data as observed by Kothari (1990).The researcher considered the possibility of re-analyzing it to achieve certain research objectives. In this study secondary data was collected from the available literature related to violence, peace and reconciliation. The researcher reviewed various studies which have been carried out in relation to impact of peace and reconciliation .The researcher also made use of policy documents on peace and reconciliation from the Ministry of Justice, on Peace and Reconciliation issues of promoting peace and reconciliation in addressing past mistakes and preventing of violence occurrence in the future. Various reports were also reviewed including the Akiwumi report on ethnic clashes in Kenya.

3.8 Data collection Methods and Instruments

The researcher used various tools to elicit the requisite information. A structured questionnaire containing open ended and closed questions was used to gather requisite information. A questionnaire is a data gathering device that elicits from the respondents the answer or reaction to pre-arranged questions presented in a specific order.

In the context of the this study, data was collected using close ended questions and very few open ended questions regarding impact of peace and reconciliation following the 2007 post-election violence. The researcher went to the field with two research assistants and administered the questionnaires to the respondents and conducted key informant interviews. The questionnaire was very specific to avoid any respondent generalization. The questionnaire approach was also preferred due to limitations of time and resources in the study since the drop and pick later method was found to be quite effective. Key informant interviews were conducted on Chiefs, their assistants, church leaders and NGO directors. Among the methods applied included observation method where the respondents body language and expressions were observed, this assisted in gauging the level of bitterness among the respondents where possible. Face to face interviews were conducted where possible and this provided a lot of information for qualitative analysis.

3.9 Data analysis

The nature of data collected was qualitative and quantitative. Data was analyzed qualitatively according to the objectives of the study; the analysis was an on-going exercise from the outset of the project to the end. Where necessary, descriptive statistics were used to analyze quantitative data which was presented in tabular forms in the report. Data processing was done in three phases;

a) Phase one: Here collected data was reviewed and categorized with the support of research assistants. This enabled the research assistants to share their experiences in the field between themselves and with the principal researcher and set the stage for the final analysis of the collected data and for the dissemination of the findings of the study.

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b) Phase two involved the coding or the classification of the information according to the objectives of the study.

c) Phase three involved qualitative and quantitative data analysis.Qantitative data was analyzed using a computer programme SPSS while content analysis was used for the qualitative data.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and the results of the study. The analysis is based on the data collected from the questionnaires administered to the inhabitants of Mukuru slums in Nairobi and from the key informant interviews conducted. From the study sample of 140 respondents, 104 respondents responded to the questionnaires, constituting 74.2% response rate.

4.1 Social Demographic characteristics of respondents

4.1.1 Gender of respondents

The study sought to find out the gender of the respondents. From the findings, majority of the respondents were males as indicated by 57 % while 43% were female .This implied that the findings of the study on impacts of peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums represented the views of both male and female from Mukuru Slums. Considering that both men and women were affected by the violence it was advisable to get views from both men and women from Mukuru slums. The figure below shows the distribution of respondents according to gender.

Figure 4.2 Distribution of respondents according to gender

Gender of the Respondents
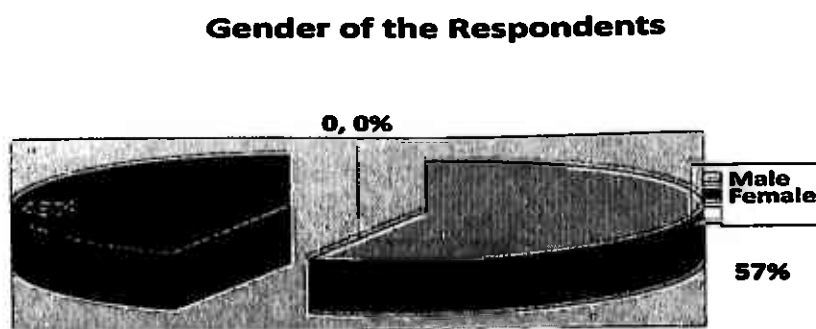
.1.2 Respondents marital status

he study sought to find out the marital status of the respondents. Majority of the :spondents were married as indicated by 50.0%, 38.0% were single, 8.0% were 'idowed while 4.0% were divorced. This has an implication that majority of the :spondents were responsible people in the society and that the information they gave is :ceptable for the purposes of this study. The table below shows the distribution of :spondents according to marital status.

'able 4.1.3 Distribution of respondents by marital status

Marital Status	N	Percent
Married	52	50.0
Divorced	5	4.8
Single	39	37.5
Widowed	8	7.7
Total	104	100.0

l.1.3 (a) Respondents school attendance

The respondents were distributed according to whether they have ever gone to school or 1ot, from the findings 96.0% of the respondents indicated they attended school while l.0% never attended school. Therefore majority of the respondents were in a position to mderstand the questions on impact of conflicts and violence that occurred after the 2007 :lection violence and hence the responses given were taken to represent their personal /iews concerning the effects of peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums. The able below shows the distribution of respondents according to whether they attended :chool or not.

Table 4.2 Distribution of respondents according to whether they attended school or not

Gone to School	N	Percent
Yes	100	96.2
No	4	3.8
Total	104	100

4.1.3 (b) Respondents level of education

The respondents were distributed according to the level of education attained. This was to determine the level of literacy among the respondents, and their capacity to understand the questions for the study. Majority of the respondents 57.0% had attained primary education, 26.0 had attained secondary education, and 14.0% had attained college education while only 3.0% were university graduates. Majority of the respondents in Mukuru Slums have gone through the basic education and hence were able to read and write and also answer the questions required on effects of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums following the 2007 election violence. The figure below shows the distribution of respondents according to their level of education.

Figure 4.3 Distribution of respondents according to level of education

Level of education Attained

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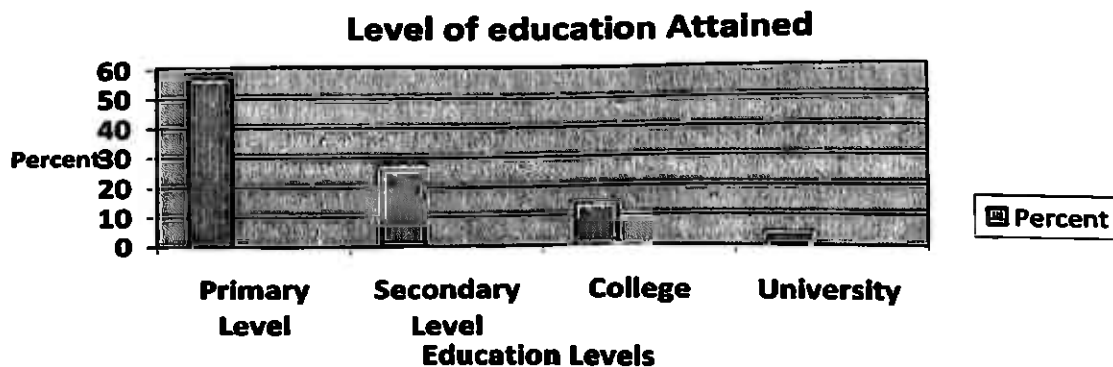
4.1.4 Respondents occupation

The respondents were asked to state their occupations and according to the findings of the study, Majority of the respondents were casual laborers as indicated by 60.0%, 30.0% were businessmen/women. 6.0% had no occupation while 3.0 % were house wives. This was to determine the most common mode occupation in Mukuru slums. The most common occupation is casual labor that is not always available, hence creating a lot of idleness especially among the youth.

