

**THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PROMOTING RECONCILIATION IN
2008-2013 POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This research project has been submitted for review with our approval as University Supervisor

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DEDICATION

To my parents Bonventure Nyongesa Obadah and Grace Nyongesa, my daughter Jessamine Nanjalamay God shower you with unending blessings for teaching me that even the largest tasks can be accomplished if done one step at a time. In a special way, I sincerely thank my James Nyamweya Oenga, for his prayers, support and teaching me the virtue of perseverance and endurance.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AACC.....	All Africa Council of Churches
CBOs.....	Church Based Organizations
CJPC.	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
GEMA.....	Gikuyu Embu Meru Association
ICJ.....	International Commission of Jurists
KANU.....	Kenya African National Union
NEMU.....	National Elections Monitoring Unit
NGO.....	Non-Governmental Organizations.
NCKK.....	National Council of Churches of Kenya
PCEA.....	Presbyterian Church of East Africa
PSW.....	Problem Solving Workshop
SCC.....	Small Christian Communities
UN.....	United Nations

ABSTRACT

In Kenya, the occurrence of ethnic-related conflicts seem to be recurrent. In light of this, the church has a critical call to appreciate and make use of her divine mission of fostering reconciliation in the society. Existing research into reconciliation has shown how ineffective methodology could precipitate occurrence and resurgence of ethnic conflicts. The traditional methods of reconciliation that the church has dwelt on in promoting peace and stability have proved ineffective because of their tendency to exclude people's lifestyles, beliefs and systems. This research seeks to evaluate the actual role the church played in fostering reconciliation, assess reconciliation processes employed by the church in Kenya 2008-2013 post conflict period; and suggest effective strategies that the church could employ in reconciliation. The research was guided by a liberal peace research theory which entailed mutual combination of factors used by the church, and other actors on the relevance of reconciliation by dealing with the conflict cycle from the structural causes of the struggle to its resolution and the assurance of a peaceful living together. Data for this study was obtained from secondary sources. This was descriptive contained in notes form. Guided by the objectives of the study, the data was arranged according to conceptual themes. The main causes of ethnic conflicts include land, poverty, militia gangs, political incitement, and ethnic animosity. The study's findings indicate that churches in Kenya have been at the forefront in fostering peace using different methods particularly submission, confession, and peace visits. The study established that conflicts recur because of the adoption of ineffective methods of reconciliation and lack of community involvement. The study equally showed that by using a complementary approach to reconciliation and peace building, the tendency to peace stability amid ethnic polarization will be sustainable. As it is characterized by every multiethnic society, all actors in reconciliation should ensure that a comprehensive approach to peace building and reconciliation must be aligned to the diversity of cultural world views. After the interpretation and discussion of the data, conclusions were drawn and recommendations for further research given.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Most successful efforts at reconciliation have been led by teams of local politicians mostly in the affected areas. The one exception to this rule is the role that church can play in peace building. The Catholic Church, in particular, has engaged in reconciliation initiatives after the 2008 post conflict Kenya. Building peace in any society in the wake of historical injustices that coalesced around the 2007-2008 post-election conflict requires renewed efforts from the community level. This shows the need for the church to initiate, oversee and facilitate reconciliation because, Stein outlines that community reconciliation matters because the consequences of not reconciling at the community level can be enormous. In these terms, too many peace agreements are orphaned¹. As such, the parties reach an agreement that builds relationship within the purviews of Lederach understanding of reconciliation, but does little to take the parties toward what can be called stable peace, which can only occur when the issues that gave rise to the conflict in the first place are addressed to the satisfaction of all².

Based on the existence of the memories of past conflicts, and coupled by other historical injustices such as displacement of persons, land grabbing and inequitable distribution of resources, it is more likely that the cycle of violence and conflict could continue. The church leadership stands a chance to initiate a framework of confessing and forgiving. As a result,

¹Stein, J. (2001). Image, identity, and the resolution of violent conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson & P. Aall (Eds.), *Turbulent peace: The challenges of managing international conflict* (pp. 189-208). Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.p 193

² Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace.p. 75

reconciliation at the community level could extensively give Kenya an opportunity to break the conflict cycle among communities and enhance these communities to exchange perspectives on the root of their conflicts, express their grievances in public church forums, forgive their enemies, possibly initiate dialogue and clear the way for healing as well as building relationships.

The basis of reconciliation, facilitated by the church, requires the need to address historical pains and identities. In light of this, it emerges that the foundation of social division within violent conflict is the creation of enemy images. Gross Stein revives the concept of enemy images of ‘us versus them’ with the content and reciprocity of enemy images. Such images as a set of beliefs that individuals or groups hold. When a group shares common images of the other, the images can easily become stereotyped³.

A communally held stereotyped image is usually simple in structure, and helps to create the political context in which action sometimes violent against the other can occur. Enemy images are maintained even without concrete evidence regarding the others supposedly malicious intentions⁴. Since human nature requires the development of personal identity, reconciliation by the community members, and facilitated by the church, significantly address why a personally held identity defines how an individual views oneself, and reflects one's desires about how to be viewed by others. There is nothing inherently destructive in the human need to hold an identity⁵. However, one aspect of personal identity is the individual's social identity the part of a person's self-image structured by one's membership in a particular social group.

³Stein, J. (2001). Image, identity, and the resolution of violent conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson & P. Aall (Eds.), *Turbulent peace: The challenges of managing international conflict* (pp. 189-208). Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.p197

⁴ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p145

⁵ Ibid, p160

Henri Tajfel's social identity theory proposes that members of an identity group will attempt to achieve a positive social identity vis-à-vis an opposing identity group through comparison with, and distinction from, the other group⁶. The self-esteem of members of a group is intimately tied to the positive social identity of their particular identity group. The creation and maintenance of an in-group and an out-group often requires forming images of a competing group as an "enemy"⁷. Holding such images can culminate in conflict. It is important to note that social identity only rarely leads to violent conflict through the creation of enemy images.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The powers of religious actors derive from their moral legitimacy, a belief that peacemaking is a critical manifestation of their faith and their relationships with key constituencies. These elements provide religious actors with immense potential as conflict managers and when translated into practical action can and do generate solutions to conflict.⁸ However, there exist a challenge in the execution between these potential and the actual role religious organisations play in conflict management. This was the case during the management of 2007-2008 violent electoral conflict where religious organisations were not visible despite their continued involvement in the national political processes.⁹ Despite the church having a mission of peace and reconciliation and being predominant, conflicts, especially ethnic conflicts continue to escalate in various parts of the country. This is an indication that probably there is a weakness in

⁶Tajfel, H. (1982). Human groups and social categories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., p112

⁷Ibid, 127

⁸ CIPEV, Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (2008): Report on the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence. Nairobi

⁹ South Consulting (2012): The Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Monitoring Project. Progress in Implementation of the Constitution and Preparedness for 2012. Review Report January. Nairobi

the methodology the church uses in reconciliation even after the 2007- 2008 post-election violence.¹⁰

Efforts have been made to resolve the problem of conflict, but those efforts have been based their approaches to resolving any conflict in a society on the frameworks of political leadership, the United Nations programs as well as the truth and reconciliation commissions. The ineffectiveness of these efforts to achieve reconciliation and build peace within communities highlights the need for use of other avenues such as the church. This is due to the potential for the church to inculcate the message of peace and reconciliation to the society such as Kenya where there has been resurgence of ethnic conflicts. Thus, this research builds on the principles of conflict resolution and transformation to explore the role played by the church to enhance peaceful coexistence among communities with past historical issues that trigger their aggression against each other.

1.3. Research Objectives

1. To evaluate the actual role the church played in bringing forth the perpetrators of the conflict.
2. To assess reconciliation processes employed by the church in Kenya 2008-2013 post conflict period.
3. To suggest effective strategies that the church could employ in reconciliation.

1.4 Hypotheses

1. Uniformity of religious values affects the process and outcome of reconciliation by building relationships.

¹⁰Kut, G. (2007): Kenya: Towards the National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management. In: Van Tongeren, Paul and Christine van Empel (Ed.): GPPAC Joint Action for Prevention: Civil Society and Government Cooperation on Conflict Prevention and Peace-building. Issue paper 4, Den Haag, European Centre for Conflict Prevention, pp.38-45

2. Complementary approaches are inevitable in effective reconciliation initiatives at the community level.
3. The process of reconciliation employed by the church is affected by the political dimensions of members of the community.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Through liberal peace theory, the concept of reconciliation is understood as that specific process that takes place along approaches of conflict resolution¹¹. Lederach asserts that reconciliation is a condition that goes beyond the conflict, however, the approach adopted in this study focuses on reconciliation as the last challenge to reach in order to sort out a conflict¹². As long as you have people previously confronted not reconciled, the conflict is still there and violence is likely to flourish anytime. Liberal peace theory thus underscores that reconciliation is fundamental in conflictive contexts in order to get people living together in long term peace.¹³

Liberal peace theory shows the relevance of reconciliation by dealing with the conflict cycle from the structural causes of the struggle to its resolution and the assurance of a peaceful living together. According to Lederach, peace theory best explains the role of the church in building relationships through phases¹⁴. The first phase of the cycle is known as conflict prevention, and it copes with structural and cultural violence and attempts not to allow those to turn into direct

¹¹ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum., p14

¹² Lederach, John Paul (1997). Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p145

¹³ Yamano T. & Deininger K. (2005). Land Conflicts in Kenya: Causes, Impacts, and Resolutions. FASID Discussion Paper 2005-12-002

¹⁴ Lederach, John Paul (1997). Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington: US Institute for Peace, 15

violence¹⁵. Usually, a trigger (be it political, social, economic or military) is the last and most tangible cause for violence to erupt. Once violence breaks out, academics introduce into conflict management or peacemaking, efforts that basically seeks to end violence and minimize its consequences. A ceasefire and/or a peace agreement ends with direct violence. At this point, experts of peace studies face post conflict situations, seeking first to consolidate a non-violent state by disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating soldiers in society, which is also known as peacekeeping or peace-enforcing process¹⁶. This phase takes the society to a state of negative peace, which consists of a state where the eruption of violence will hardly happen but the previously confronted communities has not yet resolved the structural causes of the conflict.

From liberal peace theory, the church, during the 2008-2013 post conflict period, initiated the process of reconciliation from a comprehensive search of the probable cause of conflict. This is geared towards unearthing unbiased probable cause of the conflict.¹⁷ Enquiry disregards ethnic, political or social affiliation because its ultimate end is to get the truth of the matter¹⁸. From liberal peace theory, the church plays a leading role towards facilitating reconciliation by picking submission and confession which is applicable to peoples within the conflict¹⁹. These entail a sincere contrite acceptance of the mistakes done and readiness to accept forgiveness. The basic tenet that informs this process is the truth about his or her involvement in the conflicts. Truth entails the involved parties or ethnic communities disclosing all mistakes and heinous acts

¹⁵ Lederach, p178

¹⁶ Tajfel, H. (1981). Human groups and social categories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p59

¹⁷ Brown, S. (2009): Donor responses to the 2008 Kenyan crisis: Finally getting it right? In: *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, July 2009

¹⁸ Assefa, H. (1996). Peace and Reconciliation as a paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and its implications for Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa, in *Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; theoretical perspectives and church initiatives*: Nairobi: EAEP., p110

¹⁹ Kobia, Samuel (2005). *Healing the World: Working Together With Religion in Global Society* Chicago: International Council of Christians and Jews.p.162

done²⁰. Reconciliation entails bridging the gap between the warring communities by capitalizing on the commonalities that act as the connectors²¹.

Though as old as society itself, processes of reconciliation have taken on special significance since the end of the Cold War.²² Both the theoretical and the praxis-oriented principle on contemporary conflict resolution acknowledge that hearts and minds are as ravaged by conflict and violence, and in as much need of reconstruction, as burnt out towns or villages. The success of reconciliation depends, at least in part, on assisting antagonists to put their pasts of violence and estrangement behind them. Reconciliation is currently applied on a variety of levels, from small encounter groups, to high profile truth commissions to Presidential apologies for past wrongs.

Liberal peace theory succinctly suits the study of how the church addressed the question of reconciliation in Kenya's 2008-2013 post conflict period. The theory underscores the question whether such conflict should be regarded as something rational, constructive, and socially functional or something irrational, pathological, and socially dysfunctional. The church, during the 2008-2013 post-election period, utilized non-violent ways of resolving ethnic conflicts. The Catholic Church, through the episcopal conference under the leadership of Rt. Reverend Cornelius Korir, made it clear that violence is evil and should be shunned at all cost. This promoted dialogue as the way of reconciling warring parties. Such parties would come together

²⁰ Nation Reporter (January 28th 2008). Did Church Leaders Fail Kenyans? Daily Nation, 3.

²¹ Ntabona, Adrien. (2001) "Towards a Balanced Modernization of Traditional Institutions for Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts in Africa: Drawing Lessons From Bashingantaha Institution". In A seminar Report, Traditional Institutions for Conflict Resolution and Promotion of Peace in the Great Lakes and the Horn of African Regions., Nairobi.: Life Peace Institute:p69

²² Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes in Kenya (2002): The Akiwumi Report Part I: Rift Valley Province. Nairobi, available from: <http://www.hrw.org/de/news/2002/10/31/kenya-report-politicians-fueled-ethnicviolence?> Print. Accessed on 11th April 2014

and reach consensus favorable to both sides²³. Moreover, the church in the 2008-2013 post conflict period in Kenya widely employed complementary approach that involves different methods which target diverse aspects of human life to achieve a long lasting solution. The socio-religio-cultural aspects of human being are treated and given the necessary attention that had been excluded from the previous attempts to bring peace.²⁴

With reference to the views of liberal peace theory, community reconciliation processes are greatly complicated if the victims have been exposed to the trauma and horrors of war. In many conflicts, innocent community members suffer from forced displacement, destruction of property, extreme poverty, sickness, displacement, genocide, mass murder, and separation from family²⁵. Comparatively, it is evident in other societies in conflict; civilians are used in asymmetrical warfare to act as human shields to hinder the attacks of the other side. Additionally, civilians are thrown into harm's way to garner international media attention²⁶. Competing groups commonly perceive innocent members from the other group as linked directly with enemy combatants.

Previously, healthy social relationships are thrown into disorder as competing identity groups struggle with distrust, rage, disunity, and apprehension. The social discord as evidenced in Kenya 2008 post-election conflict, masses of people returned to their villages from the IDP

²³Did Church Leaders Fail Kenyans?, *Sunday Nation*, (Nairobi), `28th January, 2008.n

²⁴Abu-Nimer, M(ed), (2011). *Reconciliation, Justice and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

²⁵ Rothbart, D., & Korostelina, K. (2008). The enemy and the innocent in violent conflicts. In D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York: Routledge. pp. 85-99

²⁶ Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in *World Conference on Religion and Peace*, 25-32.

camps following the end of violence²⁷. Village dynamics that governed former practices of communal decision-making and action were lost. Villages were not holding meetings, and any efforts at rebuilding community spirit and unity were severely hindered by fears, mistrust, and internal pressures.

The liberal peace theory diverges further on whether reconciliation is an end or a means, an outcome or a process; whether it is politically neutral or unavoidably ideological, and the extent to which it is conservative or transformative in orientation.²⁸ The theory explores conflict resolution with the intention of highlighting both the innovative, and essentially hopeful, dimensions of reconciliation and its more contested and controversial aspects. The liberal peace theory reinforces the argument that conflict engenders interaction at a level more intense than that of competition. Although, conflict, competition, and cooperation are inherently interdependent, conflict occurs when competing groups' goals, objectives, needs or values clash and aggression, although not necessarily violence, is a result.

During the 2008-2013 post conflict period in Kenya, community members were wary of entering into discussions regarding reconstruction projects for fear of starting fights and communities struggled to discuss peacefully²⁹. The living standards quickly deteriorated, resulting in increased dependence on outside support and diminishing community self-esteem. Neighbors and neighboring villages perceived each other with suspicion and rivalry in the competition to put farmland back into use, reopen schools, and refurbish health posts³⁰. Sometimes, discord fueled

²⁷ Schirch, Lisa. (2001). "Ritual Reconciliation I: Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence; Theory and Practice, Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed). Lanham: Lexington Books.p198

²⁸ Crocker, C. A., (2001). 'A Crowded Stage: Liabilities and Benefits of Multiparty Mediation', *International Studies*, 2.

²⁹ Schirch, Lisa. (2001). "Ritual Reconciliation I: Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence; Theory and Practice, Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed). Lanham: Lexington Books.p212

³⁰ Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p224

violent flare-ups that served to hinder development efforts and threatened the village and region with renewed conflict. Most villagers felt cynical and disconnected from the upper-level peace processes occurring in various parts of the country.

Underlying the tenets of liberal peace theory, the process of reconciliation, anchored on the premise of church facilitation, led to the transformation of the conflict for amicable relationship, typically established after a rupture in the relationship involving one-sided or mutual infliction of extreme injury. Montville breaks down this process of accommodation into the oft cited formula of acknowledgment and contrition from the perpetrators, and forgiveness from the victims³¹. This resonates the principle that the road to reconciliation is very difficult, and is easily abandoned or avoided³². It is therefore evident to explore some social motivating forces that might propel processes of reconciliation through the many daunting barriers they face.

With the violence hitting hard the Rift Valley region, especially the cosmopolitan areas as well as the less developed areas of Nairobi Mathare, Kibera, Huruma and Dandora, the predominant churches included the Catholic church as well as the protestant wing of churches led by the Presbyterian Church of East Africa among others. With regard to this, the Catholic Church set up an elaborate network of Small Christians Communities (SCCs) in estates and villages. These communities are prime units of the Catholic Church on the grassroots. The SCCs are made up of between 5 and 10 families. These communities act as the source of information regarding any occurrence in the society. The SCCs are also organs that the Catholic Church uses to offer humanitarian assistance during the conflicts. These SCCs have also representatives of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) which is an arm of the Catholic Church that

³¹ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p44

³² Volkan, V. D. (1990). "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Ethnic Conflicts", In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies*: J.V Montville (ed), Toronto: Lexington Books, p191

promotes civic education, conflict resolution and democracy. The CJPC representatives gather all the information regarding conflicts and other issue and relay them to the national office who responds by giving out food, shelter and clothing.

Within the foundation of liberal peace theory, reconciliation must be proactive in seeking to create an encounter where people can focus on their relationship and share their perceptions, feelings, and experiences with one another, with the goal of creating new perceptions and a new shared experience. For Lederach if new perceptions on intergroup relations can be gained by group members, those relations themselves are, in turn, changed and improved: actors who no longer feel the same will no longer act the same, and are better equipped to deal with the legacy of conflict³³. Motiville and Lederach share Kelman's view that conflict is an "interactive", intersocietal process, driven as much by "collective needs and fears" as by rational calculation of power and interests³⁴. Kelman states that while conflicts may start because of "objective and ideological differences" the dynamics of escalation result from such subjective factors as "...misperceptions, mistrust, and frustrated basic needs"³⁵. Lederach shows that contemporary conflicts are primarily intra rather than inter-state and occur between factionalized identity groups who live in close proximity to each other. These factors combine to produce the intensely negative relationship dynamics characteristic of intractable conflicts³⁶. During the post-election violence period of 2008-2013, the .PCEA Church in Nairobi's informal settlement similarly has

³³ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p114

³⁴ Joseph V, Montville. (2001). "Religion and Peacemaking", in Raymond G. Helmick, S.J., and Rodney L. Petersen eds., *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy and Conflict Transformation*. USA: Templeton Foundation Press, p123

³⁵ Kelman, H. (2008). 'A social-psychological approach to conflict analysis and resolution', In D. Sandole, S.Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. (pp. 170-183) New York, NY: Routledge, 176

³⁶ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p114

network of districts. The districts are group of families who meet once a week for prayers and sharing on any emergency issues. These districts channel their problems to the congregation. The congregation may help the victims directly if they have the resources or may contact the parish and presbytery for assistance. These churches have been used in offering food and shelter to the victims of ethnic conflicts.

