

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION.

A CASE STUDY OF MOLO DISTRICT, NAKURU COUNTY

BY

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## DECLARATION

I, Kamau Mwangi, declare and ascertain that this Dissertation is entirely my work and has never been presented to any university or institution of learning for any award whatsoever.

Signature:  .....

Date: 13/09/2011 .....

## APPROVAL

This research thesis has been submitted with my approval as the student's supervisor

Signature:  .....

Date: 13/09/2011 .....

## DEDICATION

This academic research work is dedicated to my wife Wangui Kamau, our daughters Njoki Kamau, Njeri Kamau and Kenia Kamau.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to my wife Wangui Kamau, for enduring and staying behind with our daughters while I'm away in Kampala. She prayed for me and I'm deeply grateful that she encouraged me as we struggled with University fees and this academic research summarizes why she and God went to all that work.

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I'm above all, most grateful to the Lord for the opportunity, strength, provision of finances and ability throughout the course period.

## ABBREVIATIONS

FGD	Focus Group Discussions
ICDC:	Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KNTC:	Kenya National Trading Corporation
NGO's	Non- Governmental Organizations

## DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

### **Early warning indicators:**

Early warning indicators are the act of alerting a competent authority about the threat of new (or renewed) conflict sufficiently in advance for preventive action to be taken.

### **Conflict Prevention:**

This is a strategy applied in conflict formation where there are signs and symptoms of a conflict.

### **Conflict Resolution:**

Conflict resolution can be defined as the situation where two parties of divergent views result to sharp disagreement

### **Reconciliation:**

As a social phenomenon, which represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet with hope of bringing back peace and correction of wrong in the society for stability and prevention of similar occurrences in the future.

### **Ethnic Conflict:**

This refers to a conflict as a result of identity of a particular tribe regarding themselves as indifferent from others

**Ethnicity:** This is related to fact of belonging to a particular tribe, race and sometimes is used to mean being superior to others.

### **Peace:**

This is a state of harmony, order and justice in society

**Violence:**

This is an act or behavior that is committed with an intention to hurt and individual or a group of people with an intention to hurt or kill

**Reconciliation:**

As a social phenomenon, reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet

**Peacebuilding:**

This is the implementation of measure to consolidate peaceful relations and create an environment which deters the emergence or escalation of tensions which may lead to conflict

**Conflict resolution:**

This is an approach based on mutual problem sharing and problem solving between parties. It addresses the problems associated to structure and seeks to rebuild a new relationship between the hostile groups.

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## ABSTRACT

The study on conflict resolution and reconciliation in Molo District, Nakuru County was guided by main four objectives; first to identify existing gaps in conflict resolution and reconciliation, secondly, strategies communities can employ in reconciling various communities in Molo District, thirdly to establish community leaders ability to predict early warning signs of conflict and fourthly, role of communities in ethnic conflict violence and reconciliation in Molo District.

The researcher employed purposive sampling technique to collect data from various categories of the target population. This enabled the researcher to get respondents with the actual and quality information from target population regarding ethnic conflict in Molo district. 139 respondents were reached through questionnaire. 36 people were interviewed and later engaged in focus group discussion to obtain in-depth understanding regarding the much spoken historical injustices that cause conflict every five years in the last 20 years, failure by the government to hold accountable ethnic leaders who incite their ethnic community blocks for political reasons, massive destruction of property

The researcher therefore recommends that priority should be given to ending the ethnic conflict. The researcher therefore recommends that functioning local conflict resolution mechanisms should be given priority, young people facilitated for income generating activities, simple early warning signs developed and agreed by the community, effective and timely interventions, establishment of village dialogue meetings, national cohesion and integration commission intervention, national land policy to heal historical injustices, issue based politics, systematic and structured learning from the past and political goodwill to resolve historical. Further, the research recommended that the government alter its conflict resolution and peacebuilding strategic focus from one of seeking to deal with symptoms to one of protecting life and maximizing the protection of properties. Such a change in strategy is important while acknowledging that it is a state's legal responsibility to protect communities. This shift in strategy may serve to open the political and social space needed to address negative ethnicity and historical injustices that lie at the root of the ethnic conflict in Molo District.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 Introduction of the study

Conflict resolution can be defined as an approach based on mutual problem sharing and problem solving between parties. It addresses the problems associated to structure and seeks to rebuild a new relationship between the hostile groups. It is necessary to identify the causal factors behind the conflicts and thereby finding the ways to deal with them. Ethnic conflict refers to a conflict as a result of identity of a particular tribe regarding themselves as indifferent from others

Peacebuilding is the implementation of measure to consolidate peaceful relations and create an environment which deters the emergence or escalation of tensions which may lead to conflict and violence is an act or behavior that is committed with an intention to hurt and individual or a group of people with an intention to hurt or kill

In order to prevent ethnic conflict, communities in Molo district must play a central role in finding solution. In this regard, the role of the communities in Molo district must be enhanced to achieve the intended sustainable peace that will stir development in all aspect on people's life in Molo district.

It is worth looking at the process through which ethnic suspicions have been built. Literature on the origin of ethnicity in Africa abounds, often linking it to the colonial system of 'divide and rule'. Within this system, some communities allied themselves to the colonial powers and were rewarded both economically and politically. In Kenya, economic factors have therefore been pivotal in the strengthening of ethnic conflict. Over time, however, political manipulation has been used to gain access to economic privileges. The independent Kenyan government was largely formed from Kenya's two major ethnic groups; the Luo and the Kikuyu. These two ethnic communities comprise the greater part of the overall population. Besides, it is within the geographical area of these two communities that the penetration of capital and socio-economic influence was first noticeable during the colonial period.

The colonial legacy has a lot to offer in the Kenyan ethnic conflict. For example, the British spent much of their time trying to keep the Kikuyu and Luo divided. Were they to unite, the

British feared the colonial order in the country would collapse. As Elkins writes, a Kikuyu-Luo alliance in the 1950s drove the British to release Jomo Kenyatta, an anti-colonial leader and later the country's first president, from a detention camp, which ultimately accelerated the end of formal British colonial power. But the alliance was short-lived, and Britain's "divide-and-rule" tactic was put to use time and again in the colonies. It was effective enough to create the more-or-less hardened ethnic boundaries that are now manipulated by elites, the same elites who had been carefully cultivated by the British to protect their interests in the region once they left.

It is against this historical fact that this academic research is set to find out what role the communities has played or has not played particularly in Molo district in Nakuru County in finding lasting solution to ethnic conflict in the district and make some recommendation that if applied can provide an avenue for community participation in conflict resolution and reconciliation.

### **1.1 Background of the study**

There are three broad trends worth noting about violence in Africa communities. First, contrary to the images of violence and famine that tend to characterize Western imaginations, community violent conflict is quite a rare phenomenon in Africa though borders drawn by colonial powers, between communities today contain substantial ethnic animosity. Second, it is worth noting that since independence there have been very few wars between African states but ethnic conflicts are the most common form of conflict. Third, since the 53 states of Africa are quite varied and diverse, it is important to note that they have produced strikingly different patterns of decolonization, secessionist struggles by minority groups, long-running guerilla insurgencies, coups, urban unrest in sprawling slums, clashes between paramilitary thugs with ties to political parties, simple criminal banditry, coordinated mass-murder by state authorities, and anarchic state failure.

While Kenya has remained fairly stable, violence between different ethnic groups has tended to erupt around elections. Conflict in Molo district is not a one-dimensional ethnic conflict but violence that is based on history, poverty and age. As much as it is a battle between tribes, it is also a battle between generations. Nonetheless, the focus on ethnicity has overlooked some of the most critical factors driving the hostilities. As is often the case in other places in Kenya conflict

in Molo district is over resources and political power. Rift Valley region has experienced land disputes since colonial times, when white farmers took fertile land from Kikuyu and many tribe members moved to the valley after independence. If this violence is really driven by ethnic hatred, why is it that violence breaks out in specific places that are predictable? Ethnicity cannot be divorced from resource allocation. In general, members of the Kikuyu community were perceived as having benefited most from the government in the past. For example during the last general election aggravated bitterness emanated from communities that have felt marginalized politically, socially, and economically. The result was displacement of people and more than a thousand people lost their lives. Literature on the origin of ethnicity in Africa abounds link it to the colonial system of 'divide and rule. Within this system, some communities allied themselves to the colonial powers and were rewarded both economically and politically. This colonial inequality has not been entirely redressed and has occasionally been a source of ethnic conflict.

However, the celebrated Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o has made the important observation that conflict in Kenya does in fact concern two tribes. He says that the tribes are not split along ethnic identity, but between "haves" and "have-nots." This is about people with no access to resources in a country where they can't do anything. A rich person can come by with any amount of money and mobilize youth into what I call 'the army of the unemployed." It is these armies of disenfranchised youth that have been mobilized to set Kenyans against Kenyans. As a result two trends have become noticeable. One is where previously privileged elites have acted defensively, often provoking ethnic violence, to stall the economic and political reform process. The second trend has been the emergence of ethnically based coalitions as a strategy of economic bargaining. In this case ethnic communities have been mobilized to believe there is a conspiracy by others to finish them and should be violently resisted.

### **1.1.1 Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this research study is to establish the role of community in resolving ethnic conflict and reconciliation among different ethnic communities living in Molo district.

1. To establish how unequal distribution of resources (land) leads to ethnic conflict.
2. To identify how negative political development and poor governance enhances ethnic conflict.