Table 4.3 Distribution of respondents according to occupation

Occupation	N	Percent
casual laborer	62	59.6
businessman/woman	31	29.8
housewife	4	3.8
not employed	7	6.7
Total	104	100.0

4.1.5 Respondents engagement in employment

The respondents were asked to state whether they are engaged in gainful employment 63.0% of the respondents indicated they were involved in gainful jobs while 37.0% had no gainful job. This was to determine the level of unemployment among the residents of Mukuru slums. There is a high level of unemployment in Mukuru slums especially among the youth, this provides room for idleness and explains the high involvement of the youth in violence during the post election violence.

Key informants agreed with the fact that there is a very high level of unemployment especially among the youth in Mukuru slums and according to them, this created space

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for youth involvement in violence during the post election violence. Also it has created room for the youth to be misused by politicians, to cause chaos as a form of employment. The figure below shows the distribution of respondents according to occupation.

Figure 4.4 Respondents engagement in employment

Whether engaged in a gainful Employment

4.1.6 Respondents number of children

The respondents were asked to indicate the number of children they have, according to the findings 58.0% of the respondents have children while 42.0% have no children. This was to determine the presence of children in Mukuru slums. The effects of violence are known to affect mostly women and children and according to the findings of the study, children suffered a lot during the post election violence. They were displaced along with their parents, some even died of diseases related to cold weather and malnutrition.

According to one of the key informants, children suffered the effects of post election violence more than any other group in society. According to him and I quote "you could see children sleeping outside at the chiefs camp, some went for days without food as relief food was not enough. When it came to struggling for the little food available children always gave up and continued starving, it was a terrible sight that should never be witnessed again". The table below shows the distribution of respondents according to the number of children

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Table 4.4 Distribution of respondents according to the number of children

Number of children	N	Percent
Yes	60	57.7
No	44	42.3
Total	104	100.0

4.1.7 Respondents number of years living in Mukuru slums

The respondents were asked to state the number of years they have lived in Mukuru slums. According to the findings of the study 33.0% had lived in Mukuru for a period of 2-3 years, 26.0% had lived in Mukuru Slums for a period of 4-5 years, 14.0% had lived in the slums for 3-4 years and above 5 years respectively while 13.0% had lived in the Slums for less than 2 years. This was to determine the possibility of the respondents being residents of Mukuru slums during post election violence. The study shows that 87.0 % of the respondents had lived in Mukuru Slums for more than 2 years and they saw the effects of the 2007 elections violence that occurred in the Mukuru Slums (barely two years from the time the study was conducted). The table below shows the distribution of respondents according to the number of years they have lived in Mukuru slums.

Table 4.5   Distribution of respondents according to the number of years they have lived in Mukuru slums

Years lived in Mukuru	N	Percent
less than 2 years	13	12.5
between 2-3 years	34	32.7
between 3-4 years	15	14.4
between 4-5 years	27	26.0
Above 5 year	15	14.4
Total	104	100

4.2 EFFECTS OF POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN MUKURU SLUMS

4.2.1 Respondents experience with violence after the 2007 election violence

The respondents were asked to state their experience with violence during the 2007 post election violence. This was to determine whether the respondents to the study did experience violence or not. According to the findings of the study 92.0% indicated that they faced the violence while 8.0% were not affected. Therefore the 2007 elections violence was experienced by the majority of Mukuru Slums and hence the findings of the study represent the views of people who came face to face with violence and they knew the effects of the violence.

Key informants to this study attested to this and said that the magnitude of the violence was so strong such that anyone who was a resident of Mukuru slums during the violence period must have been affected by the violence in one way or another. One of the key informants said and I quote "Maneno ilikuwa mbaya hapa, mtu asikudanganye eti hakuadhirika na hiyo vita" (things were very bad here in reference to the violence, nobody should lie to you that he/she was not affected).The table below shows the distribution of respondents according to whether they experienced violence or not.

Table 4.6   Distribution of Respondents according to whether they experienced violence after the 2007 election violence or not

Experience of Violence	N	Percent
Yes	96	92.3
No	8	7.7
Total	104	100

4.2.2 Types of violence experienced according to the respondents

The respondents were asked to name the types of violence they experienced after the post election violence in 2007. This was to determine the different types of violence that was experienced by the respondents. According to the findings of the study, majority of the respondents faced riots as indicated by a mean of 1.8 with a standard deviation of 0.39, others had their houses burned, relatives killed with a mean of 1.7 in each case, while still others indicated that they experienced looting and finally most residents in Mukuru Slumps faced all of the above listed types of violence due to the 2007 post election violence. Key informant interviewed agreed with the respondents that among the different types of violence experienced after the post election violence, riots was the most common with the youth taking advantage of the situation to loot, rape women and even killing innocent residents. According to one key informant, the youth had taken control of the slums, there was very high level of lawlessness and so much crime was committed during that time. The figure below shows the different types of violence that the respondents encountered in Mukuru slums.

Figure 4.5 Mean distributions of the various types of violence that was experienced in Mukuru slums

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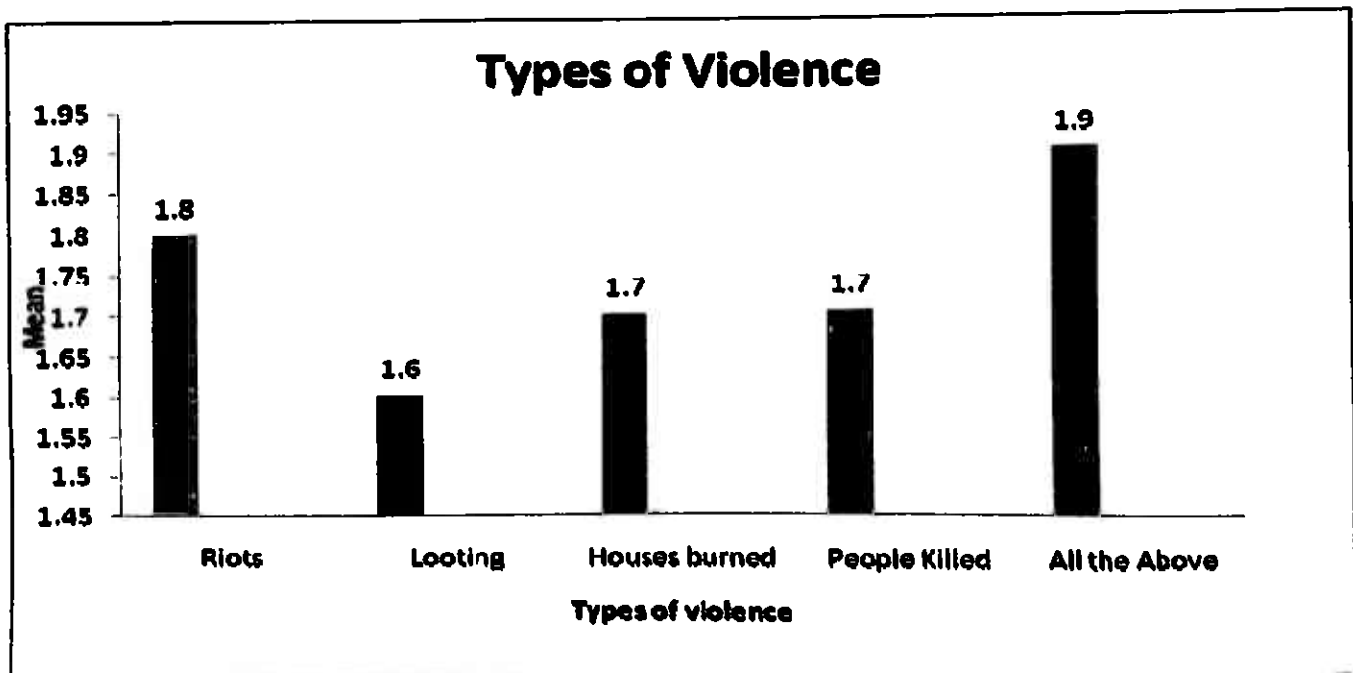
4.2.3 Effects of the violence on the respondents