The foundation of the liberal peace theory, it is notable that the forgiveness and coexistence is the core point of reference for the Church in its effort to reconciliation. This highlights several principles of peace building and reconciliation including love, justice, forgiveness and peace³⁷. These exalt the value of human lives and the rule of law. To maintain the integrity, churches must advocate for peace and love among their adherents. Ethnic conflicts are threats to the harmony of the society and integrity of the body of Christ. Peace and the Church are, therefore, inseparable³⁸. In other words, peace and reconciliation are inseparable. Thus the church is necessitated to mitigate conflicts in order to live to her mission. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), The Church and Church- Based Organizations (CBOs) such as Caritas, Diakonia, Inter-life, Church of Sweden, Swedish Mission, Covenant Church, Swedish Ecumenical Women Council and Swedish Mission Council have been involved in peace building processes in areas affected by ethnic conflicts in Africa . Likewise, the Church has been involved in peace building and reconciliation in the Kenya. The Church involvement has also been strengthened by her commissions such as, Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) for the Roman Catholic Church, All Africa Council of Churches (AACC) and National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) for some Protestant churches. The church, especially, Roman

³⁷ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). *Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace*. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum.

³⁸ Ibid, 191

Catholic has been offering food and shelter to the victims of ethnic conflicts, with an aim of restoring peace³⁹. However, this act though noble, only reduces physical difficulties. Resurgence of ethnic conflicts is a clear pointer that such efforts have failed to realize lasting peace. The church has also been accused of abetting killings in some regions, for instance, Rwanda. This reflects limitations in reconciliation. This was also witnessed in Kenya during the post-election violence of 2007, when some churches and church leaders were accused of being partisan to the conflict.

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya are attracting special attention from different sectors, especially from the church⁴⁰. This is because of their negative impact on social cohesion, economy and loss of lives. Similarly, the phenomenon of ethnic conflict compels peace builders to intervene in order to mitigate the occurrence⁴¹. Reconciliation is a process to reconcile the warring parties and to build a long lasting harmony⁴². This process attracts various key players including, the, government, NGOs, Church and church based organizations.

Among the various players, the church is obliged to be major because of her divine mandate to reconcile and build peace. Besides having a spiritual mandate, the church should be a major social actor in many regions where conflicts occur because of her grassroots network. Thus, the bulk of peace building and reconciliation is falls on the church, the conscience of society. Her mission is to consolidate peace. Peacemaking and reconciliation, therefore, are mandates and not

³⁹ Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 25-32.

⁴⁰ Kahumbi, Newton Maina (2004). Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic conflicts Management and Resolution in Nakuru and UasinGishu Districts, Kenya. Kenyatta University, Unpublished Paper.p27

⁴¹ Adedeji, A (1981). Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts. London: Zed Books, p87.

⁴² Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 25-32.

merely options for the church⁴³. Indeed peace and reconciliation are religious terms therefore inseparable from the Church ministry. The church, therefore, has a role to reconcile people and maintain call for peace. The value of the church is maintained as long as she actualizes peace and reconciliation in the society.

Despite the church having a mission of peace and reconciliation and being predominant, conflicts, especially ethnic conflicts, continue to escalate in various parts of the country. This is an indication that probably there is a weakness in the methodology the church uses in peace building and reconciliation⁴⁴. Accordingly, the nature of the contemporary conflict was dramatically transformed: parties are unequal in power and structure, this complexity protracts conflicts taking them to violent vicious cycles and, finally, this prolongation wraps societies, economies and entire regions giving place to local and global struggles supported by non-state actors, for example, arms trade⁴⁵. So that the old paradigm of analysis based on interstate conflict becomes inefficient and useless. Currently, the complexity is greater and academics need to use different analytical approaches, as for instance human security, in order to better understand and further study conflicts of nowadays.

The Church's approach to reconciliation fall under symbolic approaches to conflict, lending legitimacy to its inclusion in liberal peace theory and giving the field new language to use in its analysis of conflict⁴⁶. Symbolic approaches to conflict grow out of an understanding that humans need to symbolically understand who they are and how they relate to their environment;

⁴³Assefa, H. (1996). Peace and Reconciliation as a paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and its implications for Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa, in Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; theoretical perspectives and church initiatives: Nairobi: EAEP.p51

⁴⁴Ibid, p57

⁴⁵Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 25-32.

⁴⁶Ibid, 21

worldviews are shaped by personal experiences, the cultural groups to which an individual belongs.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Introduction

Conflicts are inevitable in human societies because societies have variations in interests. As such, human beings are essentially egoistic, that is, they toil and struggle to quench their ends⁴⁷. When consensus and mutuality lack, human beings and other animals tend to fight over the available chances and resources, this eventually could lead to conflict which usually turns violent as the case in Kenya in 1992, 1997 and 2007. This section contains the following sections; ethnic conflict, reconciliation and conflict transformation, peacebuilding through Reconciliation and concludes with the theme of the church as an actor in reconciliation.

1.6.2. Ethnic Conflict

Violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya have attracted enormous interest from scholars such as Mwangi, Kahumbi and Assefa since the outbreak of ethnic clashes and the underlying causes of their outbreak. Kahumbi contend that preventing conflict from re-igniting is important as preventive action before conflict arises or become full-fledged war. He adds that the goal of post-conflict building is to consolidate peace.⁴⁸ But he fails to give out possible ways of preventing conflict from re-igniting⁴⁹. Gecagatraces the various causes of ethnic clashes in Kenya⁵⁰. Causes include colonialism, which compressed communities into tribal cocoons through their ethnic

⁴⁷Adedeji, A (1981). *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts*. London: Zed Books, p78.

⁴⁸Diamond, L. & McDonald, J. (2010). *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Guide and Analysis*, Occasional Paper No. 3, Grinnell, Ia: Iowa Peace Institute.

⁴⁹Kahumbi, Newton Maina (2004). *Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic conflicts Management and Resolution in Nakuru and UasinGishu Districts, Kenya*. Kenyatta University, Unpublished Paper, p35.

⁵⁰Gecaga .M.G. (2002). "The Impact of War on Africa Women" In Getui, M.N. & Ayanga .H (eds) PP. 53-70.

barriers and isolation. Some ethnic groups were disposed off their land. This created economic disparities into different regions and uneven distributions of social amenities such as schools and hospitals. In addition, she argues, colonialism promoted ethnic consciousness at the expense of nationalism and patriotism. The other causes of ethnic clashes are opportunism, unfair distribution of economic resources and political power along ethnic lines. Gecaga shares the views of Adedeji and Haugerud, who blame colonialism as the main cause of ethnic awareness⁵¹.

The colonial settlement led to landlessness, creation of tribal reserves and divided society into ethnic entities as earlier indicated. However, Adedejiseem to generalize the effect of colonialism in Africa without considering countries such as Tanzania which have had no serious ethnic clashes⁵². Conflict lead to the collapse of government, community, and family support systems. Family security is essential for a child's survival and physical and psychological development. "War violates every right of a child the right to life, the right to be with family and community, the right to health, the right to the development of the personality, and the right to be nurtured and protected states the Unicef-report "Impact of war on children"⁵³.

In conflicts, children lose their childhood. They witness brutal acts, are subjected to all kinds of terrible abuse. The adult-world can many times not protect and, afterwards, it may not want to hear. In conclusion, the issue of how to manage the entire population's truths is an extremely complex one. Furthermore, if the first casualty of war is truth, as it has been said, the second is perhaps complexity⁵⁴. There is no space for complex or nuanced explanations in war. Dualistic

⁵¹Gecaga .M.G. (2002). "The Impact of War on Africa Women" In Getui, M.N. &Ayanga .H (eds) PP. 53-70.

⁵²Magesa, Laurenti. (1996). Religious Leaders, Peacemaking and Social Change: Some Theological Perspective., In Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives. Assefa, H. & G. Wachira (eds), Nairobi: EAEP, p71.

⁵³Adedeji, A (1981). Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts. London: Zed Books, p99.

⁵⁴Haugerud, A. (1995). The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p76.

(good/evil, black/white) thinking is one factor that makes it easier to explain the pain, and put up with the costs, of conflict.

Dehumanizing the enemy is thus also a tool for enduring the conflict. At the same time as truth is sought for, the clear-cut beliefs and perceptions of the enemy and self will be challenged and reality seen in all its complexity not an easy task. A question raised from time to time is whether we really should remember past atrocity and suffering⁵⁵.

1.6.3 Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation

Reconciliation refers to the act by which people who have been apart and split off from one another begin to walk together again towards peace and cohesiveness. Essentially it refers to the restoration of broken relationship or the coming together of people who have been alienated and separated from one another by conflict to create a community again. The post-World War II France and post-Franco Spain forms examples of where a policy of forgetting seems to have worked. In response to this, Nigel Biggar argues that forgetting in these two countries came after a period of national self-scrutiny (in France called the *Épuration*) and that they thus cannot count as examples of successfully burying the past. He continues by proposing three reasons for why deliberately forgetting the past would be non-recommendable: as suggested above, victims will not forget⁵⁶. One of the most fundamental responsibilities of the state is to protect and defend its citizens in not attending to its citizens “it fails in one of its most basic political duties unaddressed grievances will infect future relations between people as well as create deep mistrust of the state.

⁵⁵Magesa, Laurenti. (1996). Religious Leaders, Peacemaking and Social Change: Some Theological Perspective., In Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives. Assefa, H. & G. Wachira (eds), Nairobi: EAEP, p51

⁵⁶Burton, J.W. (1997). Violence explained: The sources of conflict, violence and crime and their prevention. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p312.

Accordingly, the overall aim of peace building is to prevent violent outbreaks of conflicts or to make sustainable transformation of violent conflicts into peaceful action. Thus, conflicts can be dealt in a constructive and peaceful manner⁵⁷. According to Wirmark, managing ethnic conflicts is elusive because interest groups sometimes want to benefit from the same conflicts they want to manage. She cites the example of Kenya's political establishment, which during the ethnic clashes of 1992 and 1997 exhibited partisanship in solving the clashes. As stated earlier, political affiliation is one of the causes of ethnic conflicts⁵⁸. Thus, Wirmark's assertion is probably true. Indeed in 1992 and 1997, there was the General Election that overly used ethnic blocs. It was noted that ethnic conflicts occurred in areas perceived to oppose the then ruling party, Kenya African National Union (KANU). In such scenario, management of ethnic conflict by the government of the day was unjustifiable due to its lack of neutrality. It is with this apparent lack of neutrality by the government that religious groups and churches come in to consolidate peace and to support structures that tend to support peace.

1.6.4 Peacebuilding through Reconciliation

Peacebuilding after conflicts as an action to identify and support structures which would tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse in conflict⁵⁹. He further notes that peacebuilding implies building structures for peace in all phases of a conflict, not merely after the violent phase has been replaced by a fragile peace. Structures that contribute to strengthening and solidifying peace can be institutions that offer forms for peaceful conflict resolution or that prevent violence, such as church institutions.

⁵⁷Gecaga .M.G. (2002). "The Impact of War on Africa Women" In Getui, M.N. &Ayanga .H (eds) PP. 53-70.

⁵⁸Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum, p98.

⁵⁹Doyle, M and Sambanis, N (2003). Building Peace: Challenge and Strategies After Civil War. The World Bank Group. USA, p79

Overview of women, war and religion, highlights prevention of violent conflicts by underlining need to explore newer approaches. Further, peaceful solutions to violent conflicts need to be sought especially those that deal with communities at different levels⁶⁰. Maina, in her study on ethnicity among the communities of Nakuru District discusses various strategies of managing ethnic conflicts⁶¹. These include channeling of power to methods that attract unity such as one party state; reallocation of resources to the less disadvantaged; enforcement of laws that call for co-existence into various communities and use of a national language policy and common ideology.

Acknowledging past atrocities recognizes the survivors' suffering and can help reinstate a sense of dignity and security. Uncovering the past makes it impossible for future governments to deny history and helps them fulfil one of their fundamental political duties – protecting their citizens. Letting bygones be bygones is not an alternative to disclosing the past – the past is there and will not go away through silence. The question is when, where and how the uncovering should take place in order for society to have the capacity to carry the burden of memories, without breaking up again.

1.6.5 Church as an Actor in Reconciliation

The role of the church in peacemaking and reconciliation is strengthened by the fact that the social and political crisis in the society questions radically the message of the gospel. The church's initiatives for reconciliation were anchored on the concept that peace is the tranquility that flows from right order. When we put right order into the structures of our society, the tranquility that results is peace. Many people, however, perceive peace as the absence of war or

⁶⁰Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 25-32.

⁶¹Maina, L. (2000) Ethnicity Among the Communities of Nakuru District. In Murunga G. R. (ed) Pg 108-193.

violence⁶². In this model, peace is seen as the transformation of contextual and destructive interactions into more co-operative and constructive existence.

The Church's charisma and likewise her unique nature vis-à-vis reconciliation, at whatever level it needs to be achieved, lies in the fact that she always goes back to that reconciliation at the source. For by reason of her essential mission, the Church feels an obligation to go to the roots of the conflict, in order to bring healing and to re-establish, so to speak, an equally original reconciliation which will be the effective principle of all true reconciliation. Therefore, the Church has the mission of proclaiming this reconciliation⁶³. In the context of the change now taking place on the continent, the church has a role to play in reducing or eliminating all together the root causes of simmering or open conflicts and effecting true peace. One way of effecting true peace is by becoming agents of peacebuilding and reconciliation⁶⁴.

It is evident to note the characteristics and skills of a successful mediator in conflict situations, in our case, the church. Indeed the church has impartiality regarding issues of dispute; it commands respect of and is acceptable to all protagonists; it has the knowledge and skill to deal out with challenging issues of conflict. These characteristics informed this study in its pursuit of structuring the complementary approach⁶⁵. Being a widely discussed issue in the area, we will also specifically address the question of forgiveness before we arrive at our definition of reconciliation. In the field of reconciliation there are diverse views as to whether forgiveness is

⁶²Burton, J.W. (1997). *Violence explained: The sources of conflict, violence and crime and their prevention*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p297.

⁶³Kelman, H. (2008). A social-psychological approach to conflict analysis and resolution', In D. Sandole, S.Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York, NY: Routledge. pp. 170-183

⁶⁴Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in *World Conference on Religion and Peace*, 25-32.

⁶⁵Magesa, Laurenti. (1996). *Religious Leaders, Peacemaking and Social Change: Some Theological Perspective.*, In *Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives*. Assefa, H. & G. Wachira (eds), Nairobi: EAEP.p90

part of reconciliation or not. According to the literature covered in the present study, all scholars writing from a theological perspective do include forgiveness in the process of reconciliation⁶⁶. Reconciliation is here sometimes seen as part of an overarching forgiveness reconciliation in this case referring to restored relations in behavior and forgiveness to a deeper transformation based on God having forgiven mankind and that we can extend forgiveness to others. Within the framework of reconciliation, “forgiveness is at the heart of reconciliation”⁶⁷.

Assefas adhere to the religious perspective, including forgiveness as a crucial step in the path toward reconciliation, while forgiveness must be separated from reconciliation⁶⁸. Those who wish to separate forgiveness and reconciliation argue inter alia that the two involve very different actions; forgiveness requires an emotional transformation in the individual victim but no change in the perpetrator and may result in forgetting, whereas reconciliation builds on a mutual undertaking and commitment from both sides to acknowledge the past and build more constructive relationships for the future. This implies that some deeds may for the individual survivor be unforgivable and that it is critical that survivors are never implicitly or explicitly expected to forgive but that they still may want to reconcile for the sake of creating peace for future generations.

1.6.6 Church and Reconciliation in Kenya

The role of the church in Kenya`s politics is traceable to the advent of colonialism. Petersfor instance has shown that during colonial period, the church and state were fused, He characterises

⁶⁶Kelman, H. (2008). A social-psychological approach to conflict analysis and resolution', In D. Sandole, S.Byrne, I. Sandole, & J. Senehi (Eds.), Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution. New York, NY: Routledge. pp. 170-183

⁶⁷Scheper, E. (2002). “Women war and Religion: An Overview”, in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 25-32.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 28

the colonial state as quasi religious due to the pervasive political influence of the Church and its role in augmenting the government role in provision of services.⁶⁹ By 1963, when Kenya attained independence, the church was firmly entrenched in development arena with more than 70 percent control in the sphere of education, healthcare, social welfare and economic training. The cohabitation persisted during Kenyatta regime, when the church and state had amicable relationship. Opio attributes this to the role of ethnicity. He argues that, ‘one cannot explain the nature of the relationship between the church and state without factoring in the role of ethnicity.’⁷⁰ Commenting on these relationship during Kenyatta regime he states, ‘the relationships were largely amicable because the CPK, the Presbyterian church of East Africa and Roman Catholics after independence all became increasingly dominated by Kikuyu chairmen and their congregation in Central province, whose lay members held influential positions in the government.

Active church engagement in opposing government policies which engendered structural violence began during Moi regime especially after 1986, when the entire secular political organisation had either been banned or co-opted by the government. Matanga, notes that ‘playing out its role in severely limited space, the church offered a space for integration and construction of solidarities and because of its capacity to combine both sacred and profane resources, the church enjoyed a specific myth of power, the power to deliver and the power to define reality’.⁷¹ Radoli explains the church role as arising from the fact that it was the only institution

⁶⁹ Peters, R. (2012): Kenya. In: (ed): Afrika Jahrbuch 2012, Hamburg, p.252- 260

⁷⁰ Opio, D. (2009): Validity of newly-created districts in doubt as Pandora’s Box opened. In: Daily Nation [Online], available from: <http://www.nation.co.ke> [Accessed 22 May 2009]

⁷¹ Matanga, K. (2010): Civil Society and Politics – the Case of Kenya; paper presented at the Fourth International Conference of ISTR, Trinity College Dublin. July 5-8, 2010.

which maintained independence while other organisations were co-opted by Moi regime.⁷² Importantly the church enjoyed financial autonomy, and organizational capacity which brought together people of all ages, classes, professions, ethnic backgrounds and localities. It also gave the church unparalleled insight into the needs and the mood of the people and means to disseminate its moral doctrines and social political view.