### 1.1.2 Objectives of the study

1. To identify the existing gaps in conflict resolution and reconciliation process in Molo district
2. To explore the strategies that the community should employ in conflict resolution and Reconciliation in Molo district.
3. To establish community leaders ability to predict early warning signs of ethnic conflict violence in Molo district
4. The role of different communities in ethnic conflict violence and reconciliation

### 1.1.3 Research Questions

Majority of conflict resolution commentators in Kenya tend to conclusion that the ethnic conflict is as a result of lack of political will from the government and community leaders from the affected areas and the country in general, The Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations clearly points out that there is a “gap between verbal postures and financial and political support for prevention of conflict.” In order to get detailed information the following research questions are important to ask:

1. What are the approaches or strategies used to resolve ethnic conflict and how have they failed to work?
2. Is there misunderstanding of the concept of ethnic conflict in Molo and prevention methods?
3. How can the conflict prevention strategies used be improved for an effective result in preventing more ethnic conflict in Molo district?
4. To what extent has the ethnic conflict affected the people in Molo district?
5. What are the roots causes of the conflict in Molo District?
6. Is there a trust between leaders from different ethnic communities? If so (not), why?
7. What can the ordinary people do to prevent possible conflict violence in Molo District?

## 1.2 Problem Statement

After the re-introduction of political pluralism in Kenya, and with the first multi-party election in 1992, profound changes in the socio-economic structures of society changed. The struggle for political liberalization, led by local elites, lawyers, university lecturers and local entrepreneurs. Regionalism (majimbo) were seen as the hope in order to check the political and economic domination of smaller ethnic communities by the more numerically stronger and more economically entrenched communities. The consequence of this development has been the heightening of ethnic tensions and suspicions and in most cases resulting into violence especially in Rift valley region.

Political leadership suggested that political were championed by foreigners to undermine Kenyan political sovereignty. In the long run a wave of ethnic hostilities and killings flared up in 1992 causing displacement for many people. In the context of this changing political process, Ethnic conflict took centre stage contributed by negative ethnicity. As evidence from elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, most ethnic conflicts flares up during a period of political changes and this can be said to be the beginning of conflict in Molo district and known today. Political changes involve not only conflicting ideas but also a struggle over resources and power. The struggle for resources is often manifested at the community level through tensions between different communities with various interests over resources and influence over resources available. As Lehman (1912) puts it, the economic liberalization in Kenya has led to a dispute between Kikuyu and Karenjin, which has contributed to the collapse of enterprises owned by members of Kikuyu ethnicity. In 1990, there emerged growing dissent and a mobilized opposition to the political leadership and the way resources were being allocated selectively. The ethnic conflicts which occurred during this period were of a political nature and resulted in 'ethnic cleansing' in some parts of the country of which Molo district was heavily affected. It's worth noting that certain ethnic communities have for long time enjoyed state protection and political patronage. This patronage developed into high levels of impunity eventually causing ethnic conflict with some communities being facilitated to fight others over land. Such ethnic factors formed a contested terrain for conflict in the present set up in Molo district and to al larger extent neighboring districts.

Molo district is a high productive area and endowed with good environment and without peaceful co-existence development cannot take place in Molo thus contributing to high levels of poverty. Community owned programmes facilitated by the government and other stakeholders should be put in place. Local community leaders should be involved in peacebuilding initiatives and the youth should be facilitated to ensure they are not easy target for mobilization by the political elite to cause conflict. Further, it is important for the land issue in Molo to be addressed and policy put in place to help solve ethnic conflict caused by historical land problem.

This research project is set to find out the gaps that members from different communities on the level of involvement in conflict resolution in Molo district and their limitation and what they think is the role of the government in finding lasting solution to the ethnic conflict in the district. The research also seeks to find out on what they think should be their role in resolving ethnic conflict for a peaceful district.

### **1.2.1 Scope of the study**

The research was carried out in Molo district north west of Nakuru County and about 100 km and 370 km from Nairobi the capital city of Kenya. Specifically the researcher limited his study in Molo, Elburgon and Turi divisions all of Molo district. All of these divisions are far removed from Molo town apart from Molo division which covers Molo town and its environs. Further, the study basically focused on the ethnic conflict and possible causes of the conflict, strategies that can be employed in the future as well as the role of different ethnic communities. Molo is along the Mau Forest which runs on the Mau Escarpment. It is one of the areas with fertile land for agriculture. The research study was intended to cover ethnic conflict in Molo district since 1991 when it's first erupted up to date.

### **1.2.2 Significance of the study**

The proposed study is relevant for conflict resolution and reconciliation process in Molo District. The current approach to peace and the efforts made regarding the tension between members of

different communities cannot be viewed in isolation. The issue of conflict resolution and healing and reconciliation cannot be pushed to the periphery for the political leaders to deal with. Reconciliation and healing process needs to speak directly to the crisis regarding displaced persons and the community participation and peaceful coexistence. However, I believe that the topic of this study does possess intrinsic value. The partnership between communities, their leaders and the government as well as other stakeholders is of great value. Instrumentally this study contributes to furthering the aims of peace, justice and reconciliation. This study is valuable in that it is based on the principle of human and civic right of settling in any part of the country through the legal means.

### **1.2.3 Conceptual perspective**

Throughout most of classical and modern history, conflict had been regarded as inherent in human nature, while at the same time based upon rational choice and pursuit of interests. The study of conflict as a distinct discipline per se arose out of the First World War. Over the past 85 years there have emerged literally thousands of research institutes, non-governmental organizations, university courses and web sites that focus upon conflict prevention and resolution over a range of issues and on many different levels of analysis. These recent developments, however, reflect still unresolved classical debates, including the inherent nature of man, the structural nature of violence, and the pursuit of power as a dominant determinant of conflict.

The interpretation of and contexts in which conflict took place also changed. Traditionally, conflict predominantly concerned inter-state behavior, and domestic or family conflict was relegated to the category of aberrant or even immoral behavior. With amongst other theoretical constructs, human needs theory and subsequently the World Society paradigm suggested that all conflict had basic patterns and characteristics. Conflict has to be understood as potentially endemic in all systems, and prevention or resolution of conflict at one level may suggest conflict resolution or prevention solutions at other levels. The literature points to six broad sources of conflict. These are applicable to conflict sources at the personal, institutional, intra-state and inter-state level (Kumar 2004): [i] deep-rooted conflict, reflecting long-held feelings of alienation [ii] power inequalities and asymmetries that range from perceived gender, religious and racial inequality to economic asymmetries [iii] ethnicity which can reflect power inequalities

as well as alternatives to failing states [iv] interpersonal and psychological dimensions of conflict that reflect the consequences of perceptions and misperceptions [v] structural sources of conflict that reflect the effects of institutional and organizational behavior and [vi] future multi-centrism that may well lead to conflict based upon fragmentation of interests and authority.

General conclusions from all these could be drawn as follows:

- Poor economic conditions are the most important long-term causes of conflicts today;
- Repressive political systems are also war-prone, especially in periods of transition;
- Ethnic diversity alone is not a cause of conflict violence, but parties to a conflict are often defined by their ethnic identities.

#### **1.2.4 Historical perspective of the study**

After independence, minority ethnicities feared that if the Kikuyu and Luo dominated the political scene, this domination would be entrenched in the economic sphere. A coalition of these minority ethnicities formed a political party KADU, to oversee the economic interests and check domination by KANU, The Luo-Kikuyu alliance party that had formed the first independent government. KADU consisted largely of members of ethnic communities who had been bypassed by the colonial economy and therefore tended to be less educated, less urbanized and less politically mobilized. From the beginning, KANU, under Kenyatta, established itself as a patron-client party. Using the promise of carrots and sticks – most notably the promise of cabinet posts for KADU leaders – Kenyatta managed to merge KANU and KADU in 1964 (Barkan 1994; Throup 1987). Consequently the Deputy Chairman of KADU, Daniel Moi, was made the vice President of KANU and Kenya in 1966. This effectively eliminated any tangible opposition to Kenyatta's rule. After eliminating political opposition, Kenyatta set out to address some problems which he thought were crucial in post-independence Kenya; that is land and the Africanization of the civil service. He addressed the land issue by settling a large number of people from his ethnic community, the Kikuyu, on farms purchased from white settlers. Though some of the farms were in areas previously occupied by the Kikuyu, those in the Rift Valley

were in areas historically occupied by the Maasai. Hence large numbers of Kikuyu migrated into Rift Valley, threatening the economic interests of non-Kikuyu ethnicities who were initially allied to KADU (Barkan 1994). It should also be noted that it is not only the Kikuyu who lost land during the colonial period. But when it came to resettlement, the other communities especially the Maasai, never got back their land. The resettlement of the Kikuyu ethnicity was also carried on in the Coastal Region of Kenya, where they were given the economically lucrative 'Ten-mile-strip' of land formerly occupied by the Sultan of Zanzibar. Kenyatta's land resettlement policy, therefore, sowed the seeds for later ethnic conflict between the Kikuyu and other communities (Daily Nation 26 May 1993).

When it came to the Africanization of the civil service, ethnic inclinations were also manifested. For example, ICDC and KNCTC were set up to provide credit and to support emerging entrepreneurs. Much of the demand for these services came from and was extended to the Kikuyu, reinforced by the fact that these bodies were controlled by Kikuyu appointees (LEYS 1974). Besides, Kenyatta enabled members of his ethnic community to take advantage of opportunities in the private sector. Elite Kikuyu members were allowed to be partners in joint ventures and appointed to boards of directors or to management positions or were allowed to receive commissions from newly launched enterprises (Hyden 1994). Hence Kenyatta promoted the interest of his Kikuyu people while retaining a loose alliance with patrons from other ethnic groups (Hyden 1994).