The respondents were asked to state whether they were affected by the violence or not. This was to determine the number of residents who were affected by the violence in comparison to those who were not affected. According to the findings of the study 80% of the respondents were affected by the violence while 20% were not affected by the violence, this shows that the majority of the respondents who gave their views did experience violence after the 2007 general elections and hence the information gotten from the study represents the true situation as it was during the violence. The table below shows the distribution of the residents according to whether they were affected by the violence or not.

Table 4.7 Distribution of respondents according to whether they were affected by the violence or not.

Affected by Violence	N	Percent
Yes	84	80.8
No	20	19.2
Total	104	100.0

4.2.4 Different ways the respondents were affected by the violence

The respondents were asked to state the different ways they were affected by the violence. This was to determine the different ways in which residents of Mukuru slums were affected by the post election violence. According to the findings of the study, Majority of the respondents had their properties stolen as indicated by a mean of 1.8, A mean of 1.6 respondents indicated that they lost relatives and families were displaced respectively.1.5 indicated that their houses were burned. This shows that Mukuru

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residents were affected by the violence in different ways, the major ones being loss of property, loss of reltives, and displacement of families.

Key informants in the study confirmed that residents of Mukuru slums were affected by the violence in different ways and that apart form the above stated ways, some residents were traumatized by the events of post election violence. Some residents according to the key informants lost their relatives some of whom were the bread winners, children were orphaned and their lives drastically changed by the events after the post election violence. The table below shows the different ways in which residents were affected by the violence.

Table 4.8   Mean distribution on the different ways in which the respondents were affected by the violence

Ways in which one was affected	N	Mean	Std Dev
houses burned	104	1.5692	.42337
property stolen	104	1.7769	.49644
lost relatives	104	1.6731	.47136
family displaced	104	1.6442	.48106
Total		1.5769	.49644

Figure 4.5 below shows the distribution of the effects of post election violence in Mukuru slums, which included loss of lives, destruction of property, physical injuries and loss of jobs. From the figure below, majority of the residents lost their jobs as indicated by a means of 1.8, others were physically injured as indicated by a mean of 1.7; others had their properties destroyed while still others with a mean of 1.4 indicated there was loss of life.

Figure 4.6 Distribution of the effects of post election violence in Mukuru slums
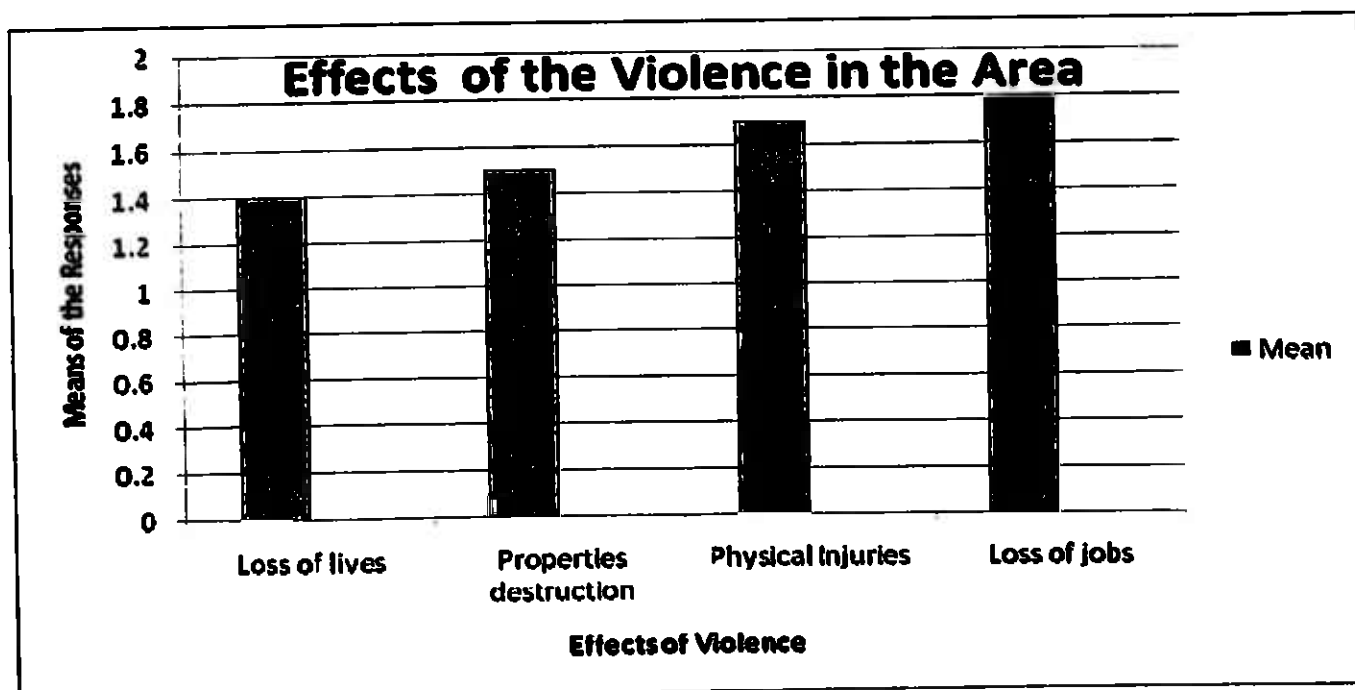
4.2.5 Participation of different groups in the violence

The respondents were asked to indicate the group of people who participated most in the violence. This was in order to determine the group of people who took the greatest part in the violence. The groups were divided into; men, women and young men to represent the youth. According to the findings of the study, 61.0 % of the respondents indicated that young men were involved while 33.0% were men; women also took part as indicated by 6% of the respondents. Women played a role in the violence by spreading hate messages and rumors about the community perceived to be enemies. This implies that majority of the youth were involved in the violence, through looting and destruction of properties and even raped helpless women

According to key informants, the youth were involved in the violence more than men and women, the reasons for this were given as the level of unemployment among the youth, overpopulation that has forced many youths to seek for cheaper accommodation in the slums and also the fact that the youth do not own property and hence they could not

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identify the pain of destruction. The figure below shows the level of involvement in the violence by different groups in Mukuru slums.