However, Throup makes a very important observation that, it is not possible to generalise all the churches. Some denominations such as the African Inland Church were sympathetic to the regime, whereas others were divided such as the Church Province of Kenya (CPK).⁷³ Thus, the most realistic assessment should be based on the role of individual clergy. He states, ‘the role of the church is largely dependent on individual actors, rather than churches themselves, and the role was not played by many, for a large number supported Moi either from ethnic or patrimonial-clientelist considerations or out of theological convictions that political involvement was not the role of the church’.⁷⁴ The theme of patrimonial influence has been brought out by Throup, who gives an example of the Presbyterian church of East Africa. He observes that, the clergy fearful of destroying the cordial relationship with Moi regime engineered the transfer of the outspoken Reverend Timothy Njoya from Nairobi Saint Andrews church to Kirima diocese in his home district Nyeri. Further, they stripped him off his position as a pastor’. Reverend Njoya was a fierce critic of Moi regime.

Different authors have looked into the role of the church during the period of political liberalisation. This period can be characterised as the golden era of Church in Kenya’s political

⁷² Radoli, M. (2009). Failure of redress in CDF: parliament needs to act against CDF corruption. [Online], available from: <http://www.cdfproject.org> [Accessed 23 May 2009]

⁷³ Throup, D. (2009): The construction and destruction of the Kenyatta State. In: Michael Schatzberg (ed): The Political Economy of Kenya. Lynne, Routledge, p. 33-74

⁷⁴ UNDP (2011): Kenya - National Human Development Report 2011. Nairobi: United Nations Development Programme

discourse. Wrong have shown how the church led the challenge against one party authoritarianism, politically instigated ethnic clashes and suppression of opposition political parties.⁷⁵ They bring out the role of prominent clergymen, such as Bishop Alexander Kipsang Muge, Rev. Timothy Njoya, Ndingi Mwana a'nzeeki, David Gitari, Bishop Henry Okullu, Peter Njenga and Maurice Otunga. The clergy used their church positions to advocate for change, condemn the excesses of government such as instigating ethnic clashes and corruption, educate the general public and facilitate opposition politics. The public education role was furthered by the National Ecumenical Civic Education. An umbrella organisation established by the National Council of Churches, Church Province of Kenya and Kenya's Episcopal Conference. Also the Catholic Church, which was more immune to factional infighting, used pastoral letters to advocate and mobilize for change. For instance, in 1992, it issued a pastoral letter, '*A call for justice love and peace*' which was hailed by the media as marking the end of Moi authoritarian system because, the Bishops spoke in one voice and unlike other denominations, there were no feuds in the Catholic Church.⁷⁶

After multi-party elections the church retreated to its spiritual and material development functions, until around 1997 when the clamour for a new constitution heightened. They pushed for changes through the National Convention Executive Council although as Throup observe, Moi, cynically divided its more moderate churchmen from the activist, especially after 1997, Saba Saba day riots. This pre-empted their role as change agent until 2001.⁷⁷ Ramadhan and Opongi have provided an assessment of the role of the church in advocacy for social structural

⁷⁵ Wrong, M. (2009). It's our time to eat – the story of a Kenyan Whistle blower. London, 354 p

⁷⁶ Standard Reporter (2009): They were warned on General Elections. In: East African Standard, August 10, 2009, <http://www.eastandard.net/InsidePage.php?id=1144021168&cid=4> [Accessed 15 August 2009]

⁷⁷ Throup, D. (2008): Multi-party politics in Kenya – the Kenyatta and Moi States and the Triumph of the System in the 2008 Election. Nairobi.

justice through constitutional reforms.⁷⁸ This was through the formation and facilitation of Ufungamano initiative, which included secular organisations, the Catholics, Evangelicals, NCCCK, Muslims and Hindu council. The states that ‘the Ufungamano initiative stands out as one of the most outstanding initiative of religious leaders in the Christians, Muslims, Hindu sections who committed themselves to social justice and the right of every Kenyan to take part in the constitutional review process. The religious leaders were on the forefront in political leadership and forced the government to listen to the will of majority Kenyans. The leaders mobilised their faithful to take seriously the constitutional review process and participation in the transformation of the society.

The Churches role as an agent of societal transformation, however, has been eroded since the Ufungamano initiative. Willis observes that since 2002 when Moi left power, religious actors have been severely divided along ethnic and political lines.⁷⁹ He gives an example of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) which transformed from ‘principled’ opposition under Kibaki. This has been attributed to political affiliation between Kibaki regime and the then NCCCK secretary general Rev. Mutava Musyimi who harboured political ambitions. The same can be said of Catholic Church which in the Kibaki’s first term enjoyed among its congregation senior politicians including the president and his deputy. These divisions worsened in 2007 election period. The clergy took partisan positions depending on their ethnic and political affiliations. Peters provides examples of Catholic Church were Cardinal Njue declared

⁷⁸ Stewart, F (2008): Kenya – Horizontal Inequalities and the Political Disturbances of 2008. Oxford: CRISE (Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity)

⁷⁹ Willis, J. (2007): What has Kibaki got up his sleeve? Advertising the Kenyan presidential candidates in 2007. In: Journal of Eastern African Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp 264-271

Majimbo system as a disaster.⁸⁰ The position was countered by Archbishop Okoth of Kisumu dioceses. In Anglican Church, as Archbishop Nzimbi opposed majimbo, bishops from Nyanza province issued a pastoral letter supporting devolved system of government. The positions were associated with pro-Kibaki and pro-Raila camps, and exposed the clergy as divided. A position reflected by local media with headlines such as ‘When the shepherds led their flock astray’.⁸¹

The review of the role of religion actors in Kenya shows that religious actors have contributed to reconciliation through advocacy, facilitation and education. However, there lacks any systematic commitment to reconciliation and the actors are factionally divided. Importantly, the review shows that the actors have not mobilized their potential resources for reconciliation and there lacks a systematic study explaining this state of affairs. The project enters the study on religious actors and reconciliation from this perspective.

1.7 Justification of the Study

The study has both academic and policy justification. Academically, there lack systematic study of the role of religious actors in peacemaking. Religion has usually been associated with causing or escalating conflict. Importantly there is absence of concrete studies on the role of the church in conflict management in Kenya. This is despite the fact that church has been involved in Kenya’s political discourse for a long period. The absence is critical especially regarding the management of electoral related conflicts during the 2007 – 2008 electioneering period. The study will fill this important gap, through contributing to understanding of how church leaders contributed to the management of this conflict.

⁸⁰ Peters, R. (2012): Machtwechsel in Kenya - Oppositionssieg im dritten Anlauf. In: Afrika Spectrum, Vol. 37, No.3, p. 335- 350

⁸¹ Oyugi, G. & Mbai, P. (2010): The Politics of Transition in Kenya. Heinrich Boell Foundation, Nairobi, 432 p

This study is significant because, conflict in Kenya is becoming costly in terms of destruction of properties, loss of lives and negative impacts on economy. Therefore, the move of this study to contribute to possible methods of mitigating further occurrence of conflicts is laudable. Second, different groups put efforts to address ethnic conflicts may be without knowing the exact processes methods or approaches to use; therefore this work has suggested effective strategies. The use of effective approaches will prevent similar scenes in future. For example, if this was addressed; probably 2007/2008 post General Election violence would not have taken that direction.

Church has been condemning in blanket most of the African traditional belief systems. The present study has suggested to the church some effective indigenous methods of peacebuilding and reconciliation that she can adopt. On policy grounds, there is a need to analyse how religious actors have contributed to and can potentially contribute towards peacemaking. This is an important goal for their lacks of serious inclusion of religious actors in policy making process. Further, the study will help religious actors understand the state of art of their roles as peacemakers and how they can best use their resources towards building a peaceful Kenyan society. The study is also a challenge also suggested to the policy makers to come up with policy that can be used by the church, NGOs and other peace actors in addressing ethnic conflicts and other related issues.

1.8 Research Methodology

The research design used in this research is a descriptive analysis. The method used for the study was content analysis. This is a natural way of finding out the natural world and understands the way people interpret it. This was the most appropriate method for the researcher to gain more detailed information on the reconciliation. The data collection method entails a careful planning

of what the researcher seeks to analysis available research and describe the role of the church in the reconciliation process in Kenya's 2008-2013 post conflict period. This is a method of collecting information by reviewing past research and literature within the view of subjectivist approach which applies qualitative methods using a humanistic, interpretivist and phenomenological approach. This approach relies on data collection from past research in light of the human perspective and therefore involves collecting feelings, emotions and perceptions when interpreting phenomenon under study regarding the church's role in peacebuilding and reconciliation in Kenya.

Sampling Design, Research Instruments and Data Collection

For this study, the sampling method used was non-probability purposive sampling. Owing to the nature of the study, past research and case study analysis was used to collect data. Purposive heterogeneity sampling is a method that aims at getting a sample research and case studies with similar characteristics or traits. The past cases and research were between 1992-2013. The selection of this approach in selecting the cases to include in the study was important due to the need to establish the role of the church in enhancing reconciliation in Kenya.

Data Analysis Procedures

The method that was used to analyse the collected data was discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is the main focus of this data analysis model and it has a focus past language to greater practical conclusions from the collected data. Socially-recognisable identity is the focus of the study as well as the way different people interpret their world. Using the model, it is possible to establish how the people from the target culture translate the influence of their culture or religion on the way reconcile after conflicts. Thus, this model of discourse analysis is very appropriate to the analysis of the data collected in the study. This system helped to establish objectives in data. These included causes of ethnic conflict, methods of reconciliation employed by the churches, and effective strategies of reconciliation. The data for this study will be obtained from secondary sources. The data will be descriptive. Guided by the objectives and premises of the study, the data will be arranged according to the major themes.

Limitations of the Study

The study explored the dynamics of the ethnic conflicts and church's approaches to reconciliation in Kenya 2008-2013 post conflict period. The scope of the study in terms of population was about 40 million but the researcher will focus on 100 respondents. These respondents will be drawn from Catholic Justice Peace Commission (CJPC), National Council Churches of Kenya, (NCCCK) village elders, in Catholic Church and Pentecostal Church of East Africa (PCEA) ministers as well and administrative leaders.

1.9. Chapter Outline

Chapter One Introduction

This chapter introduces The Role of the Church in Promoting Reconciliation in 2008-2013 Post-election violence Kenya by first setting the broad context of the research study, the statement of the problem, justification, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses and the methodology of the study.

Chapter Two: Conflict and Conflict Management: An Overview

This chapter provides the background of conflict, and conflict management strategies within the conceptual understanding of conflict, pacific conflict management strategies and reconciliation as a method used by the .church as a church actor.

Chapter Three: Critical Analysis of the Role of the Church in Promoting Reconciliation in Violence Hit Areas

This chapter looks at the extent of reconciliation process used by the church around the world. The chapter highlights case of reconciliation within the religious perspective with emphasize of the case in Sweden and South Africa Truth and Justice Reconciliation Commission.

Chapter Four: Reconciliation in Kenya: A Critical Analysis

The chapter analyses the efforts used by the church as an actor in promoting peace as evidenced in Kenya 2008-2013 post-election period in the light of the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter provides conclusions of the study, gives recommendations and provides suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter builds on the background information on religious actors in conflict management provided in the previous chapter. Focus was laid on the concept of conflict and conflict management.

This chapter reviews typologies of conflict and conflict management, conflict in Africa where a breakdown is given on the essence of conflict and conflict mapping as well post election conflicts. The role of church in reconciliation as well as indicators of reconciliation has been reviewed.

2.2 Conflict

Conflicts are inevitable of human societies because societies have variations. In the Moral and Political philosophy, it emerges that, human beings are essentially egoistic, that is, they toil and struggle to quench their ends⁸². When consensus and mutuality lack, human beings and other animals tend to fight over the available chances and resources, this eventually could lead to conflict which usually turns violent as the case in Kenya in 1992, 1997 and 2007.⁸³ A lot has been written about ethnicity as a source of conflict in Africa. It is suggested here that ethnicity per se, in the absence of its political influence, does not cause conflict. There is evidence to suggest that where ethnic conflict has emerged in Africa, there have always been political machinations

⁸² Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p115

⁸³ Fox, J. (2011). 'Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations', *International Studies Review*, Vol 3.

behind it⁸⁴. Inclusion of politics in ethnicity often takes place in a situation characterized by an inequitable structure of access⁸⁵. Such structure gives rise to the emergence of the "in group" and the "out group" or "we" and "them". When the "out group" tries to break the structure of inequality the "in group" responds by building barriers to access that ensure the continuation of its privileged position. At the centre of this scenario are the elites who, feeling threatened with exclusion, begin to invoke ethnic ideology in the hope of establishing a "reliable" base of support to fight what are purely personal and/ or elite interests.

Violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya have attracted enormous interest from scholars since the outbreak of ethnic clashes and the underlying causes of their outbreak. Such works include, but not limited to, Gecaga, Kahumbi, Maina, and Rutto. Kahumbi contends that preventing conflict from re-igniting is important as preventive action before conflict arises or become full-fledged war⁸⁶. He adds that the goal of post-conflict building is to consolidate peace. But he fails to give out possible ways of preventing conflict from re-igniting.

Gecaga traces the various causes of ethnic clashes in Kenya. Causes include colonialism, which compressed communities into tribal cocoons through their ethnic barriers and isolation. Some ethnic groups were disposed off their land. That created economic disparities into different regions and uneven distributions of social amenities such as schools and hospitals⁸⁷. In addition, she argues, colonialism promoted ethnic consciousness at the expense of nationalism and patriotism. The other causes of ethnic clashes are opportunism, unfair distribution of economic resources and political power along ethnic lines. Gecaga shares the views of Adedeji and

⁸⁴ Nnoli, O. (ed.) (1998). *Ethnic Conflict in Africa* Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series, p19

⁸⁵ Ibid, p29

⁸⁶ Kahumbi, Newton Maina (2004). *Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic conflicts Management and Resolution in Nakuru and Uasin Gishu Districts, Kenya*. Kenyatta University, Unpublished Paper. University Press, p72.

⁸⁷ Gecaga .M.G. (2002). "The Impact of War on Africa Women" In Getui, M.N. & Ayanga .H (eds) PP. 53-70.

Haugerud who blame colonialism as the main cause of ethnic awareness. The colonial settlement led to landlessness, creation of tribal reserves and divided society into ethnic entities as earlier indicated. However, Adedeji, Haugerud and Gecaga seem to generalize the effect of colonialism in Africa without considering countries such as Tanzania which have had no serious ethnic clashes⁸⁸.

Rutto in his study on community relations and democratization processes among the Kalenjin communities of the Rift Valley Province, perceives the outbreak of ethnic clashes in parts of the Rift Valley in 1992 as a demonstration of the bitter ethnic relations due to the perception that Agikuyu grabbed land in Rift Valley⁸⁹. He argues that the absence of a strong constructive inter-ethnic social structure was a source of ethnic conflicts with ethnic biases, myths, stereotypes and misinformation aggravating ethnic differences. Rutto's argument of the absence of a strong constructive inter-ethnic social structure as the cause of ethnic conflicts underestimates the potentialities of some realities that connect humanity such as religion, belief in rites and rituals.

Rupesinghe in his argument on ethnicity and power in the contemporary world defines ethnic conflict as cleavages between groups based on differentiations in ethnic identities. He argues that ethnic groups have prejudices and stereotypes about others⁹⁰. These attitudes have not normally turned to conflicts unless manipulated and organized by political leaders and elites who use stereotypes as fertile ground to cultivate support for their political and economic aspirations. Rupesinghe brings out the issue of manipulation, which institutions such as churches can use their mobilizing force to cultivate a culture of peace and harmony among people. In Kenya, for

⁸⁸ Adedeji, A (1981). *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts*. London: Zed Books.p98

⁸⁹ Rutto, S. (2000). *Ethnicity as Objects of Hatred: Community Relations and Democratization Process Among the Kalenjin Communities of the Rift Valley Province in Kenya*. In Murunga, G. R. (ed) 70-107.

⁹⁰ Rupesinghe, K. ed (1996). *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.p89

example, political leaders have been accused of manipulating their ethnic communities to demonstrate against the government when one of their own is connected with corruption or sacked from a government position.⁹¹

The above reviewed authors have concentrated on giving the possible causes of ethnic conflicts. The varied causes have shown the complexity of ethnic conflict. The historical injustice such as colonialism has been instrumental in disorienting social cohesion due to negativity it planted on different ethnic groups. Economic disparities have also been identified as the possible causes of ethnic conflicts.⁹² Related to economic imbalances is unequal distribution of resources and assets, which actually have run through all the authors as one of the main causes of ethnic conflicts.⁹³ Cognizance of the fact that there are many causes of ethnic conflicts, the current research, therefore, holds that occurrence of ethnic conflicts is precipitated by lack of effective methods of resolving the varied root causes of ethnic conflicts. Effective methods ensure that every aspect of ethnic conflicts is treated in a special way. The current research, therefore explored the methods of reconciliation employed by the churches in Kenya with the aim of proposing an all-inclusive method.

2.3 Intractable Conflict and Conflict Management

Intractable conflicts are hard to resolve because their underlying causes are often deeply entrenched and closely interwoven. Conflict resolution strategies that fail to account for the complexity of those causes or expect to resolve the whole conflict quickly are likely to be

⁹¹Gopin, M. (2011). *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking*. New York: Oxford University Press

⁹²Zartman, G. (2004). *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington DC: USIP Press

⁹³Fox, J. (2011). 'Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations', *International Studies Review*, Vol 3.

ineffective in bringing a peaceful end to intractable disputes. The underlying causes of a conflict are what make it intractable⁹⁴. Since each conflict is unique, there is no one underlying cause of intractability. As a result, there is one common denominator to all intractable conflicts they are all based on long-lasting and deep divisions. For example, during the late spring and early summer of 1994, almost a million Rwandans were killed by their fellow citizens. Almost all the Tutsi and many moderate Hutu were massacred by militant Hutus, urged on by the government and quasi-official radio stations⁹⁵. There were events that spring that provoked the rampage -- most immediately, the airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down as it prepared to land in Kigali. The massacre started that night. However, the antagonism between the two ethnic groups runs much deeper and is strikingly evident throughout the history of both Rwanda and Burundi. Indeed, the underlying causes of the conflict between the Tutsi and Hutu are so old that no one knows for sure where the two groups came from and why the Tutsi have been richer and more powerful over the last several centuries.⁹⁶

The conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland can be traced back to the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 which solidified Protestant control over the island-and maybe before that. Racial tensions in South Africa began when the first Dutch settlers arrived in 1652. The roots of racial conflict in the United States go back almost to the founding of the first colonies in Virginia. The first Black indentured servants were sold as slaves in Jamestown in 1619, 12 years after it was founded⁹⁷. The underlying causes of a conflict are important because they make the

⁹⁴ Henning, H (2002). *Peace Building: Six dimensions and Two concepts*. Institute for Security Studies, p98

⁹⁵ Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace., p112

⁹⁶ Dicklitch S., and Rice, H., (2004). *The Mennonite Central committee and Faith Based NGO Aid to Africa' Development in Practice*, vol 14, No.5.

⁹⁷ Kutol, K., Kandagor, M. & Simotwo, P. (2009). *Role of Print Media in Conflict Management during the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence in Kenya: The Case of The Standard & Taifa Leo newspapers (24-43)*. In *Journal of Intra African Studies*, No. 2, p33

conflict intense and keep it so. The causes are embedded in history; the resentments they spawn date from events that occurred decades or even centuries ago, as in Rwanda, their origins may not even be remembered. Often, the differing historical narratives become a part of the conflict itself.