The colonial legacy has a lot to offer in the Kenyan conflict. The ethnic conflict and its attendant grievances are colonial phenomena. For example, the British spent much of their time trying to keep the Kikuyu and Luo divided. Were they to unite, the British feared the colonial order in the country would collapse. As Elkins writes, a Kikuyu-Luo alliance in the 1950s drove the British to release Jomo Kenyatta, an anti-colonial leader and later the country's first president, from a detention camp, which ultimately accelerated the end of formal British colonial power. But the alliance was short-lived, and Britain's "divide-and-rule" tactic was put to use time and again in the colonies. It was effective enough to create the more-or-less hardened ethnic boundaries that are now manipulated by elites, the same elites who had been carefully cultivated by the British to protect their interests in the region once they left. These elites took control of the legal systems the British left behind, which, Elkin writes, "facilitated tyranny, oppression, and poverty rather

than open and accountable government. However, the celebrated Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o has made the important observation that conflict in Kenya does in fact concern two tribes. He further alludes to the fact that the tribes are not split along ethnic identity, but between "haves" and "have-nots." It is important to note that there are other factors: Kenya is a very poor country whose more serious troubles concern low wages, unemployment, structural poverty, lack of social security, poorly funded health and education system and lack of access to land and other resources. It is no wonder that the structural poverty imposed on Africa throughout history has created an underclass of young people who have no hope and no future. Even with an education, economic opportunities are scarce. What this is about is people with no access to resources in a country where they can't do anything. A rich person can come by with any amount of money and mobilize them in to what I call 'the army of the unemployed.'" It is these armies of disenfranchised youth that have been mobilized to set Kenyan against Kenyan.

In Kenya, the period of economic reforms and political liberalization has occasioned a realignment of both economic and political forces in society. In most cases groups who had a monopoly of political power have lost it, together with the economic largesse that this power provided them as individuals. The two trends have become noticeable consequently. One is where previously privileged elites have acted defensively, often provoking ethnic violence, to stall the economic and political reform process. The second trend has been the emergence of ethnically based coalitions as a strategy of economic bargaining. The present manifestation of ethnicity in Kenya does emerge to be a phenomenon where one community's elites feel excluded by other ethnic communities from the control of economy and political power. They then indoctrinate members of their ethnicity to believe that this is a conspiracy by a whole community against another, which should violently resisted.

The domination of Kikuyu economic and political interests during Kenyatta rule fell back on his primary lifelong agenda: tending to the needs of his basic community the Agikuyu. By 1978, he had secured for them the state government, a vast homeland in the Rift Valley and along the Kenyan Coast, had put commerce in their hands, in appropriate alliance with the Asian and European bourgeoisies, and had underwritten their security by manning the police, the military, intelligence and brutalizing apparatuses like the general service unit. (Atieno-Odhiambo 1996) It

is on these lands in Rift Valley and the coastal Region that serious ethnic conflict are taking place over the control of economic extraction from the land.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on literature related to different ethnic conflict resolution model in the efforts of trying to analyze the ethnic conflict in Molo district. The review also labored to find out the role of political interest as a catalyzed of ethnic conflict. The chapter also explored dynamics of ethnic conflict, the disregard of traditional prevention approaches to ethnic conflict and community reconciliation dilemma. Related studies were reviewed in line with study objectives.

#### 2.2 Dynamics of ethnic conflict

In the area of ethnic conflict there is an adequate body of literature. Ruti Teitel provides causes of ethnic conflict as being fanned by political interest to control power and historical injustices committed. Teitel suggests that weak and disempowered institutions, culture of impunity largely a product of political conditions. The legacy of these conditions is embodied in modern human desire to control others and resources to amass wealth without regard to the law. Teitel finds that the model of current ethnic conflict in many societies associated with contemporary conflict causes today. Teitel associates ethnic conflict with a wave of accelerated democratization; she terms this conflict as conflict of identity'. Teitel argues that this ethnic conflict saw the development of the "in group" and the "out group" with the latter trying to break the structure of inequality as the former responds by building barriers to ensure the continuation of its privileged position.

The current situation of ethnic conflict has become the norm rather than the exception. This is characterized by globalization, political instability, fragmentation of land in society, and perpetual conflict. Teitel suggests that this current situation is marked by a notion of ethnic created borders that reflects marginalization of others. However, Ruti Teitel fails to discuss and show the historical factors that contribute to these kinds of ethnic conflicts. Her focus lean more on political and transition of society without considering the fact that each ethnic community

especially in Africa have what can be regarded as traditional land. However, I agree with Teitel that the fragmentation of the land today has also played a part in fueling ethnic conflict

On the other hand, Crocker provides a helpful discussion in this regard. Crocker suggests at least eight aims of ethnic conflict in away trying to show the cause of these conflict; disclosure of the truth, provision of a public platform for communities to tell their stories, a sense of accountability and punishment, (re)establishment of the rule of law, compensation to victims of ethnic conflict, institutional reform and long term development, reconciliation, and the promotion of public deliberation “about what happened, who was responsible, and how society should respond in the future” While all these aims share equal importance, Crocker does argue that public deliberation should take high priority. He describes it as a “metaprinciple relevant to the choice, specification and implementation of each of the other aims”. For Crocker each of the other aims requires public deliberation in order to assert some form of legitimacy. While Crocker goes on to suggest the truth commission as a way out in order to address these aims. Crocker seems to introduce an avenue to address historical issues through truth commission.

However, I fault him in the sense that as much as public deliberation may be the main thing to address the problem of ethnic conflicts, I tend to think communities giving their story and being heard as the most important thing. The challenge here is that Molo district communities have never been given a platform to tell their story meaning nobody has ever been keen to listen to them. Truth commission is not an answer to where there is a grave failure to hold accountable those responsible for mobilizing their ethnic communities to fight others and Crocker never attempted to address the issue of what can be done to those responsible, while it is obvious truth commissions are based not only analyzing what has happened but also actions taken to those who may be found guilty. This is the practice world over. Crocker also fails to show other possible factors that are likely to contribute to high unemployment rate among the youth, and high gap between the rich and the poor.

### **2.3 Traditional prevention approaches to ethnic conflict**

There is not much available information that deals with traditional approaches to prevent ethnic conflict in most part of rift valley. This is largely due to the generational change and tendency to fall more modern methods of conflict resolution and reconciliation thus regarding traditional approaches irrelevant to ethnic conflict. While this research will not undertake an anthropological analysis of various community norms of ethnic prevention and justice due to the fact that Molo district is more of a cosmopolitan district thus posing a challenge to embracing one ethnic community traditional approach.

There are profound differences in terms of practices across ethnic communities and clans with only few general principles and beliefs shared among them. For example the process mediation of truth; acknowledgment of wrong doing; and reconciliation differ and made more complex by involvement of political leaders. However, over the years various interventions have been made to bridge the gap between various ethnic communities but no positive result that communities knows about. Indeed, elders from one community coming together is trashed by other communities is not being inclusive with ill motive. Government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been making deliberate efforts in holding workshops with elders in communities in Molo district with view of resolving issues and bringing about a spirit of reconciliation.

### **2.4 Community Reconciliation**

The origins and founding principles of reconciliation are outlined in the work of Kathy Daly, Herman and Tarmar and McCold to name a few.

Herman and Tarmar offer conceptual clarification of the fundamentals. They note the fluid and dynamic nature of the concept of reconciliation among ethnic communities; they argue that its strength resides in “its responsiveness to the needs of the people and willing of other stakeholders to participate to the equation. Herman and Tarmar working definitions differs from other versions of reconciliation in that theirs is decidedly community oriented, while other definitions favour a more international agreed definition which locates the state and other stakeholders as promoters of reconciliation with communities doing the following. Herman and Tarmar follow definition offered by Tony Marchal; “a process whereby all parties with a stake in

a particular issue come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the implications of the future. While this definition is comprehensive, Herman and Tarmar do suggest that it needs to be coupled with a focus on the “elements of truth”. They go on to outline these elemental features and in so doing bring much clarity to the slippery concept of conflict resolution and reconciliation

The main contention seems to be whether or not to require face-to-face meetings of all communities in the local setting or state should play the centre role. According to McCold fully reconciliation practices occur with accepting the responsibility and communities care and willingness to reconcile. On this definition truth commissions and mediations fall into this category.

Daly’s argues reconciliation uses indigenous justice practices and was the dominant from pre-modern reconciliation. Advocates of this line of reasoning tend to follow through their claims with the call to recover lost indigenous practices of conflict resolution and reconciliation. While a historical appraisal of the development of different conflict resolution and reconciliation practices is helpful, care must be taken so as not to group together all forms of pre-modern conflict resolution and reconciliation and in so doing homogenise cultural diversity.

In all the literature available for conflict, the authors are avoiding the issue of conflict resolution and there is no provision for what should be done. Further, Herman and Tarmar as well as Kathy Daly, the approach is different but I tend to think the dichotomy comes in due to much exposure to ethnic conflict in African communities. The challenge for them is to put together all ethnic conflict in one basket without distinction.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 Methodology

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter represents a number of methodologies that were used by the researcher in obtaining the required data. It deals with research designs, study population, sample size, sampling design, research instruments, quality control, validity and liability, limitations of the study and finally ethical considerations adapted. Details of these are discussed below.

##### 3.1.2 Research design

The researcher employed quantitative research designs to guide him in having respondents to represent the larger population. The design assisted the researcher in explaining conditions of the present situation and the historical issues contributing to ethnic conflict in Molo district in Nakuru County.