Figure 4.7 Distribution of residents according to involvement in violence after the 2007 post election violence in Mukuru slums

Parties Who Participated Most

33%

■ Men
■ Women
■ Young Men

61%

6%
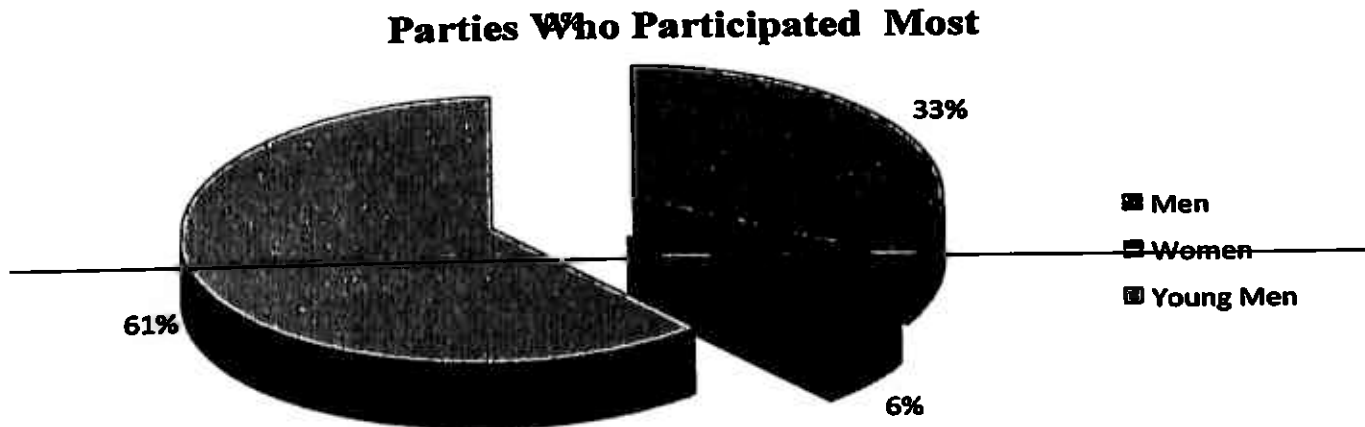
4.2.6 Causes of violence after the 2007 post election violence in Mukuru slums

The respondents were asked to name the causes of violence in Mukuru slums after the 2007 elections. This was to determine the major causes of the 2007 post election violence. According to the findings of the study, majority of the respondents indicated that the main causes of violence were political grudges in the government due to the disputed presidential elections results and ethnicity as indicated by a mean of 1.8 in each case. A mean of 1.7 indicated social class inequalities was the major cause while others with a mean of 1.6 indicated that it was due to unequal distribution of resources. This implied that politicians played a great role in simmering and eruption of violence after the 2007 elections. While requested for any others causes of the violence some respondents indicated that it was spontaneous, it was in solidarity to those fighting in other areas.

Among the key informants interviewed, political grudges and ethnicity were the main causes of the post election violence. The belief that the community from where the

president comes from benefits more from state resources fuelled the conflict with some communities not able to accept defeat. The widening gap between the rich and the poor, fuelled the conflicts with the poor especially from the slum areas blaming the rich for their poverty. The table below shows the mean distribution of the causes of the post election violence in Mukuru slums.

Table 4.9 Mean distribution of the causes of violence according to the respondents

Causes of Violence	N	Mean	Std Dev
political grudges and political incitement	104	1. 8385	.50093
Ethnicity	104	1.8981	.45963
unequal distribution of resource	104	1.6346	.52246
Social class inequality	104	1.7558	.40430

4.2.7. The situation in Mukuru slums after the post election violence

The respondents were requested to indicate the current situation in Mukuru Slums. This was to determine the current situation in Mukuru slums, whether there is still violence or the situation is calm. According to the study findings,35.0% of the respondents indicated that the situation is calm, giving reasons that residents are going about their businesses as they used to even before the 2007 violence's and that the government have improved the security situation in the Slums by deploying security officers.34.0% of the respondents indicated that the situation was unpredictable indicating that they do not know what will happen in 2012 election, people are still divided according to their tribal background, others said they still hamper hatred and there is a likelihood that some will revenge for their losses, when opportunity comes. The other group expressed worries over the situation in Mukuru slums according to them the situation is still unpredictable-because residents still face interferences by security agents, lack of confidence in the coalition government, there are still some violence incidents, peace and reconciliation efforts are not being well addressed, mistrust among the communities and that residents are still

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worried of what will happen in the year 2012 after the general elections. Others indicated that there is still fear that chaos may arise, there are differences that still rule among the communities .25.0% indicated that the situation is still tense as people still mistrust each other.

Among the key informants interviewed, the situation at Mukuru slums is calm as life has gone back to normal, residents can now go about their businesses as before and there is good neighborhood among the residents. But they also expressed fear that chances of eruption of violence are still there especially if the issue of good governance and good democratic structures are not addressed. The coalition government according to them should hold together until 2012 as any fallout will mean going back to violent confrontations. The table below shows a distribution of respondent's views on the current situation in Mukuru slums.

Table 4.10 Distribution of the respondents views on the current situation in Mukuru slums

Situation now	N	Percent
Calm	37	35.6
Still tense	26	25.0
Violent	5	4.8
Unpredictable	36	34.6
Total	104	100.0

4.2.8. Respondents views on the conditions of life in Mukuru slums after the 2007 post election violence

The respondents were asked to state whether life has gone back to normal according to them. This was to determine the current conditions of life in Mukuru slums. From the findings of the study 65.0% of the respondents indicated that life has gone back to normal. They specified that this was due to security that the government has deployed in the Slums. Residents can now about their daily businesses as they used to before the

election violence, that residents have decided to forgive their neighbors and that the government and other organizations are educating residents on the need to live together in unity and refrain from violence. 39.0% of the respondents were negative and they indicated that majority of residents still live in shanties because their houses were burned, others lost their jobs and are still jobless, residents still hamper hatred to those they believe were responsible and they still believe that the government has done very little in regards to promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums.

According to key informant interviews, life has gone back to normal, the government of Kenya has ensured that the rule of law prevails; cases of violence are few as compared to the preceding years. The few cases of violence reported are the normal criminal activities that are synonymous with slum areas due to high level of poverty. The table below shows the respondents views on whether life has gone back to normal in Mukuru slums

Table 4.11 Distribution of respondents views on whether life has gone back to normal or not

Life back to Normal	N	Percent
Yes	65	62.5
No	39	37.5
Total	104	100.0

4.2.9 Respondents views on residents identification by tribal backgrounds

The respondents were asked to give their views on whether residents of Mukuru Slums still identify themselves according to tribal backgrounds. This was in order to determine the level of ethnicity in Mukuru slums, also to determine the level of cohesion among neighbors. According to the findings of the study, 89.0% of the respondents indicated that residents of Mukuru Slums still identify themselves on the basis of their tribal

background while 11.0 % were negative. The reason specified by the respondents was that residents still feel safe when in the company of people from their ethnic background than with people from outside their tribal circles. This confirms the level of mistrust among the residents of Mukuru slums. According to key informant interviewed, residents of Mukuru slums still identify themselves according to their ethnic background, residents' converse in their local languages unless conversing with those from a different ethnic background. Residents trust their fellow tribesmen more than people from other tribal backgrounds. The figure below shows the respondents distribution on residents identification with their tribal background.