The historical roots to a conflict are often kept alive by people who want to keep the conflict itself alive. Politicians, for example, frequently magnify the importance of these historical animosities for their own gain. By playing to long-standing fears and resentments among their constituents, they can increase their own power and legitimacy⁹⁸. This is certain the case with Slobodan Milosevic and other leaders who rose to prominence as Yugoslavia began to collapse in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Tensions between Serbs and Albanians went back at least to the battle of Kosovo Pole in 1389. However, the conflict between them that erupted into war in 1999 was of much more recent origin. It was consciously fomented by Milosevic and his allies in attempt to broaden Serbian control over the rest of Yugoslavia, at least where there was a substantial Serbian population.

2.4 Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation

The approach of conflict management as proposed by Lederach shows an alternative to the conventional perspective of conflict resolution and conflict transformation. Conflict resolution implies the goal of ending undesired conflicts in a relatively short timeframe, focusing on the content of conflict as something that is disputed and which gives rise to conflict in the first place⁹⁹. Conflict transformation, however, professes the goal of transforming the conflict into

⁹⁸ Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, p67

⁹⁹ Luc, R (2001). *From Conflict to Sustainable Peace Building: Concepts and Analytical Tools*. In *Peace Building: A Field Guide*.p 127

something desired in a longer timeframe, focusing not only on the content of the conflict but more importantly on the context and relationship between the actors involved.

Compared with the conflict resolution perspective, the crucial innovations of the conflict transformation approach include, therefore, adding to the goal of solving undesired disputes a more important one of building something desired, shifting the focus from issue of the conflict onto contextual relationship that underlies the conflict, and expanding the relatively short period of time to deal with the conflict into a longer timeframe.¹⁰⁰

Intractable conflicts cannot be resolved unless the underlying causes are addressed. This can be done in a number of ways, but must occur on two levels. First, it is important to address the substantive issues that give rise to conflict in the first place, such as unbalanced distributions of wealth and power (as existed in Rwanda or Northern Ireland). The second task, which is normally harder to tackle, is that of diffusing the fear, hatred, and other negative emotions that make a conflict intractable and all too often deadly¹⁰¹. Efforts to forge national reconciliation, such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, are therefore extremely important in creating a successful, enduring peace processes.

2.5 Reconciliation

Reconciliation is a long-term process that covers all activities intended to promote peace and overcome violence. As a result, it is plausible to note that the overall aim of peace building is to prevent violent outbreaks of conflicts or to make sustainable transformation of violent conflicts into peaceful action. Thus, conflicts can be dealt in a constructive and peaceful manner.

¹⁰⁰Gopin, M. (2001). 'World Religion as a Source of Conflict and Conflict Transformation in International Relations', A paper presented.

¹⁰¹ Lederach, J. P (1997). Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, p171

According to Wirmark, managing ethnic conflicts is elusive because interest groups sometimes want to benefit from the same conflicts they want to manage. She cites the example of Kenya's political establishment, which during the ethnic clashes of 1992 and 1997 exhibited partisanship in solving the clashes. As stated earlier, political affiliation is one of the causes of ethnic conflicts¹⁰². Thus, Wirmark's assertion is probably true. Indeed in 1992 and 1997, there was the General Election that overly used ethnic blocs. It was noted that ethnic conflicts occurred in areas perceived to oppose the then ruling party, Kenya African National Union (KANU). In such scenario, management of ethnic conflict by the government of the day was unjustifiable due to its lack of neutrality. It is with this apparent lack of neutrality by the government that religious groups and churches come in to consolidate peace and to support structures that tend to support peace.

Reconciliation after conflicts informs structural actions to identify and support structures which would tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse in conflict¹⁰³. He further notes that reconciliation implies building structures for peace in all phases of a conflict, not merely after the violent phase has been replaced by a fragile peace. Structures that contribute to strengthening and solidifying peace can be institutions that offer forms for peaceful conflict resolution or that prevent violence, such as church institutions.

Overview of Scheper on women, war and religion, highlights prevention of violent conflicts by underlining need to explore newer approaches. Further, he notes that peaceful solutions to violent conflicts need to be sought especially those that deal with communities at different

¹⁰² Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum., p65

¹⁰³ Boutros-Ghali, Boutros (1992) "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, 17 June 1992, (A/47/277-S/24111), p21

levels¹⁰⁴. Maina in her study on ethnicity among the communities of Nakuru District discusses various strategies of managing ethnic conflicts¹⁰⁵. These include channeling of power to methods that attract unity such as one party state; reallocation of resources to the less disadvantaged; enforcement of laws that call for co-existence into various communities and use of a national language policy and common ideology. Maina seems to think about ethnic conflicts from the national scale, hence her strategies of one party state. She fails to realize that ethnic conflicts start at the grassroots where people interact in their daily chores. She further proposes reallocation of resources to less disadvantaged but he does not suggest the reallocation process. All these are geared towards attaining equality, but equality without peaceful coexistence will rarely stand.

Generally the works under review in this section offered insights in to the research by identifying and discussing some of the methods that are used in reconciliation. However, the works have not evaluated critically the roles of the churches in reconciliation which is the main task of this research.

2.6 The Role of Church in Reconciliation

Though reconciliation may require different efforts to deal with grievances and injustices in the past, it is very much forward-looking in nature. As argued above, reconciliation also aims at achieving desired purposes in the future such as promoting human rights, fostering democracy, and building the rule of law. Even the definition of reconciliation as restoring the right relationship between people should not be (mis)interpreted as going backward to a pre-conflict

¹⁰⁴ Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 25

¹⁰⁵ Maina, L. (2000) Ethnicity Among the Communities of Nakuru District. In Murunga G. R. (ed) Pg 108

situation¹⁰⁶. Instead, restoration in this reconciliation context can be understood as restoring some transcendental, Platonist concept of justice and right relationship. To reconcile in this sense means to build relationships based on certain norms. This understanding is also a particularly distinctive feature of religious conception of reconciliation. This forward-looking nature of reconciliation well complements the transformation component in the conflict transformation framework.

Reconciliation may become a desired goal in its own merit in divided societies. It may also represent a pragmatic way to deal with profound changes involving past injustices in order to achieve some other desired purposes such as building peace, nurturing democracy, promoting human rights, and delivering justice, among others¹⁰⁷. Thanks to the great currency that reconciliation has gained recently, there is already a very rich literature on different efforts for reconciliation. They mainly involve truth acknowledgment, reparations, retributive justice, apology, and forgiveness. No single form of reconciliation effort is perfect or satisfactory to all circumstances and parties involved. Sometimes hard choices have to be made in deciding whether one form is preferable to another, depending on the specific and temporal circumstance of each conflict and society.

Like the conception of change in the conflict transformation perspective, reconciliation can be present and necessarily prescriptive at all personal, relational, structural, and cultural levels. At the personal level, for example, repentance and apology from perpetrators have psychological effects and discourse impacts on the self-perception, thus shaping the identities, of both victims and perpetrators . Apology also serves to build the unity between victims and perpetrators, a

¹⁰⁶ Doyle, M. W and Sambanis, N (2006). *Making War and Building Peace : United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton University Press.p67

¹⁰⁷ Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, p87

change desired in the relational dimension of conflict transformation. At the structural and cultural dimensions, other efforts for reconciliation such as restitution in the forms of negotiated discourse and constructed narrative could contribute to building new cultural mechanism that can handle conflicts. In sum, the concept of reconciliation can fit into the framework of conflict transformation and has great potential to complement practices for transformational strategies.¹⁰⁸

The role of the church in peacemaking and reconciliation is strengthened by the fact that the social and political crisis in the society questions radically the message of the gospel. Peace is the tranquility that flows from right order.¹⁰⁹ When we put right order into the structures of our society, the tranquility that results is peace¹¹⁰. Many people, however, perceive peace as the absence of war or violence. In reconciliation efforts by the church, peace is seen as the transformation of contextual and destructive interactions into more co-operative and constructive existence.

The Church's charisma and likewise her unique nature vis-à-vis reconciliation, at whatever level it needs to be achieved, lies in the fact that she always goes back to that reconciliation at the source. For by reason of her essential mission, the Church feels an obligation to go to the roots of the conflict, in order to bring healing and to re-establish, so to speak, an equally original reconciliation which will be the effective principle of all true reconciliation. Therefore, the Church has the mission of proclaiming this reconciliation.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸Zartman, I. (2009). *Ripe for Resolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰⁹Sindole, J. (2010). "Conflict Resolution: A Unique U. S. Role for the 21st Century" in *Electronic Journal, US Foreign Policy Agenda: Preventive Diplomacy*. Vol. 1 No. 19.

¹¹⁰Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace.p109

¹¹¹Okullu, H. (2007). *Quest for Justice: An Autobiography of Bishop John Okullu*. Kisumu: Kenya: Shalaji Publishers.

The community level of reconciliation is first and foremost characterized by the massive numbers of people it is composed of. The actors are the population of the country, however, as no project can reach everyone, the methods attempt to involve leaders for the community who then in turn spread knowledge to their communities or villages. A strong process of reconciliation at the community level will be a difficult threat to belligerent leaders: experiencing constructive relationships with former enemies with the sufferings of the past in mind – the peace of the present will be too precious to waste on further war. To use the principle of Lederach’s peacebuilding: this is the ‘bottom-up’ approach to reconciliation. By strengthening and empowering the local actors for peace, the foundations are laid for national reconciliation. In all societies there are capacities for peace. However, due to the acute nature of conflict that overwhelms¹¹².

In the context of the change now taking place on the continent, the church has a role to play in reducing or eliminating all together the root causes of simmering or open conflicts and effecting true peace. One way of effecting true peace is by becoming agents of reconciliation¹¹³. It is therefore prudent to enumerate the characteristics and skills of a successful mediator in conflict situations, in our case, the church¹¹⁴. Indeed the church has impartiality regarding issues of dispute; it commands respect of and is acceptable to all protagonists; it has the knowledge and skill to deal out with challenging issues of conflict. These characteristics informed this study in its pursuit of structuring the complementary approach.

¹¹² Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, 98

¹¹³ Magesa, Laurenti. (1996). *Religious Leaders, Peacemaking and Social Change: Some Theological Perspective., In Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives*. Assefa, H. & G. Wachira (eds), Nairobi: EAEP, p90

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p78

Magesa equates peace with conflict transformation and resolution. He maintains that peace is achieved only when the root causes of the differences of conflicting relationships are explored and resolved. He defines reconciliation as “the act by which people who have been apart and split off from one another begin to stroll or march together again”¹¹⁵. He equates reconciliation with conflict resolution, but in his view, reconciliation has dimensions and more profound implications, because it makes an individual to transcend the ethnic affiliation and embrace the sense of love, which unites all people.

2.7 Indicators of Reconciliation

In the first systematic attempt to study reconciliation on a national, political level, the church has examined the presence or absence of ‘reconciliation events’ after civil conflict and subsequent relations between former adversaries. Reconciliation events are defined as including: a meeting between senior representatives of the former opposing factions; a public ceremony, covered by national media; and ritualistic or symbolic behaviour that indicates peace. Studying most countries that experienced civil war in the 20th century, Montville found that for countries in which a reconciliation event took place 64% did not return to violent conflict. However, among countries that had not experienced a reconciliation event, only 9% did not return to war. This supports the notion that political attempts at reconciliation after internal conflict are essential in the quest for peace¹¹⁶.

The importance of dealing with conflict through reconciliation is underlined by an appreciation of how the individual and collective trauma left behind by large scale violence is passed from

¹¹⁵Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p89

¹¹⁶ Joseph V, Montville. (2001). “Religion and Peacemaking”, in Raymond G. Helmick, S.J., and Rodney L. Petersen eds., *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy and Conflict Transformation*. USA: Templeton Foundation Press, p78

one generation to the next, perpetuating cycles of violence. Assefas argues that reconciliation becomes evident when violent conflict over real stakes, what he calls the "root" conflict, generates a "meta conflict", a "...conflict that comes out of, or after, the root conflict, the over layer." The meta-conflict has its own dynamics and can become deeply embedded in a group's culture, perpetrating militarism, the "glory" of killing the "other", and the legitimacy of violence as a means for dealing with conflict¹¹⁷. The imagery and mythology of war can become an unconscious organising principle, determining how people see the world a generation later and how they choose to act" (emphasis in original). Both authors also make the crucial point that the challenge of conflict can be dealt with positively or negatively; some people dedicate themselves to relieving suffering while others become "schizoid, manipulative, depressed" or "paranoid"¹¹⁸. As such, violent attitudes, and their consequences, need not be perpetuated if the right peace building strategies can be implemented but they will persist if nothing is done to counter their influence.

There is certainly much that is positive in highlighting relational dynamics as an essential complement to settling the material stakes of a conflict. In this sense, reconciliation builds on Burton by giving priority to such human needs as security, identity and social bonding in both the theory and practice of peace building. From a human needs perspective, reconciliation represents a long overdue innovation in conflict resolution, since needs theorists have been arguing for years that conflict will persist until such basic needs are incorporated into the

¹¹⁷ Assefa, H. (1996). Peace and Reconciliation as a paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and its implications for Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa, in Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; theoretical perspectives and church initiatives: Nairobi: EAE, 67

¹¹⁸ Joseph V, Montville. (2001). "Religion and Peacemaking", in Raymond G. Helmick, S.J., and Rodney L. Petersen eds., Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy and Conflict Transformation. USA: Templeton Foundation Press, p112

process.¹¹⁹ Needs theorists would agree that by stressing healing relationships and re-humanizing antagonists, reconciliation offers the possibility of ending the conflict cycle in many societies where it is deeply rooted. Furthermore, all of these writers are scholar-practitioners; their views are grounded in extensive field experience in conflict resolution. They can testify that reconciliation, understood in Lederach's sense of replacing negative attitudes and relationships with something more positive, works, and one should not underestimate the implications of this for mainstream thinking in international relations and political science. If reconciliation is possible, then we should reject the "pessimistic inevitability" thinking characteristic of political realism and not be resigned to the presence of recurring widespread violent conflict¹²⁰. In that sense, reconciliation may indeed represent something of a paradigm shift in thinking about conflict.

In the context of an increased complexity of thinking and the establishment of a working trust, participants in reconciliation often become able to openly recognize and accept responsibility for the actions of their side that caused hurt physical, psychological, and moral in the other. In this context, relational dynamics can be changed and participants can start to see beyond their reciprocal feelings of victimization and begin to experience reconciliation. At the risk of being repetitive, it should be emphasized that this is reconciliation among individuals. If these individuals are selected because of their prominence and influence within the groups they represent it is not unreasonable to think this experience may have a positive impact on a broader

¹¹⁹Wachira G. & Asefa, H, (2011). *Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa: Theoretical perspectives and Church Initiatives*. Nairobi: EAEP.

¹²⁰ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, 98

political peace process among these same groups. This probes the dimensions of social inequality, or structural violence, which underlie most contemporary conflicts.¹²¹

Reconciliation is politically expedient during democratic transitions. Post-conflict regimes besides wishing to heal the wounds of the past, also want to distance themselves from their predecessors and increase their legitimacy and support. Though some countries seem to have successfully followed a policy of collective amnesia in the course of democratization (Spain), since the Latin American experience of the late 1980s and early 1990s, public truth telling has become the preferred path to national reconciliation¹²². On balance, these varied experiences have undoubtedly been helpful in promoting closure with a painful and destructive past. However, the political context inevitably has an impact on the practice and consequences of truth telling and, by implication, on its contribution to reconciliation. National reconciliation has, in fact, other goals besides improved group relations.

National reconciliation is part of the broader agenda of political change intended to promote good governance in post conflict society and enhance thereby the new regimes internal and external credibility.¹²³ It is worth re-emphasizing that such a change is without precedent in societies characterized by historical cycles of violent conflict (and meta-conflict), a fact appreciated by some commentators on democratic transition¹²⁴. In regard to Guatemala, the central concerns of the peace accords include the need to transform existing relations between

¹²¹Rothchild D. & Lake, D. (2007). *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹²² Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p76

¹²³Mwagiru, M. (2008). *The Water's Edge: Mediation of Violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya*. Nairobi: IDIS.

¹²⁴ Kelman, H. (2008). A social-psychological approach to conflict analysis and resolution', In D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. (pp. 170-183) New York, NY: Routledge, p178

state and society, so that political institutions are capable, for the first time, of mediating the interests of all social groups in a poor, unequal, multi-ethnic, and multilingual Guatemala.

Throughout the world, throughout history, and even more so today, people are longing for a life with dignity in a just and sustainable community. In spite of this yearning, there are incessant ethnic conflicts across many countries and regions in the world. Observing this tendency of human beings committing themselves to kill others, Joseph Montville argues that religious values have a very significant role to play in highlighting and reversing this destructive groups process¹²⁵. This is the parabolic role of any church in society: to be a source of influence, in organic and pervasive ways as a free corporate decision-maker in the society. However, the pervasiveness of churches will become a reality if all religious faiths realize that the God reflected in the Scriptures is beyond the Church doctrines as the living deity of the universe.¹²⁶

Though Montville's argument is based on inter-religious faith, it can apply to Christian Churches in Kenya. According to Magesa, there are four core values that promote healing in a conflict situation from a religious worldview. The first value he notes is the fact that all human beings have "human dignity" or rather all human beings are created in the image of God¹²⁷. Second, human beings live in God's world. Therefore as creatures, they need to accommodate one another. Third, religion or rather churches should help humanity to cross the boundary of negative ethnicity that characterizes our society. Churches should thus emphasize commonality of Kenyans particularly the essential characteristic of humanity, shunning the accidental

¹²⁵ Joseph V, Montville. (2001). "Religion and Peacemaking", in Raymond G. Helmick, S.J., and Rodney L. Petersen eds., *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy and Conflict Transformation*. USA: Templeton Foundation Press, p145

¹²⁶ Mbugua, K. (2011). 'Kenya Crisis: Elite and Factional Conflicts in Historical Context', *Conflict Trends*

¹²⁷ Magesa, Laurenti. (1996). *Religious Leaders, Peacemaking and Social Change: Some Theological Perspective.*, In *Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives*. Assefa, H. & G. Wachira (eds), Nairobi: EAEP.p86

characteristics such as political party affiliation, negative ethnicity and the geographical divides. Fourth, churches should preach the Gospel. They need to emphasize that justice is required for human prosperity and peace. Therefore, church leaders, as shepherds who tend congregations comprising diverse political, socio-economic, cultural and ethno-linguistic backgrounds need to be impartial on various standpoints as heads of churches. This will limit divisions within congregations, hence harmony and unity¹²⁸.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed a historical overview of reconciliation and the church role. According to the chapter the way of appreciating the efficacy of African indigenous methods of reconciliation is by incorporating them in the process of reconciliation. The chapter that follows is Chapter Three which presents the study findings which contributes to the existing body of knowledge in the area of church in promoting reconciliation in 2008-2013 post-election violence Kenyans gathered by the study instruments.