#### 3.2 Study population

The research population was characterized by the respondents of only three divisions of Molo District. Molo division is in town while the rest two are in the rural areas. The choice of these three divisions is to interact with members of all ethnic communities experienced ethnic conflicts since 1991. Molo district has a population of 542,103 (National Bureau of statistics, 2009). This comprises 271,954 males and 270,149 females. The research targeted 250 respondents with questionnaire but 139 respondents cooperated and returned the questionnaire with the stipulated period of time. Six focus group discussions were held with each have six participants. Some of the participants in FGD are the same who got to be interviewed. Of critical importance is to bear in mind that the District is home to people from different ethnic communities and villages targeted are known to the hot spot for ethnic conflict in Molo District.

### **3.2.1 Sample size**

The researcher used purposive sampling techniques to collect data from various categories of the target population. This is because the technique enabled the researcher to get the respondents with the actual and quality information from all sub groups in the survey population that helped him to be successful in his findings (Amin, 2005). This “investigator responsiveness” to broader and specific contextual issues was set to result in “sampling adequacy”, a strategy for good working analysis (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999).

### **3.2.2 Sampling design**

Random sampling technique was used to administer the questionnaire right deep in various villages believed to have been hit most by conflict over the years in the three divisions in Molo District.

## **3.3 Data collection methods**

The researcher employed quantitative method of data collection in this study. (Strass and Corbin, 1990) recons that those who have used quantitative research have obtained satisfactory results and appropriate answers to the central research questions. They argue further that one other advantage of quantitative method is that, it is appropriate when used for uncovering and understanding of any phenomenon about which little is yet known. Indeed in this case, it will be used to uncover issues regarding causes of conflict violence and why it has been so difficult for conflict resolution, healing and reconciliation to come through in Molo District.

Silverman (1993) points to the flexibility of the qualitative method of data collection, this allowed theory questions to be pursued in a highly effective and economic way and particularly reliable when trying to report how “people see certain things”, or “why they behave in certain ways”, an indication that it was appropriate for this kind of study. The researcher was aware of some hindrances in using this kind of data collection method, for example interviewers probing participants using leading questions or sometimes the interview guide being ‘translated’ into

multifaceted questions thus leaving parts of the question unanswered, but measures were put in place to minimize this.

### **3.3 Research instruments**

The researcher used various tools to collect the needed data and this includes questionnaire, interviews, and focus group discussions. Each of these is explained in details below:

#### **3.4.1 Questionnaires**

The researcher both closed ended and open ended questions were used in order to facilitate data gathering. Some questions had both closed ended with and also providing an opportunity for explanation and thus becoming open ended at the same time. The researcher decided to adopt this type of questionnaires even though they are difficult to analyze but on the other hand it is possible to measure the first part with detailed explanation in the explanation part. They also permit a greater depth of response and are simpler to formulate.

#### **3.4.2 Interviews**

Interviews were conducted particularly for community leaders and some administrators. This was used because the research was considered sensitive and concerning security matters and therefore highly delicate in nature. Face-to-face interviews were further considered appropriate because of their flexibility. Not only can questions be adapted to, but also the respondent feels motivated (Argyris, 1968). Also this kind of interview was considered useful because it is possible to show identification of one conducting the interviews.

#### **3.4.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

The researcher sought to use focus group discussion (FGD) and six groups of five to six people participated. In this case the researcher was able to capture knowledge, attitudes towards ethnic conflict in Molo district. Focus group discussion was based on the life since 1991 when ethnic conflict violence. On the other hand, focus group discussion was designed to elicit information

on psychological suffering, economical and family loss due to conflict. Further focus group discussion allows the researcher to record first hand statements from the respondents. The researcher also would not have managed to get any information from leaders without engaging them.

#### **1.4 Interview guide**

The researcher used interview guide to ask questions or comments intended to lead the respondents towards giving deeper information to meet the study objectives. The notes were taken by the research assistant while the research engaged the respondents with keen interest to observe the respondents gestures and an attempt to interpret their meaning. Participants were well versed with issues since they were part of focus group discussions.

#### **1.5 Quality control**

In order to ensure quality research results, a simple questionnaire was designed. Further for the researcher to understand some of historical issues, interviews and Focus group discussions was used and also to clarify issues as raised by respondents in the questionnaire. The researcher collected the data from the source and therefore authenticity of the information

#### **1.6 Validity and Reliability**

The Validity and reliability of the questionnaires was improved through pre-testing of pilot samples selected for this study. In as far as validity of the research instrument is concerned, the researcher developed the questionnaire and there after gave it to a group of religious leaders and opinion leaders who have live in Molo district for more than 20 years to first peruse through before taking any further step. These leaders were requested to evaluate the construct of the researcher's questionnaire on matters pertaining conflict resolution and reconciliation as a result of ethnic conflict experienced in Molo district. The validity of the construct was okayed q immediately the researcher went in the field to gather. Reliability was investigated via the use of pre-testing method as if the same test will be given to the same people after a period of time.

Then the researcher obtained the same results on the two administrations of the same questionnaire, the researcher then became convinced that the instruments used were reliable.

### **1.7 Limitations of the study**

1. The research topic is sensitive especially life has been lost in the last twenty years since the first ethnic conflict in Molo district and much of it in the confines of informal realm and government secrets. In this case the respondents at the beginning were cautious and treated the research with suspicion. However, secrets are the currency of sensitive information exchange, and confidence is its goodwill. To overcome this problem therefore, requires patience, building rapport, and mutual trust. In pursuit of the objective of this research, it was necessary to acknowledge their cooperation but to name them would be to debase both the currency and the goodwill.
2. Time factor was both an advantage as well as a constraint in this study. It becomes a constraint in the sense that although a period of twenty years (1991-2011) appears sufficient enough to interrogate the ethnic conflict discourse in Molo district, a lot of information and historical facts has either changed (both in form and substance) over time, or as likely, hidden, or has largely been forgotten. In order to overcome this problem and in order therefore to understand the conflict, an understanding of the genesis of this rather complex and disturbing phenomenon was essential. Luckily enough, this genesis can be retrieved. Although some individuals who would have provided useful insight have since died, there a few who though young can remember the history of ethnic conflict in Molo district.
3. Limitations concerning methodological procedures such as translation and language problems during data collection were dealt with professionally by a team of research assistants on the ground. Interviewee's lack of self disclosure and other non-cooperative tendencies were overcome matching ethnic identities of interviewers with those of respondents. In order to guard against any possible bias during data collection, coding and analysis, special attention was paid to coherence between data analytical procedures

and claims made in conclusions. The data collected was split into 'spoilt' and 'un-spoilt', consequently the researcher worked with the latter.

4. Just like in any social research project, practical considerations were a major constraint. Research requires time, money and personnel. Constraints that had been foreseen such as logistical problems were overcome by strict discipline and adherence to the set schedules and budget. No financial difficulties were experienced and the research was able to manage with the small budget from his own income
5. In cognizance of the fact that Kenya this year is preparing for election next year, the researcher noted some hesitation with some respondents questioning the timing of the research and especially now that some suspect believed to bear greatest responsibility are in the international Criminal Court and some hail from the rift valley of which Molo district is located. This was overcome by assuring respondents the research has nothing to do with neither government nor any other stakeholder and emphasizing the research is academic research and not for any other purpose.

### **3.8 Ethical consideration**

"Secrecy is the currency of research exchange. Confidence is its goodwill" (Gavshon 1981). Information gathered in this research remains confidential and abide by the three major areas of ethical concern; ethics of data collection and analysis, treatment of human subjects, and the ethics of responsibility to society (Reese and Fremouw 1984). For instance the principle of voluntary participation requires that people not to be coerced into participating in research was adhered to where by participants were induced to participate into the study willingly and enthusiastically without necessarily be forced by the researcher. Informed consent- This means each participant interviewed was fully informed about the purpose of the research. Confidentiality- The researcher made sure that information obtained from the respondents is kept secretly and this was even guaranteed by not allowing them to show their identity on the filled questionnaires.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

### 4.0 Introduction

In this study, information was analyzed and described according to respondents' gender, age, marital status, respondents born in Molo district, period of stay in Molo, community leaders reconciliation efforts, category of most affected by conflict in Molo, community leaders ability to predict conflict, property destruction in Molo during conflict, causes of conflict, community role in conflict resolution and reconciliation, government role in reconciliation and healing, government specific role in reconciliation and healing, land as a cause of conflict, community chance to reconcile, strategies communities can employ to resolve conflict, reasons of occurrence of conflict after five years, ethnic differences and finally political leaders blame on conflict in Molo district. The researcher employed a questionnaire with both closed ended and open ended questions. The information was analyzed by frequencies to capture number of both male and female responses and percentage distributions as summarized in all tables below;

### 4.1 Demographic information

Table 1

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Male	92	66.2	66.2	66.2
Female	47	33.8	33.8	100.0
Total	139	100.0	100.0	

Source: field data April 2011

#### 4.1.1 Demographic analyzes

Most of the respondents at 66 percent were male while 34 percent of the respondents were female.

The most probable reason for more men than women as respondents to this research subject is due to the fact that men are more open to discuss issues that have political elements and

combative in nature as compared to women. Another formidable reason for having more male responses is women avoid discussions especially if it reminds them about the emotional loss and suffering.