Figure 4.8 **Distribution of respondents on resident's identification by tribal backgrounds**

Indentification by Tribal Background

11%   0%

■ Yes
■ No

89%
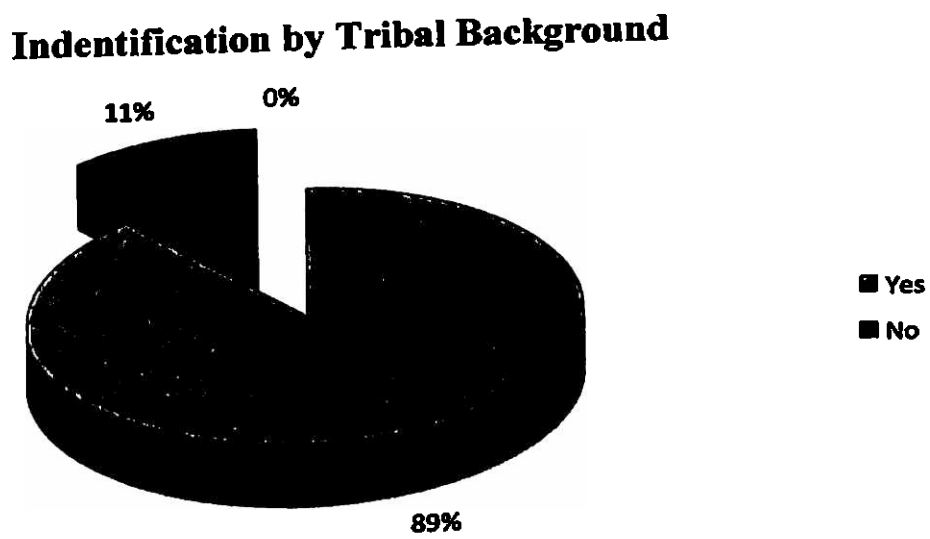
4.2.10 Respondent views on the level of suspicion among neighbors

The residents were asked to state the level of suspicion among the residents. This was to determine the level of healing that has been achieved after the 2007 post election violence

in Mukuru slums. According to the findings of the study, majority of the respondents 83% said that there is still suspicion among the residents, while 17% of the respondents said that there is no suspicion among residents. The events of the post election violence being still very fresh in the minds of the residents, suspicion is inevitable.Some drunkard residents are heard expressing discomfort on how national politics are being handled and even stating that they still have scores to settle with those who rigged the elections.

Key informants confirmed this and stated that there is suspicion especially due to political grumbling at the national level; the two main political parties do not seem to agree on issues to do with governance. This increases fear of political fallout that would lead to eruption of violence. The table below shows the distribution of respondents according to level of suspicion among residents.

Table 4.12 Distribution of respondents according to the level of suspicion

Suspicion of Neighbors	N	Percent
Yes	86	82.7
No	18	17.3
Total	104	100.0

4.2.11 Respondents views on the parties to blame for the suspicion

The residents were asked to state who is to be blamed for the suspicion. This was to determine which group of people was to blame for the suspicion. According to the findings of the study. Majority of the respondents with a mean of 1.9 blamed the politicians, others with a mean of 1.8 said the government and residents are to blame respectively while a small number with a mean of 1.4 indicated that church

organizations were to be blamed. This shows that politicians bore the biggest responsibility for the violence. Residents viewed political interferences in development projects as a stumbling block to national development. Politicians used local youth to cause violence, pretending not to be in good terms with their fellow politicians only to be seen eating together while residents killed each other.

Key informant to this study confirmed that politicians greed for power led them to incite residents to violence, they took part in initiating the violence but they never came back to help residents in the reconciliation efforts. Every time a politician visits the area political discomfort is always top on their agendas, but people's welfare in terms of peace and security are not their concerns. The table below shows the mean distribution of residents according to the parties to blame for the suspicion.

Table 4.13 Respondents mean distribution according to the parties to blame for the suspicion

Parties to blame for suspicion	N	Mean	Std Dev
Politicians	104	1.9442	.35302
Church organizations	104	1.4038	.29623
Provincial administration	104	1.8615	.19324
Government	104	1.7981	.40338
Residents	104	1.8269	.38015

4.2.12 Organizations involved in the reconciliation efforts

The respondents were asked to name the organizations that were involved in the reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums. This was in answer to of the study objectives that seeks to identify the organizations involved in peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums. From the findings of the study, most respondents with a mean of 1.9 indicated that church organizations and NGOs are greatly involved in promoting peace and reconciliation; others indicated that government Agencies and local residents are more responsible in promoting peace and reconciliation in the areas with a mean of 1.8 in each

case. According to the findings, residents of Mukuru slums have been involved in promoting peace and reconciliation something that enables the peace efforts to succeed, when the beneficiaries of the peace efforts themselves are involved in the promotion of peace and reconciliation, the benefits are more than when the responsibility is left with NGO'S and Church organizations..

According to key informants in the study, those from the provincial administration claimed that the government is involved in peace and reconciliation efforts more than any other group. While Church organizations and NGO'S claimed to have been involved more than the others. The table below shows the mean distribution of respondents according to involvement in peace and reconciliation efforts.

Table 4.14 Respondents mean distribution on the involvement of different organizations in the reconciliation process

Organizations involved in reconciling the people	N	Mean	Std Dev
Government agencies	104	1.8	.38
Church organizations	104	1.9	.50
Politicians	104	1.3	.45
Ngo's	104	1.9	.46
Local residents themselves	104	1.8	.23

4.2.13 Methods used in the reconciliation efforts

The respondents were asked to indicate the methods used by the organizations i promoting peace and reconciliation among residents of Mukuru slums. From the findings majority of the respondents with a mean of 1.8 indicated that holding church forums was the method used mostly to address peace and reconciliation issues in the In Mukuru slums. Others indicated that the government is involved through enforcing the rule of law as indicated by a mean of 1.7 while others indicated that it is through the use of cultural

festivals as indicated by a mean of 1.5 while political gatherings was the least common method used in promoting peace and reconciliation in the Mukuru Slums as indicated by a mean of 1.2. It is clear form the findings that most methods adapted in promoting peace and reconciliation in the Mukuru Slums depends on the organizations involved and that church organizations were much engaged in addressing peace and reconciliation in the Slums. According to key informants, Church organizations play a crucial role in peace and reconciliation efforts both during and after the post election violence in Mukuru slums. Through church organized mass prayer sessions for peace, residents got to know the need for brotherhood in society and God's will that his people live in peace as brothers and sisters; this is according to one of the key informants. The table below shows the mean distribution of residents according to the methods used in the reconciliation efforts.