¹²⁸ Kobia, Samuel (2005). *Healing the World: Working Together With Religion in Global Society* Chicago: International Council of Christians and Jews, p64.

CHAPTER THREE

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PROMOTING RECONCILIATION IN VIOLENCE HIT AREAS

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has analyzed conflict and conflict management as well as indicators of reconciliation have been reviewed, with the main area of interrogation which was a history of reconciliation concept which sets stage to review what other researchers have gathered from relevant studies.

This chapter reviews the global perspective of reconciliation as analyzed from the secondary data findings from the view of other researchers. In its forward-looking dimension, reconciliation means enabling victims and perpetrators to get on with life and, at the level of society, the establishment of a civilized political dialogue and an adequate sharing of power.

3.2 Reconciliation Defined

The construct of social reconciliation undoubtedly remains controversial. The word reconciliation derives from the Latin expression *conciliatus*, which means coming together.¹²⁹ Strictly speaking, reconciliation implies a process, of restoring the shattered relationship between two actors.¹³⁰ The adjective social simply indicates that the emphasis is on group, and not on individual, reconciliation. This is very different from social reconciliation a process that begins with the adversaries' acceptance of each other's right to coexist in war-torn societies. Social

¹²⁹ Ghai, Y. (2008): Devolution: Restructuring the Kenyan State. In: *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2 (2)

¹³⁰ Mamdani. M., (2010). *When Victims become Killers: Colonization, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

reconciliation does not presuppose tolerance; it seeks to promote it. In some circumstances, it may culminate in the beginnings of mutual trust. Reconciliation is the process of restoring relationship. After conflict, some people or communities sometimes feel the need to separate or withdraw both making it potential for the conflict to recur at some point. Examples are the Somalis, Sabaot and the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC).¹³¹

Reconciliation therefore, should be understood as complex and which includes several relationships, levels and actors where people are brought together and reunited, through a mutual compromise and understanding.¹³² As a philosophy, reconciliation is a metaphysical process that is spiritual, social and cultural that deeply touches on emotional and physical being. It can be fully realized when the needs of the two are met and safety and liberty in future assured. Reconciliation should be understood as a process about healing. Violent conflict damage relationships between people, communities and groups; it damages the sense of wholeness, which a community or a nation needs. Therefore, the conflicting parties themselves (protagonists and antagonists) are the core and fundamental parties to any reconciliation process.¹³³

External parties can only facilitate and provide support. Parties to each issue must be identified and acknowledged. For meaningful reconciliation to take place, all parties to the conflict must be central in all efforts to make and sustain peace situating implementation of peace agreement in the personal and social lives of people, and transforming social relationships which have been

¹³¹ Economic Intelligence Unit (2007): Kenya Country Report November 2007. London, New York, Hong Kong: Publisher

¹³² Goldsworthy, D. (2012): Ethnicity and leadership in Africa – the ‘untypical’ case of Tom Mboya. In: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 20

¹³³ Cohen, D. & Odhiambo, A. (2004): *The risks of knowledge: Investigations into the death of Hon. Minister John Robert Ouko in Kenya*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

characterized by conflict, injustice and violence.¹³⁴ The various levels or ‘types’ of reconciliation are understood to be: intra-personal reconciliation; inter-personal reconciliation; inter-community reconciliation; and national reconciliation. Reconciliation is both a goal and a process. As a goal, it is a long term goal.

3.3 The Church's Impact on the Truth Reconciliation Commission

Without the input of religious figures, the TRC would have been quite a different phenomenon. While the conceptualization of the TRC legislation and the drafting of the act were essentially political processes driven by pragmatic political concerns, the lobbying activities of churches and other NGOs did bring about some key adaptations in the final legislation. While not affecting the fundamental shape of the TRC, these inputs pushed the TRC towards a more victim-centred approach. The Religious Response to the TRC was launched in October 1994. This structure provided a network function for a number of NGOs to engage with the policy issues raised by the TRC. It was, however, only in 1995, when the draft legislation was released, that religious bodies and other civil society structures started engaging more seriously with the process.¹³⁵

Structures such as the Religious Response to the TRC made submissions to parliament regarding the legislation and made inputs into the process of selecting Commissioners. Once the TRC was established, the churches became even more actively involved, particularly within

¹³⁴ Cheeseman, N. (2008): The Kenyan Elections of 2007: An Introduction. In: *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol.2, No.2, p. 166-184

¹³⁵ McDonald J., & Bendahmane, D. (2007). *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy*, Washington D.C.: Foreign Service Institute.

local communities. Many churches provided direct assistance in facilitating the implementation of effective gross human rights violation hearings.¹³⁶

The TRC made extensive use of church networks when setting up Human Rights Violations Hearings in local communities. Through the South African Council of Churches and other religious networks, local ministers were drawn into the process of coordinating meetings, arranging publicity, statement taking and other crucial functions to ensure effective community engagement in the hearings. In some cases, churches also assisted in creating a (limited) support structure for victims seeking counselling.

The strong religious influence of numerous Commissioners and key staff directed the TRC's activities in a particular way¹³⁷. While the TRC's activities were clearly circumscribed by the legislation, the interpretation of the mandate was given a very particular form, and the tones of its proceedings were fundamentally altered. In various ways this gave the Commission certain strengths. The ability of the Commission to engage victims and perpetrators in an empathetic manner, to promote a message of repentance and forgiveness, and to gain credibility in a range of communities was probably considerably enhanced through this participation.

3.4 Reconciliation by the Church of Sweden

The Church and Church- Based Organizations (CBOs) such as Caritas, Diakonia, Inter-life, Church of Sweden, Swedish Mission, Covenant Church, Swedish Ecumenical Women Council and Swedish Mission Council have been involved in peace building processes in areas affected

¹³⁶Klopp J. (2008). 'Kenya's Unfinished Agenda's' *International Affairs*, Vol 62, No 2.

¹³⁷ Kenneth Boulding, *Stable Peace* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978, p94

by ethnic conflicts in Africa.¹³⁸The internal armed conflict in Colombia that has continued unabated for almost half a century involves armed paramilitary groups, their successors, guerrilla movements and the Colombian military. All parties involved in conflicts commit serious and systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. The majority of the victims of these violations continue to be civilians. The internal armed conflict has resulted in an ongoing humanitarian crisis with estimates of 3.7 to 5.3 million IDPs who have been displaced over the years.

All armed parties to the conflict continue to use military strategies in indiscriminate attacks on civilians, with the aim of weakening what they see as the civilian population's support for "the enemy". Entire villages are being labelled as "sympathising" with the enemy¹³⁹. Some of the groups systematically subjected to violations are human rights defenders, community leaders, trade unionists, farmers, indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombian groups¹⁴⁰. The conflict is most intense in areas of strategic importance to the parties to the conflict, such as regions that are attractive in terms of mining, agro-industrial development or energy extraction, along with the "land corridors" used for transporting drugs from places where coca is grown and produced to places where the drugs.

The Church of Sweden is part of the worldwide church. This gives rise to a number of opportunities and challenges as regards work on peace and human rights. Through its role in the worldwide church, the Church of Sweden is called upon to work globally and locally towards a healed and just world, and it also conveys the theology of reconciliation. Being a church makes it possible to seek dialogue on issues of peace and reconciliation in a credible way.

¹³⁸Sievers, A. & Peters, R. (2008). 'Kenya's 2007 General Election and its Aftershocks', *Africa Spectrum*, 43, 1.

¹³⁹ Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, p56

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Boulding, *Stable Peace* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978, p118

Independently and along with its partners and networks, the Church of Sweden used these special opportunities to work towards peace and reconciliation in Colombia, so that people can obtain truth and reparation in relation to the violations they have been subjected to.¹⁴¹

Along with its partners in Colombia, the Church of Sweden took a stand for those who are subjected to discrimination and denied their rights, and is working with them in order to support agents of positive change. During the Decade to Overcome Violence, an initiative of the World Council of Churches, the Church adopted a clear stance in favour of conflict-transformation, of which reconciliation work is a natural component. Such an approach means long-term commitments to strengthen local communities and increase awareness and knowledge of human rights so that a culture of peace can be created¹⁴².

The work of the LWF in Colombia has exactly this focus. The Church of Sweden should clarify that its support for this work in Colombia is part of its work on conflict transformation that may lead to breaking the cycle of structural violence that exists in Colombia and that may contribute to creating lasting peace. The Church of Sweden's position in society and presence in church, interfaith and other networks should be used at national, regional and global level to draw attention to peace building.¹⁴³

3.5 Reconciliation in Liberia

The Lutheran Church in Liberia and the Lutheran World Federation/ World Service run a trauma healing and reconciliation programme that aims to help rebuild Liberia after the civil war of

¹⁴¹Gopin, M. (2001). *When Religious are a Source of Conflict and Conflict Transformation in International Relations*.

¹⁴² Hauss, Charles (Chip). "Reconciliation." *Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder, p`164

¹⁴³Hansen T. B et al, (2007). *State of Imagination: Ethnographic Exploration of Post-ColonialState*. London: Duke University Press.

1989–1997¹⁴⁴. The programme provides help for traumatized individuals, as well as conducting workshops for ex-fighters, traditional and religious leaders, military and para-military personnel, and others, regarding trauma and reconciliation. There was a programme of working in small communities all over the country in order to spread awareness of the effects of war and the importance of reconciliation¹⁴⁵. The programme is a national initiative, based on the principle that only people who have been involved in or closely affected by the war can build real peace and reconciliation in the country. The Church of Liberia and its back-donor, Sida, provide the main funding for the programme, which is an example of another project with a psychological focus.

On the other hand, many religious traditions also have core beliefs that theoretically can help develop a peaceful, multicultural world. For example, Christianity features the notion of nonviolence.¹⁴⁶ Individuals and faith-based organizations from a variety of religious traditions are increasingly active in attempts to end conflicts and to foster post-conflict reconciliation between warring parties in various parts of the world. This is a phenomenon gaining increased attention, although it is not a new one. Religious individuals, often as representatives of faith-based organizations, have for decades carried out mediation, striving to help resolve conflicts.

This suggests that to focus single-mindedly on conflicts within and between religions not only oversimplifies causal interconnections between religion and conflict, in particular by

¹⁴⁴ Joseph V, Montville. (2001). “Religion and Peacemaking”, in Raymond G. Helmick, S.J., and Rodney L. Petersen eds., *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy and Conflict Transformation*. USA: Templeton Foundation Press, p119

¹⁴⁵ Kobia, Samuel (2005). *Healing the World: Working Together With Religion in Global Society* Chicago: International Council of Christians and Jews, p65

¹⁴⁶ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2010): *Referendum Report*. Nairobi

disregarding important alternative variables, but also leads to an underestimation of attempts emerging from various religious traditions to help resolve conflicts and build peace.¹⁴⁷

Religious peacemakers are religious individuals or representatives of faith-based organizations that attempt to help resolve inter-group conflicts and build peace.¹⁴⁸ They are most likely to be successful when they: have an international or transnational reach; consistently emphasize peace and avoidance of the use of force in resolving conflict; and have good relations between different religions in a conflict situation, as this will be the key to a positive input from them. World religions share some, and at times many, similar sets of theological and spiritual values and views. This potentially underpins their ability to provide positive contributions to conflict resolution and peace-building. Practical effects in this regard have increased in recent years, with growing numbers and types of religious peace-makers working to try to build peaceful coexistence in multi-faith societies, while advocating reconciliation and fairness in a world that often seems characterized by social and political strife and economic disparity.¹⁴⁹

3.6 South Africa the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

South Africa Churches were inspired by Tutu's on reconciliation as a way of Christianity. Tutu taught others the importance to stand for what is right, for believing that our theology is worth something more than what we normally experience in the secular world. From my point of view South African churches had from Kairos South Africa 1985/6 inspired many people to read the holy texts over again and found inspiration for their life, their society and their

¹⁴⁷ Maupeu, H. (2009): Revisiting post-election violence. In: Jérôme Lafargue (ed.): The general elections in Kenya 2007; Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est, French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA), Nairobi, 2009

¹⁴⁸ Peters, R. (2004): Kenya zwischen Kontinuität und Erneuerung – Bilanz des ersten Jahres der Regierung Mwai Kibaki. In: Africa Spectrum, Vol. 39, No. 1, p. 119- 133

¹⁴⁹ UNDP (2012): Kenya – National Human Development Report 2012. Nairobi: United Nations Development Programme

churches¹⁵⁰. Many Christians, such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, gave the best years of their ministry to model the possibility of a racially integrated society. These efforts came at great personal cost. For nearly forty years church pulpits were one of the only relatively safe places from which the policies and abuses of the government could be addressed. However, many of those who spoke against these abuses were placed under banning orders. Others were jailed for extended periods or murdered.

In spite of these threats, the Church developed many prophetic statements (such as the confession of Belhar, the Coettesloe Declaration, and the Kairos document), and supported the task of social and political liberation in South Africa. When Apartheid ended in 1994 with the first democratic elections in South Africa, the task of facilitating healing and reconciliation was brought to church leaders for implementation¹⁵¹. A ground-breaking process, called the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was rolled out across South Africa under the leadership of Archbishop Tutu. The TRC was an official body sanctioned by the newly-elected government to hold hearings at which victims of gross human rights abuses could give statements of their abuse. The perpetrators of the abuses had an opportunity to give testimony and request amnesty for their crimes. The intention of the TRC was to allow victims an opportunity to tell their stories and perpetrators to tell the truth and apply for amnesty so that retribution could be averted in the “new South Africa.” Central to the TRC was the notion of forgiveness and restorative justice.

¹⁵⁰ Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, p98

¹⁵¹ Kutol, K., Kandagor, M. & Simotwo, P. (2009). Role of Print Media in Conflict Management during the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence in Kenya: The Case of The Standard & Taifa Leo newspapers (24-43). In *Journal of Intra African Studies*, No. 2, p38

Perhaps the most important lesson drawn from this particular expression of the Christian faith is that the context in which mission and evangelism takes place is critical in shaping the ministry of the Church. A second important lesson would be that we should avoid the temptation of judging success in ministry by numerical growth as was shown, in some instances numerical growth is an indicator of need rather than success. What is certain is that the Church in southern Africa is faced with a number of complex contextual challenges which will require a great deal of courage and faithfulness if the Christian faith is to continue to make a positive impact upon society.¹⁵²

When a society like South Africa, or Palestine, or India or any other country that has experienced such a level of injustice and oppression as experienced under the apartheid system, the peace building, reconciliation and justice process can be filled with challenges that maybe only time can heal. The religious symbol that he was in this secular state commission is special¹⁵³. In TRC, the acceptance from everybody that the meetings would start with prayer, and that when the victims came to the victim-oriented hearings to testify about their stories the commission would have a solemn atmosphere with prayers, hymns, and ritual candle lighting to commemorate those who had died in the struggle. The religious groups were an important part of the reconciliation process and especially since apartheid was promoted by the Christian theological resources.¹⁵⁴ The churches role in addressing reconciliation more generally in society should obviously be knowledgeable, limited and complemented by its internal reconciliation process. While the church can only play a limited role externally without having

¹⁵²Curle, A.(2010). *The Basis of Quaker Work for Peace and Service*. London: Quaker Peace & Service.

¹⁵³ Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, p59

¹⁵⁴Chapman A. & Sprong, B. (2003). *Religion and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Pennsylvania: Templeton Foundation Press.

its internal house in order, the internal process will never be completely finalized. The external role will only reach its full potential through being energized by the fruition of its internal process.

The Churches in South Africa had had different roles during apartheid, and this was the opportunity for many of them to say something public.¹⁵⁵ In this hearing some churches made submissions about their role during apartheid, and some used the opportunity to look at their own history of human rights abuses, and apologized for their role in apartheid. Reconciliation is a process, and as a process the goal is that people during this will get rid of the burdens of their past and make a new beginning. The process may take days, years or decades. How to get to the finish line of reconciliation is a hard one, and maybe it would take a lifetime to reach it, if at all possible. But I think it is the goal and only way to follow. But before reconciliation could find place, it needs to see the two major aspects: an acknowledgment that there has been a fracture or a break in relationship, and a desire to be reconciled. In this there is a need that everybody acknowledges the need of a transformation of relations, but nobody had a concrete suggestion or proposals as how to initiate or promote such a transformation.¹⁵⁶

Another aspect of reconciliation in South Africa is that it is not just an individual matter between the victims and the perpetrators.¹⁵⁷ There has to be a fair amount of collective acknowledgment of the collective sin, shortcoming and the ability for people to deal with those things that still divide communities. Forgiveness and reconciliation is tied together in a difficult

¹⁵⁵Berger, P. (2013) *The Social Reality of Religion*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

¹⁵⁶Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (2008): *The Waki Report*. Nairobi

¹⁵⁷Wamwere, K. (2008). *Towards Genocide in Kenya: The Curse of Negative ethnicity*. Nairobi: Mvule Africa Publishers.

way. Reconciliation is tied to the acknowledgement of wrong on one side, and forgiveness on the other¹⁵⁸.

3.7 Reconciliation by Churches in Zimbabwe

African Initiated Churches (AIC) are believed to have been established for the following reasons: to protest colonialism, to respond to poverty among the Black population, to respond to traditional African cultures, and to provide a somewhat positive response to modernity and modern religion.¹⁵⁹ This position has been generally shared by scholars, supported by members of the Johane Masowe Chishanu (JMC), some of whom claim to have first-hand information and others of whom claim to have heard it from church prophets. Besides the JMC in Africa, Mbiti describes another group called Bayudaya (Jews of Judah), which is found in Uganda. The group came at the start of the 20th century led by a former member of the Anglican Church, called Semei Kakungulu, and is made up of Africans from around the Mbale area. Kakungulu, disappointed that neither the church nor the British had given him a high position following his contribution to the war, joined an independent church called Bamalaki in 1919.