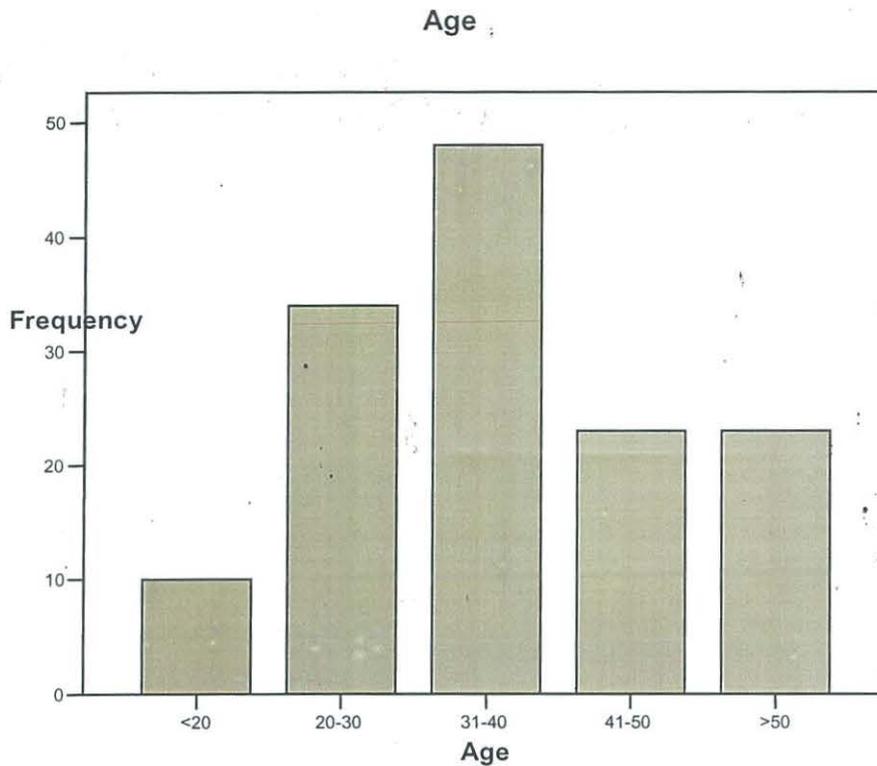
### Respondents age

Table 2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<20	10	7.2	7.2	7.2
	20-30	34	24.5	24.6	31.9
	31-40	48	34.5	34.8	66.7
	41-50	23	16.5	16.7	83.3
	>50	23	16.5	16.7	100.0
	Total	138	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data April 2011

Fig. 2



#### 4.1.2 Respondents age distribution analyzes

Asked about the age, 35 percent of the respondents were between ages 31-40 years while ages 20-30 years were 25 percent. The ages between 41-50 and 50 and above of the respondents were 17 percent in each category respectively, while 7 percent of the respondents were below 20 years.

According to the analysis therefore, majority of the people in Molo district were aged 11 years and below when Molo district started hitting both national and international media as a hot spot for ethnic conflict violence in Rift valley region 20 years now. The fact that 7 percent of respondents were below 20 years is an indicator that this is an army of youth that can easily be mobilized as foot soldiers by ethnic political leaders to achieve their ill intended mission in Molo district. However 7 percent of the respondents did not respond to the question and this may be due to the fact that they never wanted their age to be known since at times is regarded as a taboo.

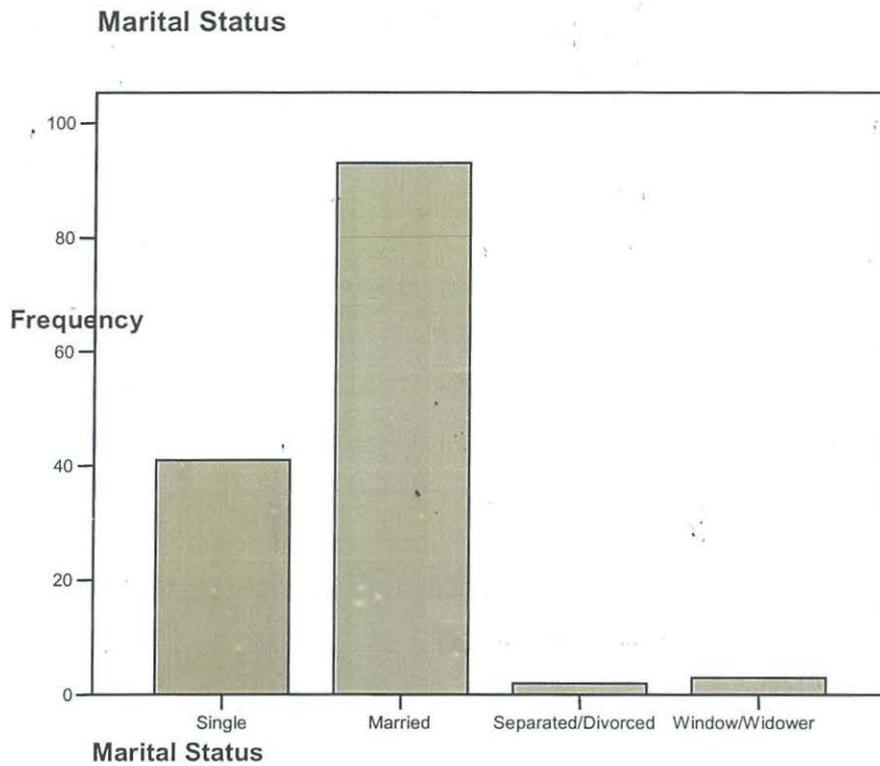
## Respondent marital status

Table 3

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Single	41	29.5	29.5	29.5
Married	93	66.9	66.9	96.4
Separated/divorced	2	1.4	1.4	97.8
Window/widower	3	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	139	100.0	100.0	

Source: field data April 2011

Fig. 3



#### 4.1.3 Marital status

Asked about their marital status, 70 per cent of the respondents stated they are married while 30 per cent said they are single. About 2 per cent of the respondents are widow/widower, while about another 1 per cent stated they have been separated.

The research revealed that most of the respondents are parents of the youth below 20 years and vulnerable to easy mobilization and who may also exhibit violent tendencies due to experiences and environment casting a big challenge to a whole generation. Widow/widower may be those over 50 years and others became windows after losing their spouses to conflict in the last 20 years of ethnic conflict violent in Molo district. Those separated was attributed to among other

reasons married from other ethnic communities viewed as enemies and pressure from members of their ethnic community led them to divorce/separate.

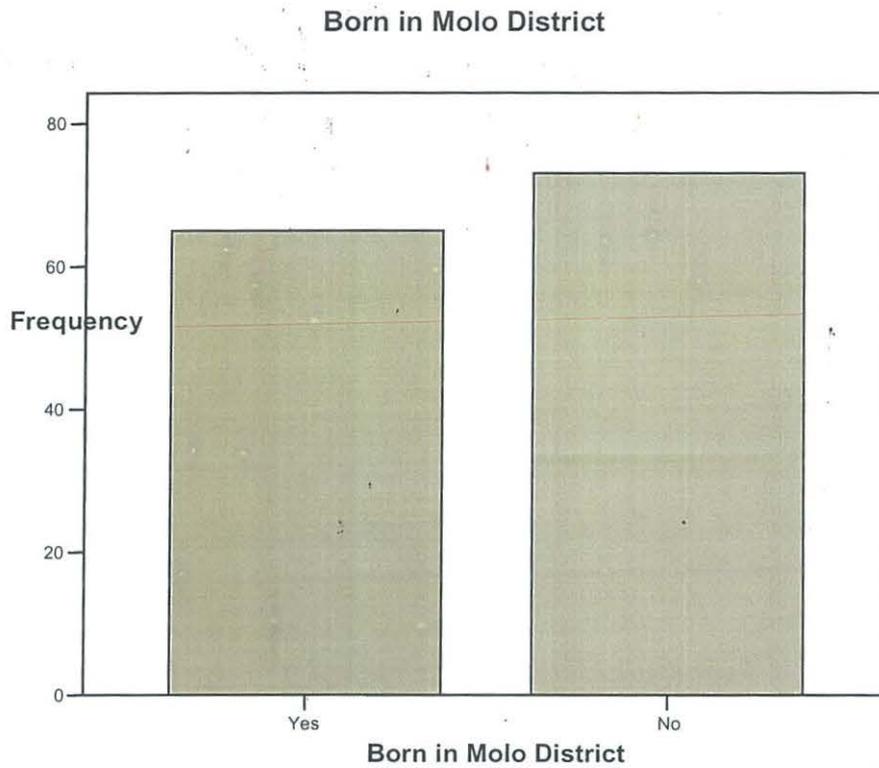
**Respondent born in Molo district**

**Table 4**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	65	46.8	47.1	47.1
	No	73	52.5	52.9	100.0
	Total	138	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data April 2011

Fig. 4



#### 4.1.4 Respondents born in Molo district

Asked about where they were born 47 per cent of the respondents said Molo, while 52 per cent stated were born outside Molo district while 1 per cent of the respondents avoided the question.