Table 4.15 Mean distribution of respondents views on the methods used in promotion of peace and reconciliation

Reconciliation methods used by organization	N	Mean	Std Dev
church forums	104	1.8154	.32103
Political gatherings	104	1.2269	.38015
Cultural festivals	104	1.5269	.38015
enforcing rule of law	104	1.7788	.41703

4.2.14 Success criteria of the methods used in promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which the methods adopted in Mukuru Slums were effective in promoting peace and reconciliation in the slums. According to the findings of the study 51.0 % of the respondents were neutral on the methods used, they were not sure whether the methods used were succeeding in the

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promotion of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums or not. 38.0% of the respondents indicated that the methods adopted were succeeding in improving peace and reconciliation indicating that the methods were effective as residents are coming together in carrying out development projects and joint self help groups made up of different tribal groups ,unlike earlier before the 2007 election violence when self help groups were formed on tribal lines. 8.0 % indicated that the methods adopted in promoting peace and reconciliation are effective to a very great extent. This indicated that residents of Mukuru are living in peace and those who were affected are slowly forgiving those who were responsible for looting and destruction of property as well as displacement of people after the violence. 2.0 % indicated that the methods adopted were not at all effective and had no success in promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums. They argued that they still live in fear of being attacked and more so what will happen after the 2012 general elections. The figure below shows the respondents' views on the success criteria of the methods used in the promotion of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums

Figure 4.9 Respondents views on the success or failure of the methods used in peace and reconciliation efforts

Extent of attribute of success of methods adopted
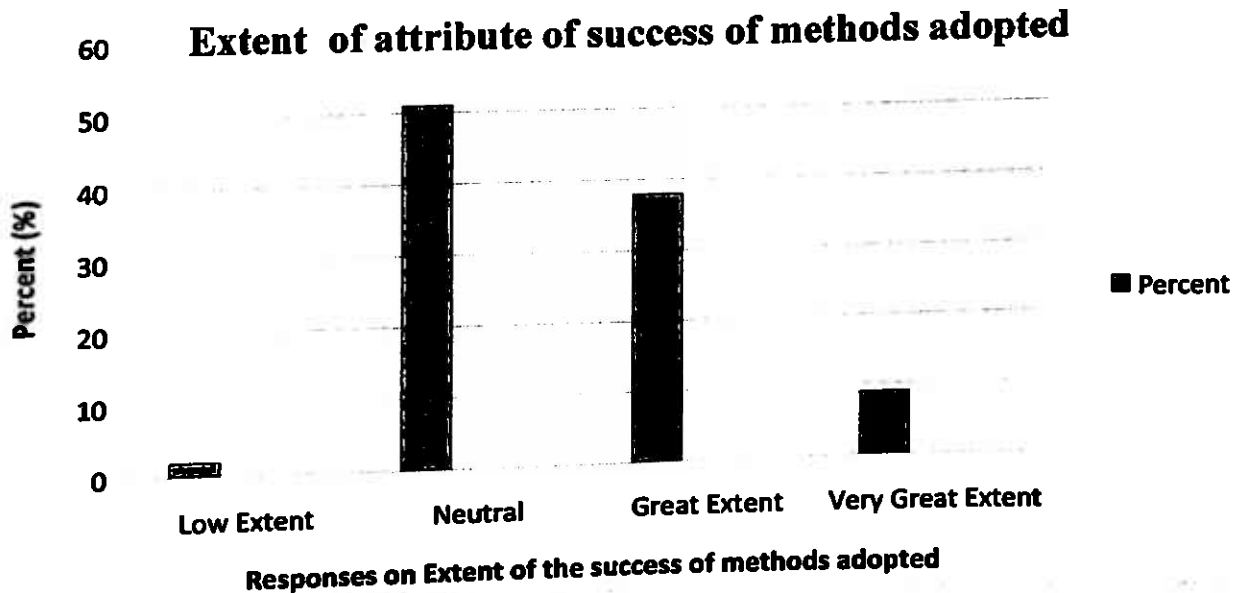
4.2.15 Governments role in peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums

The respondents were asked to indicate their views on the role the government of Kenya is playing in promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums. This was to determine the government of Kenya's participation in peace and reconciliation efforts. According to the findings of the study 94.0% of the respondents indicated that the government is playing an important role in the promotion of peace and reconciliation citing that it has enforced the rule of law through its agencies such as chiefs and their assistants, police officers are deployed in the slums to restore order and enforce law. 6.0% of the respondents indicated that the government is not playing any role in the promotion of peace and reconciliation efforts in the Slums. They indicated that government officials were only concerned about their own welfare and that the residents were neglected. They also felt that politicians who won the elections only come to them when they needed votes and never come again to address problems of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums. According to the key informants, the government of Kenya is very concerned with the welfare of the residents. The government through the provincial administration and the ministry of special programmes has always ensured the welfare of the residents since the post election violence occurred. Provincial administrators insisted on their role to ensure that security among the residents is guaranteed. The table below shows the respondent's views on the role of the government in promoting peace and reconciliation among the residents of Mukuru slums.

Table 4.16 Respondents views on the government's role in promotion of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums

Governments role in peace and reconciliation efforts	N	Percent
Yes	98	94.2
No	6	5.8
Total	104	100.0

4.2.16 Residents level of satisfaction with the role of the government in Promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they were satisfied with the government's engagement in promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums. This was in order to determine the level of satisfaction with the government's role in the promotion of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums. From the findings 59.0% of the respondents were dissatisfied saying that the government has a lot to do, as they argue that the government has not achieved their expectations. While 41.0% of the respondents were satisfied arguing that, it is through the governments initiatives that they are living in peace. According to them, the government is striving to promote peace and reconciliation and cohesion in the whole country including Mukuru Slums.

According to the key informants, the government of Kenya is so much involved in peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums which is in line with 44% of the respondents. They indicated that there is still a lot to be done by the government in ensuring that the once peaceful society gets back to normal. The figure below shows the level of the residents' satisfaction with the government's efforts in promoting peace and reconciliation among the residents of Mukuru slums.

Figure 4.10 Respondents views on the level of satisfaction with the Government's input in promotion of peace and reconciliation

Satifaction with the Government Input

0%

41%

59%

■ Yes
◙ No
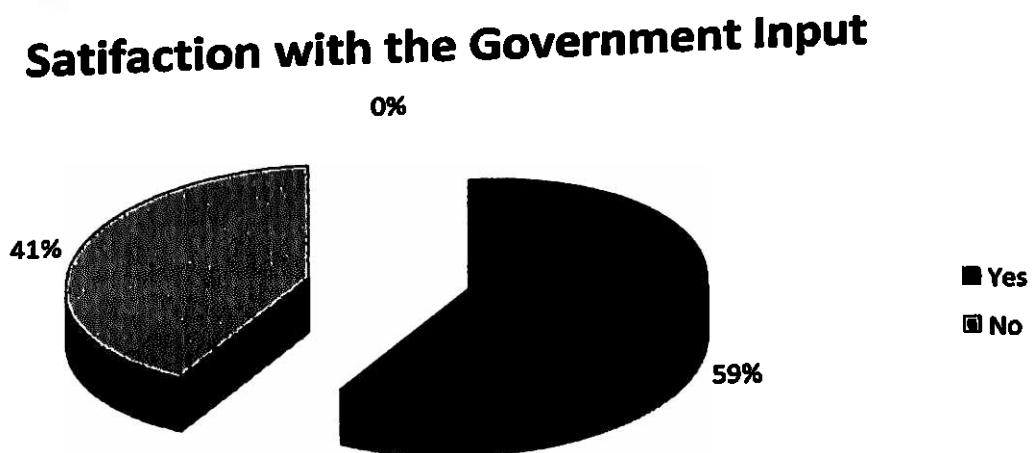
4.3 Respondents recommendations to government and others organizations that would promote peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums

i) The government was advised to use all the resources available in ensuring civic education is taught to Mukuru residents as well as funding projects to create job opportunities for the youth

ii) The government should develop Mukuru Slums by building modern houses

iii) Buildings of school that do not discriminate learners against tribal lines

iv) Organizing games and others sports

v) Setting up social amenities

vi) Preach against tribalism in Mukuru Slums to the youth

vii) Create job opportunities to reduce idling and looting

viii) Punishing politicians who incite people in Mukuru Slum by enforcing full force of the law

ix) The government and other stakeholders were advised to create more markets in Mukuru so as to create job to the youth

x) Assist people come together by initiating self help groups comprising all the tribes so as to shun and condemn tribalism in the slums

xi) Government officials were advised to be role model in preaching peace, be national leaders and not behaving as though they were tribal leaders

xii) Churches and other NGOs were advised not to be partisan in Mukuru Slums politics and should concentrate in initiating peace and project that will uplift economic status of Mukuru residents

xiii) The government should ensure constitution is amended and ensure proper allocation of resources

xiv)   The government to ensure that residents are compensated for what they lost

xv) The infrastructures in Mukuru Slums should be improved as this will enable residents engage in income generating projects like kiosks and open markets in the slums to boost businesses in the Mukuru Slums and this will engage the residents and avoid idling especially among the youth.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Summary

5.1 Residents of Mukuru Slums

Mukuru slums is made up residents form different ethnic background, which includes Somali's being the majority followed by Kisii's ,Kamba and the Kikuyu, there are also Luo's and Luhya's but not as many as compared to the other four tribes. Some of residents are married while majority are youth in their 20s. Most of the residents have at least attained primarily level of education with a few attaining diplomas and university education. Majority of the residents earn their income through informal employment. Residents in Mukuru Slums work as casual laborers in the local manufacturing industries and in construction sites while others operate as small businesses within the slum area. Majority of the youth are unemployed which explains why the youth took the greatest part in violence in Mukuru slums.

Residents who have lived in the slums for more than three years experienced the violence that occurred following 2007 elections. Majority of the respondent have lived in the area for more than two years. Residents lost their properties through looting, destructions, burning and some lost their relatives while others were assaulted and displaced and found refuge in the chief's camp. The situation in Mukuru slums is still unpredictable because issues that caused the violence have not been addressed. Although some respondents indicated that the situation is back to normal as they have gone back to their businesses as they used to before the violence. There is a lot of mistrust among the residents with majority still identifying themselves along their tribal lines. Politicians were highly blamed for the violence that occurred in Mukuru slums; they spread hate messages and even paid the idle youth to engage in violence.

Among the organizations involved in the promotion of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums includes; the government of Kenya, Church organizations, NGO'S and the residents themselves. Among the methods used to preach peace and reconciliation includes; cultural festivals, Church forums, political gatherings and the enforcement of

the rule of law.

5.1.2 Causes of post election violence in Mukuru slums

Violence in any society is inevitable especially where resources are limited. Competition over resources is usually the major cause of violence in any society. The causes of violence in Mukuru Slums were political, as politicians went round preaching hate messages against communities as well as offering bribes to jobless youth who were greatly involved in the violence. Unequal distribution of resources also contributed to the eruption of the violence while others were involved in violence due to ethnicity. The other causes of violence were spontaneous due to the violence that was happening in other parts of the country as indicated by the key informants. Other respondents indicated social class inequality among the majority poor and the minority rich as the major cause of the post election violence.

5.1.3 Whether there were other organizations involved in promoting peace and reconciliation

Various groups and organizations besides government are involved in peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums. The residents themselves have formed groups headed by elders in preaching peace in the slums and brokering reconciliation. The elders are made up of men, women and youth leaders, the government through the provincial administration, is involved in promoting peace and reconciliation by advising residents to live in peace, deployment of security officers to maintain law and order. Various NGOs are also involved the main one being SIDAREC community resource centre. This doubles as a community resource information centre and an adult educational centre. They also offer free nursery school education whereby parents pay a hundred shillings for the children's porridge, other NGO's includes Goal Kenya and Red Cross. Church Organizations are also involved in promoting peace and reconciliations in Mukuru Slums; the most notable churches according to the key informants include Catholic Church, P.C.E.A and S.D.A churches.

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5.1.4 Reasons for initiating peace forums in Mukuru slums

Residents are always advised to shun violence, and to embrace brotherhood. This enable them share the available scarce resources equally and without causing mayhem leading to loss of lives and properties. The reason for initiating peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums was to ensure that residents live in harmony while appreciating one other. There was also the need for the creation of harmony, refusing to be divided along tribal lines and to prevent the occurrence of violence in future. Peace environment was advocated for in the slums to create a conducive environment for initiation of development projects and prevent communities from revenging in future.

5.1.5 Methods adopted to promote peace and reconciliation in the Mukuru Slums

The Government and other organizations adopted different methods in ensuring they achieved their peace and reconciliation mission in the Mukuru slums. The government is using chiefs' Barazas which are held twice per month to address peace issues these meetings are said to be addressed by village elders both men and women including youth leaders in the slum, assistance chiefs, councilors, church leaders and any other invited officials either from the government or other peace organizations. Deployment of security officers is also done to maintain law and order. Church organizations including; SDA, Catholic Church, PCEA Jesus Revelation Fellowship Church (JRFC among other churches use church meetings during Sundays and other selected days of the week to addressed peace and holds prayer days to pray for peace in the Slums and the whole country. The NGOs leader indicated that they advice people to live in harmony and offer funds to starts project in small self help groups which are made of all the tribes to promote peace. Cultural festivals are also held involving all the tribes. The residents are also advised to inter-marry so as to ensure the ties of the residents may be stronger, holding public rallies to address peace and reconciliation issues in Mukuru Slums and forming community's peace committees to educating residents on importance of peace in the area.

5.1.6 Activities carried out by the organizations in efforts to promoting peace and reconciliation

Most of the activities carried out were holding inter-cultural festivals, holding prayer meeting by the church organizations, singing sacred songs using different tribal languages, forming self help groups, holding sport days during meeting day before addressing issues of peace and reconciliation. There is also awarding of prize for any outstanding personnel who are outstanding in promoting peace in Mukuru Slums

5.1.7 Impacts of peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums

The methods adopted to promote peace and reconciliation has led situation at Mukuru Slums go back to normal to some extent and that people were reconciling and even forming self help groups comprising different tribes without discrimination. Mukuru Residents were also carrying out their life as they used before the violence and that they are taking bold steps of forgiving those who participated in the violence in the area.

The residents are also in a position to initiate development projects to create employment for the other residents and earn income to raise their living standards.

5.1.8 Suggested ways on how the government and other stakeholders could promote peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums

There are more ways in which the government could employ and promote peace and reconciliation and prevent the occurrence of violence and chaos in Mukuru Slums.

xvi) The government to used all its resources available in ensuring civic education is taught to Mukuru residents as well as funding projects to create job opportunities for the youth

xvii) The government should develop Mukuru Slums by building modern houses

xviii) Punishing politician who incite people in Mukuru Slum by enforcing full force of the law and punishing any other person who may have engage in violence.