By 1926, Bayudaya had fused Jewish and Christian principles, abandoned specifically Christian practices, no longer believed in Jesus Christ and the New Testament, and began to observe Saturday as Holy Sabbath.¹⁶⁰ The group adopted Jewish dress and took Hebrew names. According to Mbiti, Bayudaya does not have strongly defined structures or leadership. JMC is based on the church's principles commonly called first pronouncements (Tsananguro dzepakutanga), which are said to have been delivered in 1931 when Masedza first received the

¹⁵⁸ Fen Osler Hampson, *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996).p44

¹⁵⁹ Obonyo, O. (2009): ODM reads politics in creation of sub-provinces. In: *East African Standard*, July 19, 2009

¹⁶⁰ Maupeau, K. (2005): *The Moi Succession Elections 2002*. Nairobi, 434 p

Holy Spirit as he was praying in the Marimba hills, which at the time were in Salisbury.¹⁶¹ To this day the principles serve as guiding norms and a measure of cleanliness and holiness. The church is structured and has clearly defined roles and responsibilities for members, but has no overall or national leadership to run its affairs. Instead, each congregation has a worship place, or sowe, equivalent to a conventional church, which is led by a panel of prophets who receive direction from a council of elders, called the dare, composed of elderly, responsible men and their spouses. The dare has no specified leader, but each member has a defined responsibility.¹⁶²

Women at masowe serve as mothers, advisors, and singers; there are also female prophets, dreamers, and visionaries (vaporofiti, varoti, and varatidzwi, respectively). This concept is based on Joel 2:28, which states “. . . I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your daughters and your sons shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions.” Boys, too, have responsibilities at masowe.¹⁶³ They are expected to serve as assistants to prophets (vasondosi) and to sing while young (zvipotera), considered clean and holy, are used as “tools” to execute special tasks or prayers during healing rituals. Men generally constitute the dare or council of elders. The dare is made up of the elderly, wise, and resourceful men who act as advisors, directors and custodians of pronouncements.¹⁶⁴

However, it naturally follows that if a man is appointed to the dare, the spouse automatically becomes a sadare or female elder and vice-versa. Each appointment to the dare is based on

¹⁶¹Zicherman N., Khan A. & Street A. (2011): Applying conflict sensitivity in emergency response: Current Practice and Way forward. ISBN: 978-1-907288-51-7

¹⁶²Sherriff A., Lange M., Alexander, L. & Banfield J. (2013): Development and Peace-building: Meeting Institutional Challenges

¹⁶³Nyheim D. (2008): Can Violence, War and State Collapse be Prevented? The Future of Operational Conflict Early Warning and Response Systems. The DAC network on conflict, peace and development co-operation (CPDC) & the DAC fragile states group(FSG) joint session

¹⁶⁴Garred M. & Abu-Nimer M. (2006). A shared Future: Local Capacities for Peace in Community Development. ISBN 1-933785-01-2

individual merits, such as administrative skills, the ability to mobilize resources, or counseling. An elder at one center automatically becomes an elder for any other center, so much so that even if one transfers to another center, responsibilities are also transferred.¹⁶⁵ Appointment to the dare is not by individuals in their human form, but rather by prophets in their spiritual form. This makes confirmation of one's responsibility at any other center by any other prophet easy since prophets are believed to draw their powers from the same stable of angels.¹⁶⁶

Religious groups and churches traditionally play important roles in society, especially around peace-building. Sampson uses four categories of religious intervention: advocates, intermediaries, observers, and educators. Advocates are those who fight to empower the disadvantaged and to restructure relationships and unjust social structures. An example would be the Roman Catholic Church, which during the Zimbabwean liberation struggle advocated for truth-telling as a way of healing the wounds that were created during the struggle that ended in 1979.¹⁶⁷ Intermediaries include those in fact-finding, good offices, facilitation, and conciliation. Mediation includes the role played by church leaders who successfully mediated a peace agreement in Sudan in 1972. Observers provide a physical presence that is intended to discourage violence, corruption, and human rights violations.¹⁶⁸

Such observers have been in various countries and situations monitoring and observing elections and any other national activity that could be controversial and attract national or international

¹⁶⁵CDA, Collaborative learning Project: Reflecting on Peace Practice (RPP).
http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/project_profile.php?pid=RPP&pname=Reflecting%20on%20Peace%20Practice 220. Accessed on 11th April 2014

¹⁶⁶Anderson M. & Olson L. (2003): Confronting war: Critical Lessons for peace practitioners.
http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/pdf/book/confrontingwar_Pdf1.pdf

¹⁶⁷Alston, P. (2009). Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions

¹⁶⁸Williams, S. (2007). *Being in the Middle by Being at the Edge: Quaker Experience of Non official Political Mediation*. London: Quaker Peace & Service in association with Sessions Book Trust.

attention.¹⁶⁹ In Zimbabwe, national elections have been observed by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches. Education could be in a variety of forms, ranging from awareness programs, civic education, and training in human rights and other basic social and political matters. A particular example is the Roman Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, which, through its agent Silveira House, offers various training programs to communities free of charge.

Other religious denominations also have organizations dedicated to training and community empowerment.¹⁷⁰ Besides these organizations, religious institutions have traditionally provided education to communities through missionary schools (Bhebhe). It is these schools that educated most of the early African scholars, particularly the most prominent ones, by providing a balanced curricula and well-equipped facilities, unlike the few government-run institutions that were influenced by the colonial apartheid system. Religious leaders also influence society; their public pronouncements and actions matter. The degree of popular credibility, trust, and moral authority vested in religious leaders enables them to direct events on the ground. Retired Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, for example, has often been asked to lead peace-building efforts around the world. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, the Catholic Bishops Conference and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches have championed attempts to quell political crises.¹⁷¹

During the 1982 to 1987 dissident insurgency that claimed over 18,000 innocent lives at the hands of the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

¹⁶⁹USIP, (2001). 'Catholic Contributions to International Peace' Washington: USIP.

¹⁷⁰Turray, M. (2007). *Civil Society and Peace Building: The Role of the Interreligious Council of Sierra Leone* Accord: London: Conciliation resources, [http://www. C-rorg / our-work / accord / sierra Leone/ inter-religious – council. Php](http://www.C-rorg/our-work/accord/sierra%20Leone/inter-religious-council.Php)

¹⁷¹Southall, R., (1999). 'Re-Forming the State? Kleptocracy & the Political Transition in Kenya', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 26, No. 79.

tried to use reason to quell the violence, and subsequently documented the tragedy (Dodo).¹⁷² Several missionaries sacrificed their lives and resources for the development of the communities in which they lived. The late Archbishop Patrick Chakaipa provided both material and policy support for Zimbabwe's struggle for liberation. During the Zimbabwean crisis, the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front, realizing the influence that religious groups have in the community, utilized the influence of Johane Masowe Chishanu leaders to mobilize their membership for political election campaigns.¹⁷³ Notable individuals who were involved include Madzibaba Lawrence Katsiru of Marondera, the late Madzibaba Pedneck Godfrey Nzira of Seke, and the late Madzibaba Border Gezi of Bindura. Mass exposure of children and youth to abuse and violence, lack of education, poor nutrition, and poor moral standards have long-term implications for governance and peacebuilding.

Religious groups, therefore, sponsor youth initiatives in peace-building and development (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies). Many churches have youth programs that generate income with the goal of keeping youths off the streets and employed.¹⁷⁴ Youth groups also sponsor sporting activities to build relations, especially after protracted violent ethnic or political clashes. Other ways in which youth can contribute towards peacebuilding are through media production, conflict transformation and reconciliation initiatives, psycho-social recovery programs, and programs that address human rights and transitional justice, security issues, and economic recovery (HPCR). Bhebhe describes the role played by churches in Zimbabwe during the 1966-1979 liberation struggle as church authorities and communities provided financial,

¹⁷²Morgenthau, Hans J., (2011). *Politics Among Nations*, (5th ed). New York: Knopf.

¹⁷³Nathan, L. (2009). 'When Push Comes to Shove': The Failure of International Mediation in African Civil Wars', Track Two 8 (2).

¹⁷⁴Mamdani, M., (2011). *Citizens and Subjects: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

moral, and material resources.¹⁷⁵ Some missionaries were killed and others were either deported or incarcerated for their participation during the war. While many religious groups participated, Bhebhe says the most prominent were the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Roman Catholic Church, and that other churches that contributed immensely were two Methodist groups, the Salvation Army, the Anglican Church, and some apostolic sects.

Religious groups made use of their mission schools, clinics, and hospitals to make contact with liberation combatants; apostolic groups provided moral and spiritual support.¹⁷⁶ The JMC also played an important role during the liberation struggle by providing prophecy consultancy and religious support to the fighting cadres so that they could endure the battle challenges and be able to evade some of the imminent encounters with their rivals. It became apparent that church institutions were the only places where politics could be discussed and strategized because all other avenues had either been banned or were closely monitored by the colonial regimes. To this day, religious organizations work to bridge social divisions by hosting conferences, interfaith dialogues, and retreats.¹⁷⁷

Universities either affiliated or owned by religious organizations have developed peace programs, and churches are incorporating more explicit peace-building efforts into their outreach and development efforts.¹⁷⁸ Both Africa University, owned by the United Methodist Church, and Solusi University, owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, currently offer peace programs in Zimbabwe. Indigenous religious groups, including the JMC, provide spiritual, emotional, and psychological support to people who have suffered from violent and protracted conflict. They

¹⁷⁵Huntington, S., (2013). 'The Clash of civilization' *Foreign Affairs*, 72.

¹⁷⁶Haar G. & Busuttill, J. (2003). *The Freedom to Do God's Will: Religious Fundamentalism and Social Change*. London and New York: Routledge.

¹⁷⁷Crocker C. & Hampton, F. (2006). *The challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Washington: USIP.

¹⁷⁸Fisher, R. (2006). 'Coordination between Track Two and Track One Diplomacy', *International Negotiation*.

have also set up centers to feed needy victims and to counsel them for possible reintegration into society. Other JMC groups have provided rehabilitation facilities and trauma healing programs, especially after armed conflicts that leave people maimed and disabled. The sick or trauma victims are housed at local prophets' residences or healing shrines for sessions that can last for as much as six months. Typical examples include Micho's Chiweshe shrine, Wimbo's Goora shrine, Nzira's Seke shrine, Lawrence's Marondera shrine, and Tenzi's Mbare shrine, amongst others. Generally, religious citizens' groups focus on peace, justice, and reconciliation within divided societies (HPCR).¹⁷⁹

Religious practitioners advocate non-violence, train communities in methods of nonviolence, and promote reconciliation based on their religion-based pacifist conviction. They also use rituals, such as peace walks, to build worldviews supportive of peace and justice. Africa University hosts the annual Peace Marathon dedicated to world peace.¹⁸⁰ Religious institutions usually survive war; states collapse, and other social and government structures fall away. According to Pouligny, religious networks, churches, temples, and mosques are usually the first to begin picking up the pieces after violence and remain as part of communities long after humanitarian workers and international aid have moved on. They may be the only remaining institutions with credibility, trust, and moral authority immediately after a war or conflict.¹⁸¹

3.8 Conclusion

The global geopolitical dynamics (the end of the Cold War and the onset of the political instigated violence for example) and changes in the forms of reconciliation by the church have

¹⁷⁹Cussac, A. (2008). Kibaki Tena: The challenge of a Campaign, in IFRA Publication, *The General Elections in Kenya*. Nairobi: IFRA.

¹⁸⁰Brown, S. and Schraub, K. (2012). *Resolving Third World Conflict: Challenges for a New Era*. Washington DC: US Institute for Peace.

¹⁸¹Wall, A. (2010). 'Mediation: A Current Review' *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol 37, No 1.

altered and continue to influence the form, challenges, scope and objectives of peace interventions by Western countries, especially in Africa. A crucial point is that reconciliation remains largely externally driven, with minimal religious groups like church participation in the design or ownership of the process mostly by the political powers. Chapter four critically analyses reconciliation in Kenya.

CHAPTER FOUR

RECONCILIATION IN KENYA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The study of conflict resolution reveals the mechanisms, methods and conditions that the rivaling parties use in order to resolve their conflict peacefully. The church in Kenya's 2008-2013, the church approach to reconciliation was devoid of use the processes of negotiation, bargaining, mediation, arbitration that sometimes result with an agreement on mutually acceptable solution, signed by the parties. Such agreement symbolizes the formal ending of the conflict¹⁸². It has become evident that formal peace agreements initiated by the church in various communities fall far short of establishing genuine peaceful relations between the former adversaries.

4.2 Rationale for Reconciliation in Kenya

In virtue of reconciliation, nations long at war have again found peace, citizens whose lives have been ruined by civil war have rebuilt unity; individuals or communities seeking or granting pardon have healed their memories; divided families once again live in harmony.¹⁸³ Reconciliation overcomes crises, restores dignity to people, and opens the way for development and lasting peace among people at all levels. Reconciliation takes the concern for justice a step further and is preoccupied with how to rebuild a more livable and psychologically healthy environment between former enemies where the vicious cycle of hate, deep suspicion,

¹⁸² Rothbart, D., & Korostelina, K. (2008). The enemy and the innocent in violent conflicts. In D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York: Routledge., pp. 85-99

¹⁸³ Human Rights Watch (2011): "Turning Pebbles." *Evading Accountability for Post Election Violence in Kenya*. New York

resentment, and revenge does not continue to fester. It leads to 'healing' which is the mending of deep emotional wounds (generated by the conflict) that follow the reconciliation process.¹⁸⁴

It could be said that the need for Reconciliation in Kenya today is much greater than at any other time in the past. Kenya is in need of unity of hearts and life in common after all the historical injustices and the resultant effects of the post-election crisis in 2007/2008.¹⁸⁵ Kenyan most terrible political impasse was broken on the 28th of February when President Kibaki and Honorable Raila Odinga took the tough decision to sign a deal which would allow the Kenyan people to move forward from the post-election tragedy. This was a positive step towards resolving the statement. However, five years later, the journey is far from over. It is the beginning. The main challenge remains where the leaders have to take the responsibility to heal the nation and bring reconciliation to Kenyans.¹⁸⁶

4.3 Reconciliation in Kenya 2008-2013 Post election Period

Peace building, reconciliation and restoration process by the church was initiated through the formation of TJRC because it could not be left in the hands of the politicians alone. The Church was called to a ministry of reconciliation and exercised spiritual mandate in the wake of the election crisis. The Church closely monitored the process to ensure that it is genuinely aimed at achieving national healing and not merely a whitewash aimed at sweeping past injustices under the carpet for political expediency. The Church used the pulpit to teach and preach genuine forgiveness and reconciliation and encourage people to participate in dealing with the past justly

¹⁸⁴ Klopp, M. (2011): "Ethnic Clashes" and Winning Elections: The Case of Kenya's Electoral Despotism. In: Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 35, 473-517

¹⁸⁵ Kituo, Kituo cha Sheria/GIZ-CPS, GIZ-Civil Peace Service (2011): The ICC in Kenya.

¹⁸⁶ KNHRC, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2008): "The Cry for Blood." Report on Extra-Judicial Killings and Disappearances Nairobi 241 *"If Kenyans don't address the need to reform, the events of January 2008 may look like a Christmas party in 2012."* (Johann Kriegler, South African judge)

and comprehensively so that the nation can truly be healed of its multiple wounds.¹⁸⁷ The Church had an ongoing responsibility of healing of the trauma of the violence among its own members. Finally, the Church lived as much as possible as a reconciled community and thereby become a model to the rest of society of what can be accomplished if people live together in harmony.¹⁸⁸

Faith based media, amongst other players, are significant actors in peace building and reconstruction.¹⁸⁹ These constitute part of society's religious network that plays important roles in establishing social and moral norms; and by extension spiritual nourishment. Amongst the resources for sustaining peace is an appreciation and nurturing of the grassroots and their relative cultures. For example, in Kenya, the national language, Kiswahili and religion bring people together in manners that transcend ethnic, social, political and economic divides. Peace building strategies therefore need to address cultural dimensions of conflict while identifying mechanisms for resolution as to be found within given cultural settings. With a focus on the faith based media, the church sensitized the community at large to embrace peace building and reconciliation. Waki reported that the church through its faith based media played a crucial role in peace building and reconciliation initiatives in Kenya.

In Imani (Based in Kitale town) and SAYARE (Eldoret), clergies, politicians and teachers were invited to contribute their views on post-election violence. During the programs, they dwelled on sensitizing Kenyans on peace and reconciliation matters, listeners would be allowed to make

¹⁸⁷Wallensteen, P. (2012). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage Publishers, p.133.

¹⁸⁸Sabar-Friedman, G., (2012). 'Church and State in Kenya 1986 – 2012: The Churches Involvement in the Game of Change', *African Affairs*, vol 96, No. 382.

¹⁸⁹Sampson C & Lederach, J. (2000). *From Ground Up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peace Building*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

their contribution from time to time during the program. Most of them did not have specific programs; they organized for such whenever a need arose.¹⁹⁰

In SAYARE (Kitale station), they had a specific program-Kalya, a Kalenjin word which means peace. In Biblia Husema (Eldoret), there was a program Ushauri kwa Jamii (Counsel to the community), a program which was moderated by Lugusa. Dr. Mosol Kandagor and Dr. Edward Bantu participated in the program that was aired every Wednesday at 9.30PM between January-June 2008.¹⁹¹ The theme of the program was peace and reconciliation. The presenters would also provoke people to respond to the discussions or teachings. Most presenters referred to the Bible, citing examples both from old and new testaments. Jesus example as a peace maker dominated the discussions. Songs and poems were also used as instrument of promoting peace and reconciliation.

The stations mobilized listeners; individuals, humanitarian organizations and churches to assist those affected by post-election violence by donating whatever they had. In so doing, the affected would feel loved. In one way or the other these efforts promoted peace. In addition, the stations encourage people to visit, chat and even prayed with those affected.¹⁹² Moreover, the stations selected appropriate Christian music in order to emphasize and to supplement the Christian teaching and lend a Christian dimension to the peace and reconciliation message at hand. The songs were either in English, Kiswahili and/or the mother tongues. They also ran sponsored programs that allowed specific cohorts of society opportunity to communicate with the community on matters of peace, reconciliation and empowerment that would allow people to make the right choices for social cohesion.

¹⁹⁰Ndungu, P. (2004). Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Illegal/ Irregular Allocation of Public Land. Nairobi: Government Printer.

¹⁹¹Opongo, E. (2008). *Peace Weavers: Methodologies of Peace Building in Africa*. Nairobi: Paulines Publishers.

¹⁹²Smith. J. (2004). 'Mediators Impartiality: Banishing The Chimera, *Journal of Peace of Research*, vol 31, No. 41.

Churches in Kenya therefore must emphasize the condition of reparation for the offences and injustice committed against one's neighbor. God commands his people to learn how to forgive. This does not mean that Christians have to renounce reparations or the seeking of sanctions from the law. Rather they are called to include the offender or enemy in their love and that they do away with hatred¹⁹³. Therefore, the Church must first in its proclamation of reconciliation speak out forcefully against hatred. Second, the transgressor must acknowledge his or her sin and make reparations for it as much as possible in order to enter into a relationship of love. Third, in order to rescue the transgressors, the Church must concern itself with this reparation and not leave transgressors in their sin. Fourth, the Church has a duty to encourage the government to have laws that promote justice for the sake of national reconciliation. Lastly, if there is amnesty, the civil authority should apply it only in the name of the common good. The Church has a duty to promote that common good¹⁹⁴.

The Church in Kenya has to realize that reconciliation in matters of injustices and human rights violation, ethical and theological discernment is needed. In Chile, reconciliation through justice and equity was promoted by Marxist thoughts and teaching of the Church. Since the Catholic Church owned a lot of land, some bishops-such as Manuel Larrain of Talca and Raul Silva of Santiago decided to have reconciliation in its concrete and objective sense. They radically divided church lands among small landholders and tenants farmers. Other bishops and religious congregations imitated this gesture. This should be the case in Kenya where the Church own large tracks of land amidst the landless congregation. The Church in Kenya should go ahead

¹⁹³ Schirch, Lisa. (2001). "Ritual Reconciliation" I: Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence; Theory and Practice, Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed). Lanham: Lexington Books, p51

¹⁹⁴ Volkan, V. D. (1990). "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Ethnic Conflicts"., In Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies: J.V Montville (ed), Toronto: Lexington Books, p82

through joint statements and activities in great pain to educate Christians about these changes that are demanded by justice and equity.