Reflecting of the percentage of those born in Molo district, it is possible to conclude those below 25 years old of which is 52 per cent of the respondents relocated to Molo after buying land. It can also be argued that those who were born in Molo are business people or married in Molo district and that is where they call home. Further, they cannot understand the claim about historical injustices related to land

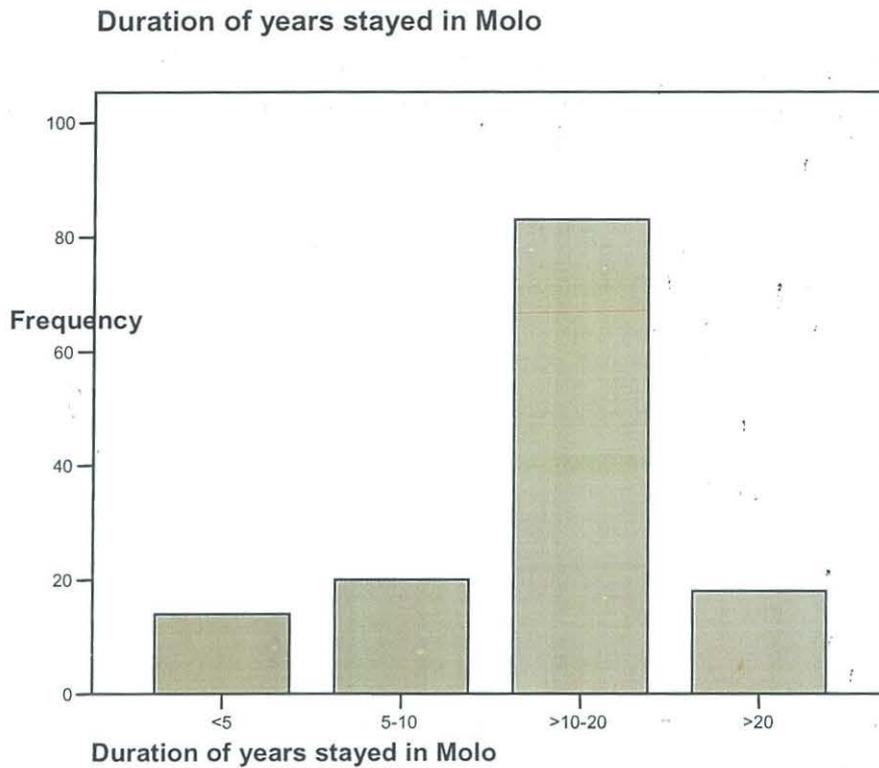
**Period of stay in Molo district**

**Table 5**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<5	14	10.1	10.4	10.4
	5-10	20	14.4	14.8	25.2
	>10-20	83	59.7	61.5	86.7
	>20	18	12.9	13.3	100.0
	Total	135	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	4	2.9		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

Fig. 5



#### *4.1.5 Respondents period lived in Molo*

Most of the respondents at 60 per cent have lived in Molo for 10-20 years while 14 per cent of the respondents have lived in Molo for 5-10 years while 13 per cent of respondents stated having been living in Molo for over 20 years. The rest of the respondents indicated they have lived in Molo for less than 5 years which constituted just 10 per cent of the respondents.

Most of the respondents have lived in Molo district ever since ethnic conflict violent started in 1991 and can easily be concluded they form the 7 percent of those below 20 years of respondents in question two. The respondents whose period of living in Molo is below 10 years probably are married in Molo district, civil servants or doing business.

## 4.2 Community role in reconciliation

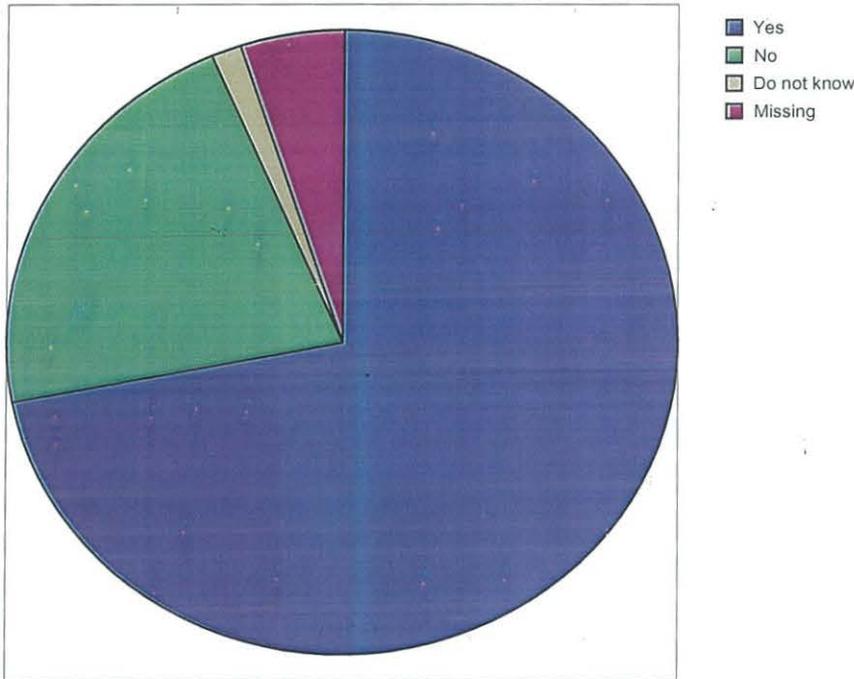
Table 6

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	100	71.9	75.8	75.8
	No	30	21.6	22.7	98.5
	Do not know	2	1.4	1.5	100.0
	Total	132	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	5.0		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data April 2011

Fig. 6

**Community Leaders Reconciliation Effort**



**4.2.1 Reconciliation efforts by community leaders**

Asked whether there are any reconciliation efforts by community leaders, 72 per cent of the respondents said yes while 22 percent of the respondents said no. However, 5 per cent of the respondents avoided the question.

**4.2.2 Are there any reconciliation efforts by community leaders**

Focus group participants revealed there have been efforts for reconciliation by community leaders. However, the participants concerns which are discussed below;

**4.2.3 Political reasons**

Although participants agreed community reconciliation meetings are held, most participants alleged that reconciliation meetings are for political reasons and not necessary for benefiting communities living in Molo district as alleged to be. They registered dissatisfaction with

reconciliation meetings and even the timing of the same and thus differing with 72 per cent of the respondents who had strongly indicated that reconciliation meetings are held.

#### 4.2.4 Local community reconciliation structures

There no organized community structures for reconciliation and dialogue. Reconciliation meetings are mainly spearheaded by the provincial administration and therefore the community representatives in such forums are not heard and when they are heard their issues are either ignored or not taken seriously. However, Elburgon Division have reconciliation meetings held on monthly basis even though the participants stated there is nothing positive from such meeting and no tangible difference with other places within the same district.

#### The most severely affected by Conflict

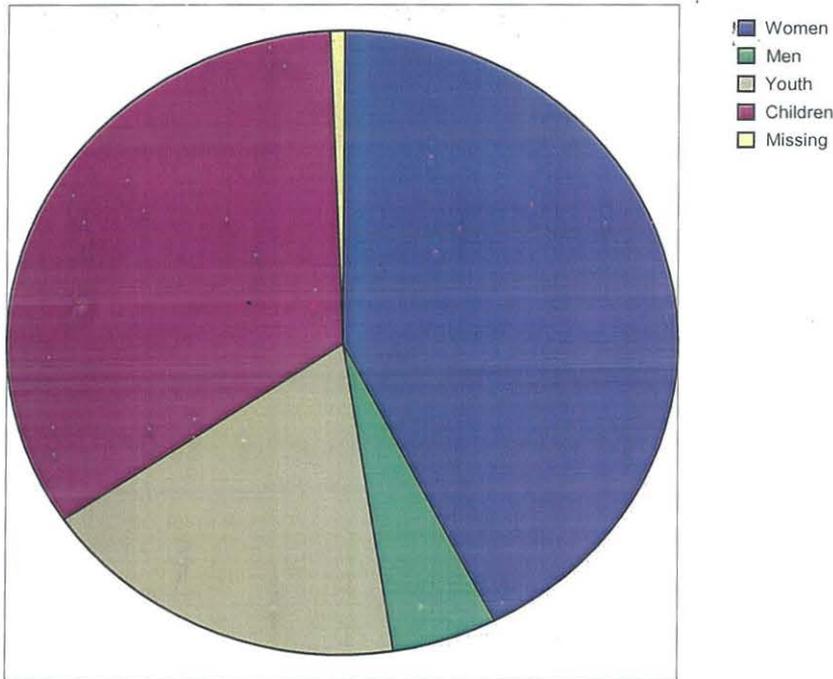
Table 7

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Women	59	42.4	42.8	42.8
	Men	7	5.0	5.1	47.8
	Youth	25	18.0	18.1	65.9
	Children	47	33.8	34.1	100.0
	Total	138	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

Fig. 7

**Most severely affected by conflict in Molo district**



**4.2.5 Category of people most affected by conflict**

About the category of those most affected by conflict, 42 per cent of the respondents stated women, and 34 per cent said children while 18 per cent of the respondents stated that youth are the most affected and about another 5 per cent stated men as the most affected by conflict.

As evidenced in any other part of the world where conflict has happened, women and children suffer more due to their vulnerability in conflict situation. The reporting mechanisms for crimes are disrupted or compromised as law and order agencies are busy with emergencies. At times those supposed to protect the vulnerable people turn to be the prey and therefore ills such as rape cases are more prevalent. Furthermore, women do not live their children behind as men run away from conflict or as they keep surveillance to protect the community and property from destruction. There is constant shortage of food and medicines supply making women and

children suffer almost unrepairable damage. Youths suffer as they fight with other from the opponent and from injuries as law enforcement agencies in running battles because of breaking the law. The most affected during the conflict contract HIV and sexual transmitted infections and some do not survive upon knowing their status later due to shock and psychological torture and in many cases they are women.