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xix)   Assist people come together by initiating self help groups comprising all the tribes so as to churn and condemn tribalism in the slums

xx) Government official were advised to be role model in preaching peace, be national leaders and not behaving as though they were tribal leaders

xxi)   Churches and other NGOs were advised not to be partisan in Mukuru Slums politics and should concentrate in initiating peace and project that will uplift economic status of Mukuru residents

xxii)   The government should ensure constitution is amended and ensure proper allocation of resources

xxiii) The infrastructures in Mukuru Slums should be improved that this will enable residents engage in income generating projects like kiosks and open markets in the slums to boost businesses in the Mukuru Slums and making them avoid idling especially among the youth.

5.2 Conclusions

From the findings interpretation and summary, the study concludes that the government, residents through groups headed by elders, NGOs are also involved for example Sidarec community resource centre Goal Kenya and Red Cross society of Kenya; Church Organizations are the major players in the promotion of peace and reconciliation in Mukuru Slums.

The study also concludes that the communities in Mukuru Slums, government and other major players should focus of coming up with programmers that will hinder occurrence of violence through for example early needs assessment, planning and resource mobilization for recovery, taking into account the different needs, resources and vulnerabilities of women and men creating strategic alliances between communities and

local authorities ensuring the participation and inclusion of vulnerable, marginalized and discriminated groups; raising human rights awareness and strengthening the capacities of local communities to claim their rights.

The study further concludes that Peace environment in the slums creates conducive environment for initiation of development to be possible and preventing communities from revenging in future and development of Mukuru slums should be emphasized to leads to job creations and promote peace in the area.

5.3 Recommendations

The following key recommendations have be en proposed as results of findings of this study.
That the government and other organization which include church organizations, NGOs, UN organization and local communities should all work together to promote and address peace issues in Mukuru Slums so as to prevent reoccurrence of violence in the future and make local communities coexist without any conflicts.

That holding intercultural festivals, inter-marriages, holding prayer meetings by the church organizations, forming self help groups, holding sport days during meeting day, proper planning of the resource utilization and holding strategic alliances involving all the communities lead to promotion of peace and reconciliation in the slums

That peace and reconciliation should be promoted by all mean so as to enable resident live in harmony, initiate development projects, improve infrastructures, creating job opportunities for the resident, that eventually uplift living standards of the residents.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

Questionnaire

Please fill the following questionnaire, the information sought will be used only for academic purposes and will be treated with total confidentiality.

Part A: General Information

1. Respondents gender
   - i)   Male
   - ii)   Female

2. How old are you? ....

3. What is your marital status?
   - i)   Married
   - ii)   Divorced
   - iii) Single
   - iv) Widowed

4. Have you ever been to school?
   - i)   Yes
   - ii)   No

5. If yes, what educational level did you attain?
   - i)   Primary education
   - ii)   Secondary education
   - iii) College education
   - iv) University education

6. What is your occupation?
   - i)   Casual labourer
   - ii)   Businessman/woman
   - iii) Housewife
   - iv) Not employed
   - v)   Any other, specify ....

7. Are you currently engaged in gainful employment?
   - i)   Yes
   - ii)   No

   If Yes, specify ....

8. Do you have any children?
   - i)   Yes
   - ii)   No

PART B: EVENTS DURING POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE

1. How long have you lived in Mukuru slums?

   i)   Less than 2 years
   ii)   Between 2-3 years
   iii)   Between 3-4 years
   iv)   Between 4-5 years
   v)   Above 5 years

2. Which village do you come from? ....

3. Did your village experience violence after the 2007 election violence?
   i)   Yes
   ii)   No

4. If Yes, what kind of violence?
   i)   Riots
   ii)   Looting
   iii)   Houses burned
   iv)   People killed
   v)   All the above

5. Were you in any way affected by the violence?
   i)   Yes
   ii)   No

6. If yes, how were you affected?
   i)   Houses burned
   ii)   Property stolen
   iii)   Lost relatives
   iv)   Family displaced
   v)   If any other, specify ....

7. What were the effects of the violence in your area?
   i)   Loss of lives
   ii)   Property destruction
   iii)   Physical injuries
   iv)   Loss of jobs
   v)   Any other, specify ....

8. Who participated most in the violence?
   i)   Men
   ii)   Women

      iii)   Young men

      iv)   Children

9. What were the causes of violence and conflict in your area?
    i)   Political grudges
    ii)   Ethnicity
    iii)   Unequal distribution of resources
    iv)   Social class inequality
    v)   Any other, specify ....

PART C: EVENTS AFTER THE POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE

1. How is the situation now?
    i)   Calm
    ii)   Still tense
    iii)   Violent
    iv)   Unpredictable
    v)   Don't know

2. Give reasons for your answer (1) above ....
....
....

3.   i) Has life gone back to normal?
             a) Yes
             b) No
      ii)   Explain your answer ....

4. Do people still identify themselves with their tribal backgrounds?
    i)   Yes
    ii)   No

5. Do neighbours still live in suspicion?
    i)   Yes
    ii)   No

6. If yes, what makes you think there is still suspicion?
....
....

7. Who is to blame for suspicion?
    i)   Politicians
    ii)   Church organizations
    iii)   Provincial administration
    iv)   Government
    v)   Residents
    vi)   Any other, specify ....

8. Which are the organizations involved in reconciling the people?

     i)   Government agencies (e.g. ministry of national cohesion)
     ii)   Church organizations
     iii)   Politicians
     iv)   NGO's
     v)   Local residents themselves
     vi)   Any other, specify ....

9. What methods do the organizations use to reconcile the people in Mukuru slums?
     i)   Church forums
     ii)   Political gatherings
     iii)   Cultural festivals
     iv)   Enforcing rule of law
     v)   Any other, specify ....

10. To what extent would you attribute the success of these methods?
     i)   Very low success
     ii)   Low success
     iii)   Satisfactory
     iv)   Very successful

11. Give reasons for your answer ....
....

12. Is the government of Kenya playing any role in bringing back peace and reconciliation to people living Mukuru slums?
     i)   Yes
     ii)   No

13. Explain your answer ....
....

14. Are you satisfied with the governments input in bringing back peace and reconciliation?
     i)   Yes
     ii)   No

15. Give comments on how the government and other organizations are improving peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums? ....
....
....

Appendix 2

Key informants interview guide

1. What were the causes of conflict and violence in Mukuru slums?

2. Explain how Mukuru residents were affected during the post election violence?

3. (i) Are there any organizations involved in bringing peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums?

    (ii) Which are the organizations involved in peace and reconciliation efforts in Mukuru slums?

4. What were the reasons for initiating the peace forums?

5. State the main methods that the organizations use in promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums?

6. How effective are these methods in promoting peace and reconciliation?

7. What are the activities carried out by these organizations in their efforts to bring back peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums?

8. In what ways is the government of Kenya involved in promoting peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums?

9. Explain how effective are the methods adopted by the government in bringing back peace and reconciliation in Mukuru slums?