The church's approach justify the involvement of the churches in reconciliation by delineating their special mission. But they have not shown the methods that the churches can use in building peace and facilitating reconciliation. Churches may get into difficulties when brokering peace due to lack of proper methods¹⁹⁵. The current research, therefore, endeavored to establish the process of reconciliation, which the Churches use in Kenya. At the same time the study tried to investigate whether they have been fulfilling their mission of building peace and reconciling the community. This concept points to the commitment to the community, as men and women of all ages are allowed to participate meaningfully and corporately. The concept emphasizes the communitarian spirits, association and relationships, as well as a collective goal, which is peace.

When focusing on Africa, Bob-Manuel advises theorists to try as much as possible to move towards real life in all practicality. Social realities within societies should be taken seriously. Conflicts should be viewed as non-isolated events in their social contexts¹⁹⁶. Peace making techniques used by the church in the 2008-2013 post conflict period focused on the structural aspects of restoring or forging relations between former rivals. This focus is based on the assumption that equal interactions between the parties, together with economic and political restructuring lead to new, cooperative links that stabilize peaceful relationships¹⁹⁷. The church focused on such structural elements as exchanging representatives in various political, economic and cultural spheres¹⁹⁸ maintaining formal and regular channels of communication and

¹⁹⁵ Volkan, V. D. (1990). "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Ethnic Conflicts"., In Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies: J.V Montville (ed), Toronto: Lexington Books, p167

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, p111

¹⁹⁷ Scheper, E. (2002). "Women war and Religion: An Overview", in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 27

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p32.

consultation between the leaders of the states; reducing threats and tensions by such acts as disarmament, demilitarization, reduction of military manpower and minimization of military manpower close to the borders; developing joint institutions and organizations; developing free and opened trade; developing cooperative economic ventures; exchanging information and developing cooperation in different areas; developing free and opened tourism; or exchanging cultural products.

In cases when the rival groups must live in the same communities, the church utilized formal approached for establishing stable and lasting peaceful relations aim at internal institutional reforms, mostly in the political and economic systems¹⁹⁹. The structural outcome of reconciliation in this case requires political integration, meaning the inclusion of all groups in the power system, the establishment of structural equality and justice, and the observance of human and civil rights as well as democratic rules of political governance. In the economic domain the peace making requires the inclusion of all the society's groups in the economic system, the creation of equal opportunity for them and often the redistribution of wealth.

All the political and economic acts described are assumed to foster interdependent relationship and cooperation and thus promote peaceful relations²⁰⁰. Thus, it is of utmost importance to avoid violent acts by both sides, wherever peace process takes place. In conflicts between states, the international community provides an array of rules, institutions, and mechanisms to resolve them peacefully through bilateral negotiation, or mediation and arbitration by the third parties²⁰¹. The church was forced to work with other actors to restructure the social institutions to provide the mechanisms for peaceful conflict resolution. In all the cases, however, the

¹⁹⁹ Maina, L. (2000) Ethnicity Among the Communities of Nakuru District. In Murunga G. R. (ed) Pg 108-193.

²⁰⁰ Kobia, Samuel (2005). Healing the World: Working Together With Religion in Global Society Chicago: International Council of Christians and Jews.

²⁰¹ Ibid, p98.

essential part in the structural acts promoted by the church was to treat the other side with respect, justice, equality and sensitivity to its needs and goals.

It became clear, however, that creating economic and political mechanisms, structures, and institutions to form interdependence, linkages and affinity does not guarantee lasting peaceful relations. The church in Kenya failed to observe the structural elements in a bid to establish formal relations without necessarily spreading the new message of reconciliation among society members²⁰². Some community members are sometimes perceived as irrelevant to personal lives of society members and often do not induce a deep change in public's psychological repertoire. The essence of reconciliation is psychological process, which consists of changes of motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes and emotions by the majority of society members. Psychological change is vital because without it the rival parties do not establish lasting peaceful relations. The church however ensured that reconciliation is then the necessary condition for stable and lasting peace. Structural measures alone may facilitate psychological change, but they cannot establish reconciliation.

4.4 Addressing the Social Economic Causes of Ethnic Conflict

The outcome of reconciliation process used by the church consists of motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes and emotions, which support the goal of peace, the new nature of peaceful relations, and the positive views of the partner to peace²⁰³. This psychological basis of reconciliation was reflected in the people's subjective experience. The church realized that the fundamental requirement is that the psychological basis will penetrate deep into societal fabric so as to be

²⁰² Magesa, Laurenti. (1996). Religious Leaders, Peacemaking and Social Change: Some Theological Perspective., In Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa; Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives. Assefa, H. & G. Wachira (eds), Nairobi: EAEP, 65

²⁰³ Ibid, p98

shared by the majority of society members²⁰⁴. Only such change guarantee lasting peaceful relations between rival groups, because then are formed stable foundations that are rooted in the psyche of the people.

The psychological changes may not encompass all society members, since a small section of a society may continue to harbor the wish to maintain the conflict, despite its resolution and the new existing peaceful climate²⁰⁵. However, reconciliation was not affected if such groups are small and marginal, whereas the great majority of the society, including its dominant groups, has internalized the psychological basis of reconciliation. Reconciliation also requires a measure of complementarity between the psychological bases of the former rivals. Both parties must undergo a similar psychological change and a majority of both parties have to support the peaceful relations. An imbalance in these changes will impair the reconciliation, as one of the parties could feel betrayed and cheated.

While most of the researchers agree on the importance of the psychological component in reconciliation, they are vague, or disagree about its nature. The church recognized the importance of creating a common psychological framework in order to promote the process of reconciliation²⁰⁶. As such, during the conflict the rival parties had different views about the conflict, about each other and about their relationship. There is wide agreement that reconciliation requires the formation of a new common outlook of the past. The church promoted a shared and acknowledged perception of the past, both parties take a significant step

²⁰⁴ Rupesinghe, K. ed (1996). *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 97

²⁰⁵ Stein, J. (2001). Image, identity, and the resolution of violent conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson & P. Aall (Eds.), *Turbulent peace: The challenges of managing international conflict*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press. pp. 189-208

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p 93

towards achieving reconciliation²⁰⁷. Reconciliation process by the church ensured that both parties not just get to know, but truly acknowledge what happened in the past. Acknowledgement of the past implies at least recognizing that there are two narratives of the conflict. This is an important factor in reconciliation, since the collective memories of each party about its own past underpin the continuation of the conflict and obstruct peacemaking. Reconciliation necessitates changing these societal beliefs (collective memories) about the past by learning about the rival group's collective memory and admitting one's own past misdeeds and responsibility for the outbreak and maintenance of the conflict. Through the process of negotiation, in which the own past is critically revised and synchronized with that of the other group, a new narrative emerges. With time, this new historical account of events should substitute the reigning past collective memory.

The problem of ethnicity has been progressively accentuated since independence with the emergence of ethnicity as a factor in national politics. According to Stein, ethnicity in Kenya became a national concern as early as the colonial period but was accentuated in the post-independence period during the implementation of the policy of Africanization²⁰⁸. Ethnic tensions developed especially around the structure of access to economic opportunities and redistribution of some of the land formerly owned by the white settlers. Most of the land in question was in the Rift Valley Province and was historically settled by the Kalenjin and the Maasai. The other area that was affected by colonial settlement was Central Province. But the crisis was aggravated during the mid-1950s when forced land consolidation took place during the emergency period. This benefited mainly the pro- government group that had not joined the Mau

²⁰⁷ Volkan, V. D. (1990). "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Ethnic Conflicts"., In Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies: J.V Montville (ed), Toronto: Lexington Books, p89

²⁰⁸ Stein, J. (2001). Image, identity, and the resolution of violent conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson & P. Aall (Eds.), Turbulent peace: The challenges of managing international conflict. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, p197

Mau revolt. And when the state of emergency was lifted at the end of the 1950s, most of the detainees returned home to find that they had lost their land to the “loyalists”²⁰⁹. As some moved to the urban centers’ in search of wage and self-employment, a large wave of this group moved to the Rift Valley in anticipation of what was expected to be land redistribution after independence. A number of them joined relatives and kinsmen who had moved to the Rift Valley many decades earlier and were staying in some of the settler owned land as squatters. Therefore, when the redistribution of some of the land formerly owned by the white settlers began, it is these squatters that became the instant beneficiaries of the allocations²¹⁰.

Kenyatta, for instance, "instead of suppressing leaders who sought to maintain and fortify their local (read tribal) power bases, assisted and manipulated their effort by selectively dispensing or withholding patronage needed for this task²¹¹." Lederach adds that through this "politics of inclusiveness, Kenyatta brought together a broadly based coalition accommodating ethno-regional strongmen to compensate for his lack of regulatory capacity and to prevent the formation of counter coalition²¹²." Lederach is by no chance complimenting Kenyatta. The fundamental questions are: what should be the basis of inclusiveness at the national level? What kind of inclusiveness can maximize participation and ensure a meaningful sense of belonging?

Indeed, events in Kenya seemed to confirm Soyinka’s view that ethnic conflicts are often deliberately instigated in order to create instability that will then justify their (leaders) continued

²⁰⁹ Rutto, S. (2000). Ethnicity as Objects of Hatred: Community Relations and Democratization Process Among the Kalenjin Communities of the Rift Valley Province in Kenya. In Murunga, G. R. (ed)p.70

²¹⁰ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum, p97

²¹¹ Lederach, John Paul (1997). Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington: US Institute for Peace, p241

²¹² Kahumbi, Newton Maina (2004). Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic conflicts Management and Resolution in Nakuru and UasinGishu Districts, Kenya. Kenyatta University, Unpublished Paper, p56

stay in power²¹³. In the case of Kenya, the single KANU party stalwarts before reluctantly accepting the multi-party system had already been prophets of doom "predicting" ethnic conflicts upon the latter's implementation. It is our contention that the practice of trying to create some kind of homogeneity on the basis of ethnic community substantially undermines people's participation, individually and collectively²¹⁴. The ethnic tag that one acquires becomes a source of alienation and exclusion. Woe to those who happen to come from the ethnic community that is perceived to be a threat or belonging to another political party. This is how Kenyan leaders have persistently betrayed the spirit of nationhood. By whipping up ethnic emotions and solidarity for short-term political benefit, our leaders have betrayed our national aspirations and goals.

The ethnic conflict in Rift Valley took place against a background of an impending general election. This was to be the first time since independence when a truly multi-party election was to be held in post-independent Kenya. This is because this time round, the ruling party was seriously threatened with the probability of being removed from power by the combined political opposition, which had in the first place mobilized public opinion that ultimately forced the government to change the constitution to allow the operation of multipartyism²¹⁵. Playing a major role in the emergent opposition movement in 1992 were the Agikuyu and the Luo communities. The pioneers of multiparty politics in Kenya included Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia. The events in the run up to multi-party elections in 1992 brought out the true picture of ethnic cleavage and its impact on nationhood in Kenya²¹⁶. This period saw unprecedented ethnic strife that culminated in widespread ethnic conflicts. This was

²¹³ Gecaga .M.G. (2002). "The Impact of War on Africa Women" In Getui, M.N. &Ayanga .H (eds) PP. 53

²¹⁴ Haugerud, A. (1995). *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya*. Cambridge: Cambridge, p225

²¹⁵ Ibid, p117

²¹⁶ Gecaga .M.G. (2002). "The Impact of War on Africa Women" In Getui, M.N. &Ayanga .H (eds) Pp. 53

especially true in the Rift Valley and Western provinces that pitted the Kalenjin against the Agikuyu and a section of the Abaluhya who had decamped to the opposition parties.

The Parliamentary Commission appointed to investigate these clashes established the magnitude and extent of the clashes and reported that by the time of compiling their report, a total of over 700 people had been killed. Many others had fled their homes while others had been forcefully evicted and dumped in areas claimed to be their places of origin. Another report by the US State Department put the toll as at December 1993 at 1000 dead and between 150 000 - 250 000 displaced. In the meantime efforts were being made on the ground to acquire the lands that had been abandoned out of fear of attacks. Mungiki adherents have been associated with very many atrocities in the country. Several attempts have been made by the governments to jail and prosecute anyone associated with the sect; however the number continues to increase unabated with some quarters estimating they are over 4 million members in Kenya.

4.5 Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Methods by Churches

Catholic and PCEA churches have been on the forefront in fostering peace using different methods. Reports on Catholic Peace and Justice Commission show that submission and confession that involved a person accepting his or her crimes and subsequently owning them up in public was the most common form of reconciliation. This was followed by mediation, implied dialogue, peace workshops and peace visits²¹⁷. Submission and confession involve an absolution by church ministers. Mediation requires church ministers to be intermediaries between the conflicting parties. Dialogue calls for the facilitation of friendly interaction with conflicting communities.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p121

The church has also been organizing peace workshops and peace visits²¹⁸. The peace visit involved members of different church paying another church a visit and engaging in dialogue over the causes of conflict and how peace can be achieved²¹⁹. For instance, engaging in peace races and participating in cultural activities. In addition holding ball games together, organizing inter-communities debates in schools and institutions facilitated peace. Intermarriages and holding interdenominational prayers were also cited as approaches used by the church.

The failure of the peace actors especially local NGOs to include the local people and communities in resolving conflicts contributed to ineffectiveness of the methods involved²²⁰. Some of the political incitements that the study established included “Wageni warudi kwao! Kiswahili for “Visitors should return to their land”. Such political incitements were similar to ethnic sentiments between 1992 and 1997 attributed to William ole Ntimama including “the Agikuyu should lie low like envelopes”²²¹. There were other inflammatory statements attributed to politicians and others contained in leaflets that were dropped in strategic areas warning and threatening “aliens” to vacate the area. Such leaflets threatening one community led the accused communities to arm themselves, thus intensifying tension. The study established that many leaflets were connected to politicians in the area. Moreover the leaflets heightened ethnic animosity because many were believed to come from pastoralists communities warning the farmers. One leaflet in part read” Wakulima wahame ng’ombe zipate malisho” Kiswahili for “Farmers should leave the areas for cows to get pastures”²²². Such leaflets reflected the ethnic

²¹⁸ National Elections Monitoring Unit (NEMU), *Courting Disaster: A Report on the Ethnic Clashes*. Nairobi: NEMU, 1993.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.98

²²⁰ National Assembly of Kenya Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Ethnic Clashes (Chairman, Kiliku), 1993

²²¹ *Ibid*, p101

²²² Brock-Utne, Birgit (1985). *Educating for Peace. A Feminist Perspective*. New York/Oxford/Toronto/Sydney/Paris/ Frankfurt: Pergamon Press, p44

animosity that existed between the pastoralists and farmers who apparently came from different ethnic lines.

Poverty also featured prominently as a major causative factor for recurrence. Accordingly, the average poverty incidence is determined and based on the expenditure required to purchase a food basket that allows national minimum requirement to be met, estimated at Ksh. 1,239 and Ksh 2,648 for rural and urban households, respectively²²³. The active roles that the church plays in the region strengthen the conviction that the church has a responsibility in fostering peace in the region and to act as a unifying factor. Nevertheless, these efforts alone are not adequate when building peace in a religious setting. Church's approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation are critical in efforts geared at fostering long lasting peace²²⁴. The Church concerned itself first with provision of the basic needs. Although this intervention was necessary a follow-up strategy to quell conflict was needed. In some instances, the churches came only during conflicts to give them basic needs, never to come back. This is an indication that in some instances the peace actors is concerned with short-term goals such as provisions of food and shelter instead of having follow-up and long term strategy to unearth in-depth the causes of conflicts²²⁵. Effective peace building reconciliation approaches are amongst the said long term interventions.

As the background of the conflict is explored, the social situation of each individual or party is considered. This is to form an impression of the interests and needs as well as aspirations and motivations of each party²²⁶. From the beginning of the conflict transformation, there may be an

²²³ Brock-Utne, Birgit, (1996). Peace Education in Post Colonial Africa. In Peabody Journal of Education. Vol. 71.No 3. 170-190.

²²⁴ National Elections Monitoring Unit (NEMU), Courting Disaster: A Report on the Ethnic Clashes. Nairobi: NEMU, 1993.

²²⁵ Brock-Utne, Birgit, (1996). Peace Education in Post Colonial Africa. In Peabody Journal of Education. Vol. 71.No 3. 170-190.

²²⁶ Ibid, p182

inclination to understand more about the inner motives of the parties. As the talking proceeds, there is an openness to feedback or influence from the social surrounding, which may lead to modifications of perceptions or positions of the mediators or the parties involved. And the constituencies of the parties as well as the social groups are respected. If a party feels insecure and acts unassertively, the mediators help by making such a party realize that they would be impartial in its role²²⁷. This is done to enhance the sense of empowerment and confidence of the unassertive party.

The decision making process considers the social importance of conflict solving because social relations and internal solidarity are crucial. At this stage, having looked at both sides, the community may suggest that one party makes this concession. It would then be fair to expect the other party to respond by reciprocating concession from the other side. The point is to make a fair exchange for public recognition. Reconciliation structures used by the church include the Small Christians Communities (SCCs), the basic units in the Catholic Church. They comprise different households or families. Usually 10 families constitute one SCC, holding prayers every week in every family²²⁸. Such prayer meetings also create a chance to share on the social issues affecting the members and the society and to give out the names of the most vulnerable families. The names are later handed to the area committee which then contacts the Caritas office to give them food and clothes. The presence of CJPC members on the ground also help to unearth some injustices in society and report them to regional office for appropriate reconciliation measure.

²²⁷ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). *Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace*. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum.

²²⁸ Schirch, Lisa. (2001). "Ritual Reconciliation I: Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence; Theory and Practice, Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed). Lanham: Lexington Books, p97

As part of a society struggling to come out of a deeply traumatic experience, the Church in Kenya has been left deeply wounded, disoriented and almost without voice.²²⁹ Fortunately, the Church can learn from the experiences of churches in other countries and other ages such as Germany after the 2nd World War or South Africa after apartheid. To do so, the Church must quickly move to recover its voice, restore its credibility and play its prophetic role in advancing the cause of justice, healing and reconciliation in the wake of the Kenyan crisis.²³⁰ The churches' role in addressing reconciliation more broadly in society should obviously be informed, limited and complemented by its internal reconciliation process. While the church can only play a limited role externally without having its internal house in order, the internal process will never be completely finalised. The external role is thus one that needs to continue, but will only reach its full potential through being energised by the fruition of its internal processes.²³¹

There are various strategies of reconciliation identified by interviewees that fall broadly under the umbrella of reconciliation. While some initiatives seem to predate the TRC, others appear to be attempts at building on the momentum of the TRC process and providing more people to participate in processes of storytelling and dialogue²³². While some essentially duplicate certain activities of the TRC, most also attempted to extend them and deepen them to provide a more serious engagement with issues.²³³ These strategies have been used for internal reconciliation processes and/or for promoting broader national and community reconciliation. Reconciliation

²²⁹Thistlethwart, S.& Stassen, G. (2008). *Abrahamic Alternatives to war: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Perspectives on Just Peacemaking*. Washington: USIP.

²³⁰Reinmann, C. (2010). *Assessing the State of Art in Conflict Transformation*, <http://www.Berghoffhandbook>.

²³¹Miall, H. (2011). *Conflict Transformation: A Multidimensional Task*, <http://www.berghoffhandbook.net>.