### Community leaders' ability to predict conflict

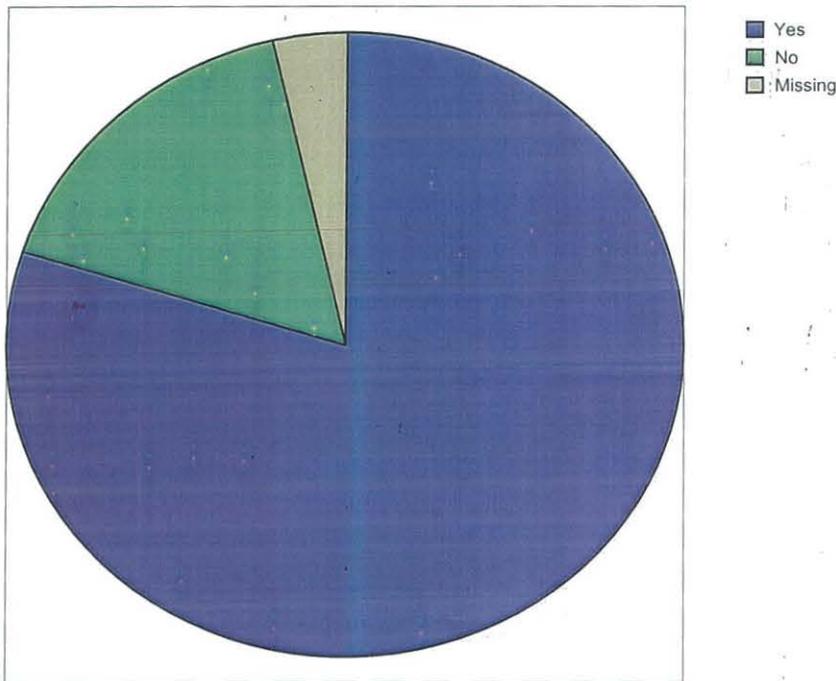
**Table 8**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	111	79.9	82.8	82.8
	No	23	16.5	17.2	100.0
	Total	134	96.4	100.0	
Missing	System	5	3.6		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

Fig. 8

Community leaders ability to predict conflict



#### 4.2.6 Community leaders ability to predict conflict

The research sought to know the ability of the local community leaders to predict conflicts before conflict erupts. However, 80 per cent of the respondents stated that community leaders have the ability while 17 per cent of those who responded stated that community leaders fall short of the capacity to predict conflict before it happens. However, 4 percent of the respondents choose not to answer the question.

With such a high percentage of the respondents stating leaders have the ability, it can be summarized that community local leaders are not involved in conflict resolution initiative and therefore cannot make use of their ability to prevent conflict from happening.

#### ***4.2.7 Community leaders' ability (capacity) to predict early warning signs before eruption of conflict***

Asked about the capacity to predict conflict focus group participants stated local community leaders have the capacity to detect and raise issues with the relevant arm of government. However, the leaders are used by ethnic political leaders as champions of negative ethnicity rendering their capacity irrelevant for community gains.

#### ***4.2.8 Political sycophancy***

The participants strongly stated that most of the local community leaders are well connected politically and therefore have no interest of the communities at heart. To some extent conflict they can be regarded as conflict entrepreneurs and cannot be trusted with their people.

#### ***4.2.9 Negative ethnicity***

The participants shared a common believe that politics based issues and not on which tribe/ethnic community you come from as the way forward. Advocating against the influence of ethnic political euphoria can contribute enormously to leaders playing their role as the pillars of the community regardless of their ethnic background.

### **Outsiders' involvement in property destruction during conflict**

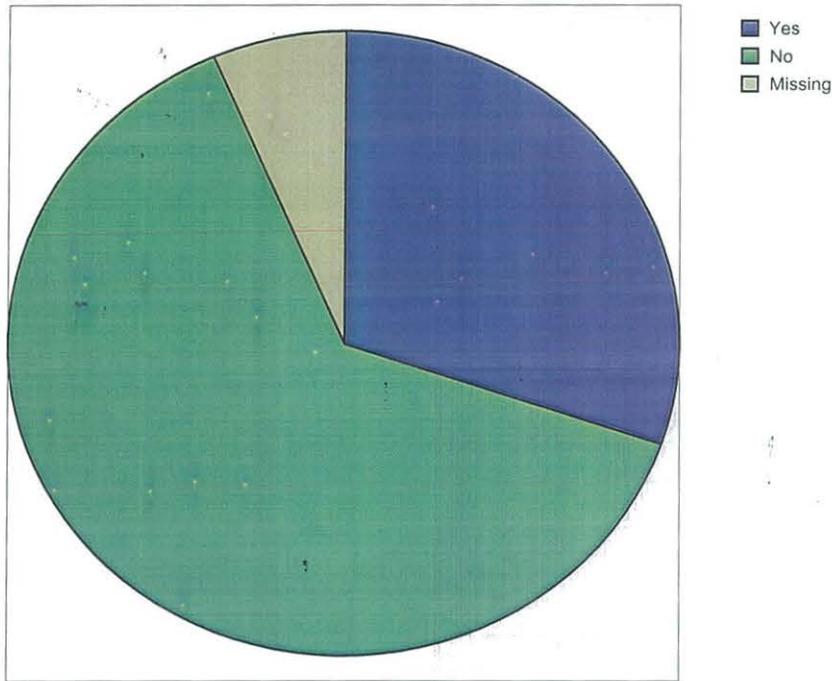
**Table 9**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	42	30.2	32.3	32.3
	No	88	63.3	67.7	100.0
	Total	130	93.5	100.0	
Missing	System	9	6.5		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

Fig. 9

**Outsiders' involvement in property destruction during conflict Molo District**



**4.2.10 Destruction of properties during conflict**

In the last 20 years, it is testified that during the violent conflict there is destruction of properties. The research sought to know whether the culprit are from within Molo or outside, 63 per cent of respondents stated the “destroyers” come from within while 30 per cent said that those who destroy properties come from outside Molo District. However 7 per cent of the respondents avoided the question. The fact that most of the respondents stated properties are destroyed by people from within is enough to link the conflict with other factors that influence people to specifically destroy properties of certain communities.

In this research finding, it is evident that properties are destroyed by local people mainly the youth after they have been mobilized, given money and properly armed by their ethnic political

leaders to displace members of certain ethnic communities. This is largely viewed as a strategy to cripple those communities economically, scuttle votes so that they do not participate in voting thus gaining more votes and have their owns becoming either member of parliament or civic leaders. Nobody not even the government has ever come out to say fund them, who arms them and the source the arms.

#### 4.3 Causes of conflict and Reconciliation

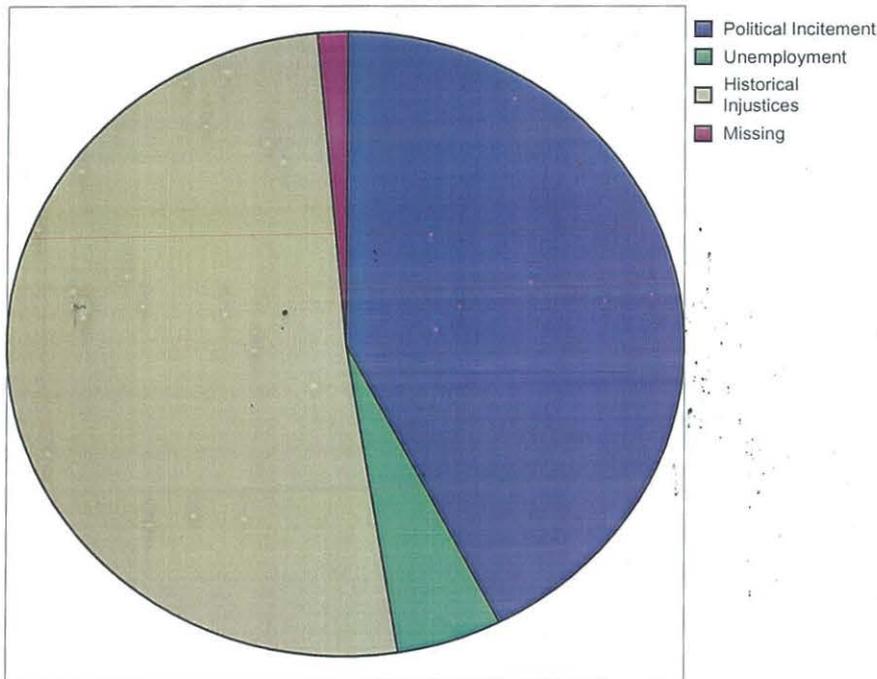
Table 10

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Political incitement	59	42.4	43.1	43.1
	Unemployment	7	5.0	5.1	48.2
	Historical injustices	71	51.1	51.8	100.0
	Total	137	98.6	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.4		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data 2011

Fig. 10

### Major Causes of Conflict in Molo District



#### 4.3.1 The causes of conflict in Molo district

When respondents were asked about the causes of conflict in Molo, most respondents at 51 per cent said historical injustices, 42 per cent of the respondents stated political incitement from political leaders. However, a small portion of the respondents stated unemployment at 5 per cent as the cause of conflict. Interestingly 1 percent appears not to have an idea of what causes conflict in Molo.

Over the years most of ethnic conflicts have taken place in specific locations. All of which have long histories of conflict over resources especially land. However, some Districts in the Rift Valley region has experienced land disputes since colonial times, when white farmers took fertile land from Kikuyu community in central Kenya accelerating their relocation to the valley after

independence. Therefore the conflict is not promoted simply by ethnic hatred, but it is provoked by historical injustices over land.