²³² Lederach, J. P (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C. US Institute of Peace, 98

²³³Mamdani, M. (2010). 'State and Civil Society in Contemporary Africa: Re- conceptualizing the Birth of State Nationalism and the Defeat of Popular Movements', *Africa Development*, Vol. XV, Nos. 3-4

sermons: The most obvious role was to provide guidance regarding the values and journey of reconciliation through sermons. While some felt that not enough attention was given in developing this message and addressing it consistently, it seems to have been a very common phenomena for the churches to take on this role in their regular services. Symbolic events, such as mass gatherings, memorial services, marches, public celebrations are commonly cited as things the churches should be doing, but are not.²³⁴

Counselling: The role of counsellor was mentioned by a number of interviewees as a particular strength of church leaders which was utilised effectively within the TRC, and which could be extended to those who did not have access to counseling services through the TRC.²³⁵ There is however a recognition that more training needs to be provided to equip church staff with appropriate skills. Another component to the role of counselling is to provide space for confession. Some interviewees felt that perpetrators of human rights abuses were not sufficiently confronted.

4.6 Complementary Approaches in Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Initiatives

More of the conflicts in the developing world are protracted and ethnic in nature. As such in order to manage and hopefully resolve ethnic conflicts, a comprehensive approach that identifies and tackles their multiple causal factors is today necessary. Evidently, even though international agencies, governments and private organizations have entered the field of peacebuilding and reconciliation in ever increasing numbers, it is evident that most interventions in Africa have

²³⁴Kenya National Human Rights Commission (2008). *On the Brink of the Precipice: A Human Rights Account of Kenya's Post-2007 Election Violence*, Final Report.

²³⁵Roislien, H. (2005). *Mapping the Terrain: The Role of Religion in Peacemaking*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute

done little to prevent conflict. Hence, there is need for complementary approaches to peacebuilding and reconciliation²³⁶.

Nnoli refers to conflicts as contradictions arising from differences in interests, ideologies, orientations, perceptions and tendencies²³⁷. Such tendencies exist at all levels of society, individual groups, institutions and nations as well as in inter-personal, inter-group, inter-institutional and international relations. People get involved in conflicts when their interests or their values are threatened or when their needs are not met. On the other hand, ethnic conflicts are disharmonies that arise as a result of ethnic groups disintegrating themselves from “others” and developing the “we-they” attitude, which create dichotomies among ethnic groups as each one look at the other ethnic groups with contempt²³⁸.

Peacebuilding is a long term process of setting up conditions that are conducive to cultivating of harmonious co-existence. It is a process to reconcile warring parties with the aim of building long lasting peace²³⁹. In this case, the government and NGOs are involved in establishing institutions to foster peace. These include human rights, affirmative action, transparency and accountability, justice and equity, free and fair elections, equal political and economic participation among others. These institutions ensure that every citizen is secure and confident, hence suppressing overt conflicts. The government’s mandate to foster peace, justice and fairness has in most cases failed. That is why the Church is involved in matters of peacebuilding and reconciliation.

²³⁶ Ibid, p152

²³⁷ Nnoli, O. (ed.) (1998). *Ethnic Conflict in Africa* Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series, p87

²³⁸ Mwangi (1998). *Understanding Conflict and its Management: some Kenyan Perspectives*. Center for conflict Research and Women and law in East African (Kenya). Nairobi: Watermark publications

²³⁹ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). *Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace*. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum

The research established out that despite the fact that complementary approach is effective in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Complementary approach as a peacebuilding and reconciliation mechanism involves combining several models advanced in the area of religion and peacebuilding.

4.7 Institutional Frameworks for Peace-Building

With the rise in violent conflict the Government has put in place various government agencies to work on peace-building and national reforms besides the civil societies and international organizations.²⁴⁰ In the core is the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC), which was established in 2001 under the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security in the office of the president. In a mirage NSC is an interagency committee that seeks to strengthen, coordinate, and integrate various conflict management initiatives undertaken by the government and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). It brings together to coordinate and consolidate efforts geared towards peace-building and conflict management in Kenya as well as cross border peace stakeholders. Ministry of Justice and Constitutional affairs through the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) are also government departments working directly on peace-building across the country.²⁴¹

The framework of the early warning system developed to the district level (district peace committees) is yet to achieve its effectiveness, because if it had, the 2007/2008 post-election

²⁴⁰ South Consulting (2012). The Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Monitoring Project. Agenda Item 4 Reforms, Long-Standing Issues and Solutions. Progress Review Report March. Nairobi

²⁴¹ Adan M. & Pkalya R. (2009): Conflict Management in Kenya: Towards Policy and Strategy Formulation. ISBN 9966-931-32-5

violence could otherwise have been avoided.²⁴² The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Monitoring Project gives an in-depth national peace-building process from the 2007/2008 post-election violence. The agenda 1 to agenda 4 of national accord reflected the three requirements for peace-building namely: urgency of change, sustained change and proportionality of change. In them the four criteria of effective Peace-building inscribed upon effective implementation of the national peace accord the first one being the stopping of violence. In spite of the success in stopping the violence, the resettlement of the Internally Displaced persons (IDP's) remained an eye sore while the political militias are mutating and taking different form further reinforcing the culture of impunity.²⁴³

Embedded in politics and crime, the groups now tend to hold hostage the same politicians who brought them up and financed them. The situation of IDP's has not changed either; many continue to live in deplorable 'transit' camps with no access to services, the wheels of justice are rolling too slow for them and many feel that they have been denied justice.²⁴⁴ There have been several promises to resettle the families but the efforts are yet to reach all affected. KNDR principals on reforms were not only limited to the post-election violence but the long-term healing of resource related conflicts, inter-clan and tribal conflicts and cross boundary conflicts (most of them historic in nature). The reforms would include: new constitutional, institutional and legal reforms, land reforms, poverty, inequity and regional imbalance, unemployment, consolidation of national cohesion and unity, transparency, accountability and impunity. Despite the milestones achieved such as the promulgation of the new constitution and the reforms in the

²⁴² Mghanga, Mwandawiro (2010): *Usipoziba Ufa Utajenga Ukuta: Land, Wahlen und Konflikte in Kenias Coast Province*. Nairobi

²⁴³ Klopp, M. (2010). *Electoral Despotism in Kenya: Land, Patronage and Resistance in the Multi-Party Context*. Montreal: phd-thesis, Mc. Gill University

²⁴⁴ Chung, Christine H. (2008): *Victims' Participation at the International Criminal Court: Are Concessions of the Court Clouding the Promise?* In: *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*, Vol. 6, 459-545

judiciary as well as the electoral commission, the government and the people of Kenya must work together to see that all the remaining steps are undertaken in a manner that restores confidence and addresses the underlying factors that sustain the conflicts. Peacebuilding in Kenya however continues to face numerous bottlenecks as conflict systems fight back.²⁴⁵

4.8 Conclusion

The chapter has analyzed reconciliation in Kenya by critically analyzing aspects of peace building and the institutional frameworks in place. According to the chapter the Church used the pulpit to teach and preach genuine forgiveness and reconciliation and encourage people to participate in dealing with the past justly and comprehensively so that the nation can truly be healed of its multiple wounds. The Church had an ongoing responsibility of healing of the trauma of the violence among its own members. Finally, the Church lived as much as possible as a reconciled community and thereby become a model to the rest of society of what can be accomplished if people live together in harmony. The next chapter contains the summary, key findings and recommendation of the study.

²⁴⁵Jones J. & Williams J. (2009). Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North Eastern Kenya. *IJSE* 36,10

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion as well as suggested recommendations for implementation on the role of the church in promoting reconciliation in 2008-2013 post-election violence Kenya

Conflict remains a constant companion of mankind.²⁴⁶ From the simplest forms of human organizations to the most complex societies there has always been conflict. This is because individuals and groups possess different values and interests. In the process of pursuing and fulfilling these interests and values, there is always a risk of conflict since, values and interests are not always compatible. As such, what matters is not the presence of conflict per se but the strategies actors adopt in response to the incompatibilities between them. An enlightened understanding of conflict indicates that it is not something that is essentially bad. Rather, it is an important ingredient of social change.²⁴⁷ It is akin to a pain in the body, which indicates that there is something wrong in either the physiological or psychological processes and hence, there is a need to see a doctor. Along the same lines, conflict, is a symptom which accompanies the birth of much that is new in society and frequently attends the demise of whatever is outworn. It also sometimes signals the presence of ills in the body politic. It has therefore both constructive

²⁴⁶Kenya National Dialogue & Reconciliation (KNDR) (2010): Statement of Principles on Long-term issues and solution

²⁴⁷ Schirch, Lisa. (2001). "Ritual Reconciliation I: Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence; Theory and Practice, Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed). Lanham: Lexington Books, p74

and destructive aspects. It can both be warning and a promise. It heralds progress and growth as well as death and decay.²⁴⁸

Within this understanding of conflict, the task is to manage it conflict in a way which brings out its constructive potential and at least suppress its destructive elements. However, this is not always the case, since some conflicts degenerates into destructive exchanges between contending groups. In such a situation, third parties steps in with a goal of guiding the conflictants towards a mutually constructive outcome. The third parties interveners have different identities, interests and resources.²⁴⁹ The differences equip them with varying capacities of conflict management. This understanding formed the basis of the study, which sought to examine whether religious organizations have different sets of resources and capacities to manage conflict relative to other third party actors.

To undertake the task, the study was divided into five chapters. The first chapter laid down the basis of the study. This was through development of the research problem, reviewing of the relevant literature, theoretical developments and methodologies of the study. The chapter shows that religious remains a central constitutive element of humanity since majority of the people subscribe to a given faith.²⁵⁰ Despite these, there exist different positions regarding the relationship between religion and conflict. One position holds that religion is a cause or escalator of conflict. This is the view advanced by proponents of 'clash of civilization' thesis, who argue

²⁴⁸Media Focus on Africa Foundation (2009). Sources of Conflict and Approaches towards Conflict Transformation and Sustainable Peace in Kenya. Kenya National Poll Survey Result, Copyright Media Focus on Africa Foundation

²⁴⁹ Stein, J. (2001). Image, identity, and the resolution of violent conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson & P. Aall (Eds.), *Turbulent peace: The challenges of managing international conflict*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press. pp. 189-208

²⁵⁰ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). *Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace*. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum.

that, in post-cold war, world, religious was increasingly replaced secular ideologies, as the main source of identity. As such, religious boundaries mark the fault lines of post-cold war conflict. The second position treats the relationship as ambiguous. The argument is that, all religious contains values for peace and violence.²⁵¹ This is because, in the name of God, violence has been perpetrated against ‘others’ who are considered as non-believers. Also, religious values such as those of love, empathy, compassion, embracing of strangers and forgiving have been utilized in the service of peace. Consequently, religion contains both the notion of peaceable kingdom and holy wars and the task is to mobilize religious resources towards creating a peaceable kingdom.²⁵²

Religious actors fall under track two they are different in the sense that, they can tap into resources, unavailable to other unofficial actors. This is because religion is a normative system which connects individuals to the ultimate meaning of existence. Importantly, the normative system contains critical peace related values.²⁵³ In addition religious leaders enjoy moral/spiritual legitimacy due to the nature of their work. Further, they have access to the grass roots and upper echelons of power, owing to their physical and social infrastructures. Chapter four has detailed the 2007 – 2008 electoral related conflict. The analysis is historical in nature informed by understanding that violence does not just erupt, neighbours do not wake up one morning and decides to start hacking each other. Instead, conflicts have histories. History helps to explain people’s motivations and why they believe what they believe.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ Anderson, D. (2012): Vigilantes, violence and the politics of public order in Kenya. *African Affairs*, Volume 101, Number 405, 1 October 2002, pp. 531-555(25)

²⁵² Human Rights Watch (2008): World Report 2008. New York: Seven Stories Press, p. 1 International Crisis Group (2008): Kenya in Crisis. In: Africa Report, 137

²⁵³ Scheper, E. (2002). “Women war and Religion: An Overview”, in World Conference on Religion and Peace, 28

²⁵⁴ Rutto, S. (2000). Ethnicity as Objects of Hatred: Community Relations and Democratization Process Among the Kalenjin Communities of the Rift Valley Province in Kenya. In Murunga, G. R. (ed) 70-107.

Further, history justifies the aims of the group and also affects the strategies of that group. A Historical analysis has shown that the conflict is linked to the trajectory of postcolonial state-building, which took an ethnic basis.²⁵⁵ This way, the state has been closely identified with the ethnic identity of persons holding the reins of power, since it is presumed that control of state power translates into privileged access to state resources, by co-ethnics. This has spawned dysfunctional political value system and practices based on exclusion, ethnicity and corruption, normalization of violence as strategy for political competition, institutional decay and impunity.²⁵⁶

5.2 Conclusion

Findings from the study indicate that churches have been at the forefront in fostering peace using various methods, particularly submission and confession, mediation, dialogue, peace workshops and peace visits.²⁵⁷ Conflicts recur because of the adoption of ineffective methods of peacebuilding and reconciliation, ethnic animosity and lack of community involvement, political incitement and poverty. Ethnic conflicts disrupt the social fabric that holds the society together. The church has been at the forefront in preventing their recurrence using several interventions such as peacebuilding workshops, carrying out civic education, community empowerment and exchange visits.²⁵⁸

The study also established that complementary approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation is inevitable for long lasting peace. In a multiethnic society, all actors should ensure that they use a

²⁵⁵ Rupesinghe, K. ed (1996). *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.p119

²⁵⁶ Ajulu, R., (2011). 'Kenya: One Step Forward, Three Steps Back: The Succession Dilemma', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 28, No. 88.

²⁵⁷ Bercovitch, J. & Kadayifci -Orellana, S. (2009). 'Religion and Mediation: The Role of Faith Based Actors in International Conflict Resolution', *International Organization*, 14.

²⁵⁸ Basedan, M. & De Juan, A. (2008). *'The Ambivalence of the Sacred' in Africa: The Impact on Peace and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa*. German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Working paper No. 70.

comprehensive approach that appreciates the diversity of cultural worldviews.²⁵⁹ Very similar and often interchangeable terms for complementary approach include holistic approach, integrated approach, or meta-approach. What these terms highlight is that resolving conflicts and achieving sustainable coexistence in divided societies requires integrated and complementary efforts across relevant fields and levels, that is, grassroots to structural and local to international. The causes of conflict are many, and the responses should be strategic and multi-pronged. Sidelineing or rejecting an aspect that is key to any community is tantamount to rejecting the community. Therefore, the following premises were concluded that ethnic conflicts in Kenya are caused mainly by socio-economic and political factors. The processes of peacebuilding and reconciliation employed by the church are limited. Complementary approaches are inevitable in effective peacebuilding and reconciliation initiatives.²⁶⁰

Consequently, political competition is couched in discourse of fear of ‘others’ and the logic of ‘it is our turn to eat.’²⁶¹ This way, winning of political power by all means and the culture of violence has become embedded in Kenya’s body politic. It is against this background that the 2007 – 2008 violent electoral conflict should be analyzed and appreciated. Though labeled electoral, claims of electoral rigging was just but a powder keg. To effectively address this kind of conflict issues of values are as important as those of interests. Failure to address values merely provides band aid solutions. Since track one actors uses power based strategies focused on bargaining interests and leaving out values, the study conclude that the involvement of unofficial actors is critical. How they fare when involved is also significant.

²⁵⁹Berrigan, D. (2010). *The Geography of Faith: Underground Conversations on Religious, Political, and social Change*. Woodstock Vt: Skylight Publishing.

²⁶⁰Bercovitch. J & Rubin. J. (2000). *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple approaches to conflict Management*. St Martins Press.

²⁶¹ International Crisis Group (2012): Kenya: Impact of the ICC Proceedings: Africa Briefing No 84. Nairobi/Brussels

In order to evaluate how unofficial actors perform in the business of conflict management, chapter four has analyzed how church as a key religious organization responded to the violent electoral conflict. It has developed the involvement of church in the national political discourse, and shown that, the organization acting in concert with other religious actors has been critical in condemning the excesses of government and demanding for reforms, especially during Moi regime. Further, the church in response to the 1992 political instigated ethnic clashes has developed a peace program which has been engaged in mobilization, advocacy, reconciliation and reconstruction.²⁶²

Despite its visibility in the national arena, the chapter shows that church role in 2007 – 2008 management of electoral conflict was marginal. The major reason for its marginality is because, it was viewed as partisan. Yet, as an actor lacking power-based resources, the main source of leverage was its moral credibility. This way, parties involved could have trusted its involvement and at the same time it would have been in a position to mobilize its constituents towards non-violence, since its membership transcended ethnic divisions. From the analysis in chapter four, the study concludes that when conflict parties confide in religious peacemakers, this is because they are seen as impartial (linked to neither conflict party or to involved states). Also the credibility of religious peacemakers is dependent on their moral commitments to a given cause. This is because they have few opportunities to introduce carrots or sticks in order to push negotiations forward, and if and when they do, there is always a risk of resulting to track one strategies yet their strength lies more with their ability to deal with conflict of value not interests.

²⁶² Kagwanja, M. (2012): 'Power to Uhuru': Youth Identity and Generational Politics in Kenya's 2010 Elections. In: African Affairs, Vol. 105, 51-75

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

There is need to appreciate, strengthen and adopt a transformative methods of peacebuilding and reconciliation. Strengthening transformative methods of peacebuilding and reconciliation and justice dispensations mechanism is an important aspect. In so doing it recognizes the culture and social structures that define these communities. This research noted that there is urgent need for a bottom-up approach to societal needs where the church makes use of existing cultural values and structures to reduce conflicts and engender peace.

Relook the enculturation. Enculturation as a term designating the process by which the Gospel takes root in local values, discovering and using their richness, as well as purifying their deficiencies - has its clear mandate in Vatican II. There are many links between the message of salvation and culture... The Church has existed throughout the centuries in varying circumstances and has utilized the resources of different cultures in its preaching to spread and explain the message of Christ... Faithfulness to its own tradition and at the same time conscious of its universal mission, (it) can enter into communion with different forms of culture, thereby enriching both itself and the cultures themselves.

Inculturation, therefore, enriches the Church; for she uses, “in her preaching the discoveries of different cultures to spread and explain the message of Christ to all nations, to probe it and more deeply understand it, and to give it better expression in liturgical celebrations and in the life of the diversified community of the faithful. Therefore, by relooking and utilizing inculturation in relation to peacebuilding and reconciliation, the church must enter into dialogue with African indigenous methods of peacebuilding and reconciliation.

Inter-community and inter-religious dialogue should be facilitated. The various efforts in the country trying to build a culture of community reconciliation and peaceful existence should be recognized and encouraged. Peace meetings, exposure tours and exchange visits are some of the ways to achieve this objective. Grassroots partnerships that are better placed to bring on board a broad and representative participation especially youths and women, whose potential in prevention of conflicts remain untapped. This latter aspect stresses the importance of gender and gender mainstreaming in conflict management. The study recommends the following studies; NGOs approaches to peacebuilding and conflict resolution in Kenya after 2008-2013 post conflict period. Roles of militia gangs in recurrence of ethnic conflicts in Kenya.

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