Ethnicity cannot be divorced from resource allocation. In general, members of the Kikuyu community are perceived as having benefited most from the government even before the current regime. For example during the last general election aggravated bitterness in the communities after sense of feeling marginalized politically, socially, and economically. Looking at what has happened in Molo over the years, attacks are directed to property owned by mainly the members of Kikuyu and Kisii communities. It is worth looking at the process through which ethnic suspicions have been built. Literature on the origin of ethnicity in Africa abounds, often linking it to the colonial system of 'divide and rule' (Kitching 1980; Zeleza 1982). Within this system, some communities allied themselves to the colonial powers and were rewarded both economically and politically. Economic factors have therefore been pivotal in the strengthening of ethnicity in Kenya. Over time, however, political manipulation has been used to gain access to economic privileges. The independent Kenyan government was largely formed from Kenya's two major ethnic groups; the Luo and the Kikuyu. These two ethnic communities comprise the greater part of the overall population. Besides, it is within the geographical area of these two communities that the penetration of capital and socio-economic influence was first noticeable during the colonial period. At independence, the two communities thus constituted a population that was more educated urbanized and more politically mobilized. This colonial inequality has not been entirely redressed and has occasionally been a source of ethnic tension and what the respondents refers to as historical injustices. This notion creates interest into doing further research of the entire valley.

## Community role in conflict resolution and reconciliation in Molo district

Table 11

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Cohesion & integration	76	54.7	65.0	65.0
Quality leaders	3	2.2	2.6	67.5
IDP	1	.7	.9	68.4
Civic empowerment	5	3.6	4.3	72.6
Youth Job opportunities	6	4.3	5.1	77.8
Church Involvement	1	.7	.9	78.6
Inter community activities	20	14.4	17.1	95.7
Forgiveness	5	3.6	4.3	100.0
Total	117	84.2	100.0	
Missing System	22	15.8		
Total	139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

### 4.3.2 Community role in conflict resolution and reconciliation

On what role the community should play in conflict resolution and reconciliation, 55 per cent and 14 per cent respectively indicated that cohesion and integration as well as inter community activities as the most important things that the community should be engaged in to resolve

conflict. However, 4 per cent of the respondents stated civic empowerment, youth job creation and forgiveness respectively as core role of the community to realize sustainable peace while 2 per cent of the respondents state that electing quality leaders as a fundamental role of the in resolving conflict and reconciliation among different ethnic communities in Molo district. Resettling the internally displaced persons (IDPs) were stated as a beacon of conflict resolution and reconciliation by less than 1 per cent of the respondents, while another less than 1 per cent of the respondents said church should be at the centre stage of conflict resolution and reconciliation. However, 16 per cent choose not to answer the question.

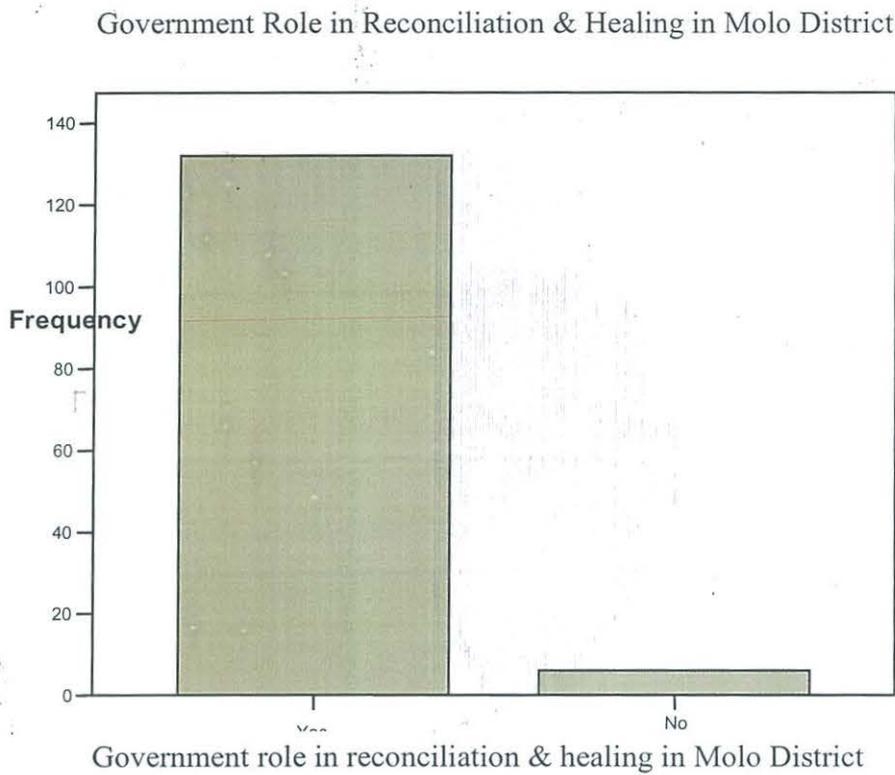
### Government role in reconciliation and healing in Molo District

Table 12

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	132	95.0	95.7	95.7
No	6	4.3	4.3	100.0
Total	138	99.3	100.0	
Missing System	1	.7		
Total	139	100.0		

Source: field data April 2011

Fig. 12



#### 4.3.3 Government role in reconciliation and healing in Molo District

In responding to whether the government has a role in conflict resolution and reconciliation, 95 per cent of the respondents strongly said by the virtue of the fact that government is mandated to by the constitution to protect her people and this includes and not limited to reconciliation of different ethnic communities who may be involved in conflict at various levels. However, 4 per cent of the respondents stated that government has no direct role in reconciliation while about 1 per cent of the respondents avoided the question.

The government role however was questioned posing a dilemma whether truly the government is keen in facilitating and playing her rightful role. The reality that ethnic conflict violent is experienced after every five years generate the question about the implementation of national integration and cohesion policy that guides the reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts at the local level. The volatile mix of insecurity, instability, corrupt political institutions and poverty

and alarming lack of political goodwill to maintain peace, communities have fallen prey to continuous conflict for tow decades. The 4 per cent of the respondents do not have an idea how the government can be involved, they need to realize their leaders (gate keepers) can be equipped and facilitated by the government foster peace initiative in Molo.

#### ***4.3.4 Has the past regime or current played any role in violent conflict in Molo:***

During the focus group discussion, the participants stated that past regime is to blame for the conflict in Molo district and the following issued were brought out to justify the blame.

#### ***4.3.5 Evictions of communities from forest:***

In late 1980's the government developed a policy of removing people from the forest claiming they should not cultivate nor live in forest land. There followed a massive eviction from forest by the government. Coincidentally, majority of those who left the forest were from one ethnic community "Kikuyu" and minority from other ethnic communities "Kalenjin". However, in Molo, the minority finally did not live forest. There being left in the forest was the begging of tribal/ethnic clashes as they were called. Poisoned arrows were imported and transported to the forest and by 1991 there was fierce attack and massive killing using poisoned arrows by people coming from the forest. To prove how past regime contributed, the respondents state there was a birth of a political proverb ("cut one tree replace with two"- which was interpreted to mean remove/evict one Kikuyu bring two Kalenjins"). The same forest was sub-divided to settle those evicted from the forest but interestingly, those who benefited came from other part of the region where the regime had massive political support due to unaccountability by leaders who had wielded power and drunk with it.

The current government has tried only to resettle those who were affected during 2007 ethnic conflict. During the height of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1992 those regarded as champions of reforms are now occupying senior positions in the current regime and are silent and never bothered neither advocating for those displaced for two decades to be resettled. This is betrayal by former champions of change.

## Government specific role in reconciliation and healing in Molo district

Table 13

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Security	43	30.9	33.9	33.9
	Political freedom	1	.7	.8	34.6
	Peace Programmes	47	33.8	37.0	71.7
	Civic Empowerment	20	14.4	15.7	87.4
	Punish inciters	4	2.9	3.1	90.6
	Job opportunities	5	3.6	3.9	94.5
	Economic activities	4	2.9	3.1	97.6
	Good governance	3	2.2	2.4	100.0
	Total	127	91.4	100.0	
Missing	System	12	8.6		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data April 2011

### 4.3.6 Government specific role

Ethnic conflicts in most communities in Kenya just as it is in other part of Africa violently compete for property, rights, jobs, education, language, social exclusion and good health care facilities. With knowledge, 31 per cent of the respondents stated that the government should provide security at all times, it was also stated by .7 per cent of the respondents the government should provide an environment where members of community in Molo enjoy political freedom

regardless of the political party. Another 34 per cent of the respondents said that the government should be in forefront in initiating peace programs for peaceful co-existence. 14 percent stated that civic empowerment programs is another specific role that government should perform. 3 per cent stated that political leaders of incite their ethnic communities should be punished. With burgeoning youth population, 4 percent of the respondents stated job opportunities as another remedy to the conflict in Molo. Enabling government economic policies and good governance was stated by another 3 per cent and 2 per cent as a direct role of government in reconciliation in Molo. Therefore, in critical or difficult political situations, the effectiveness of governance is dependent on government ability to address social issues and human issues.

The respondents said that; “government should prosecute those involved in inciting others to cause conflict. Justice should be seen to be done’

“If the conflict is about land, those who have no land should be given an alternative land”

“Conduct massive civic education to empower and sensitize communities on the benefit of peace and harmony”

“Enforce security and create job opportunities for the youth who are easily mobilized by politicians... for their own political gains”

“Elected leaders need to mobilize all communities for peace coexistence”

**For those respondents who strongly felt that government has no specific role to play in reconciliation stated that;**

“...community should use local mechanisms for reconciliation without waiting for the government to do it for them”

“Community members engage in conflict fully aware of the consequences and should not wait for the government to come calling reconciling them”

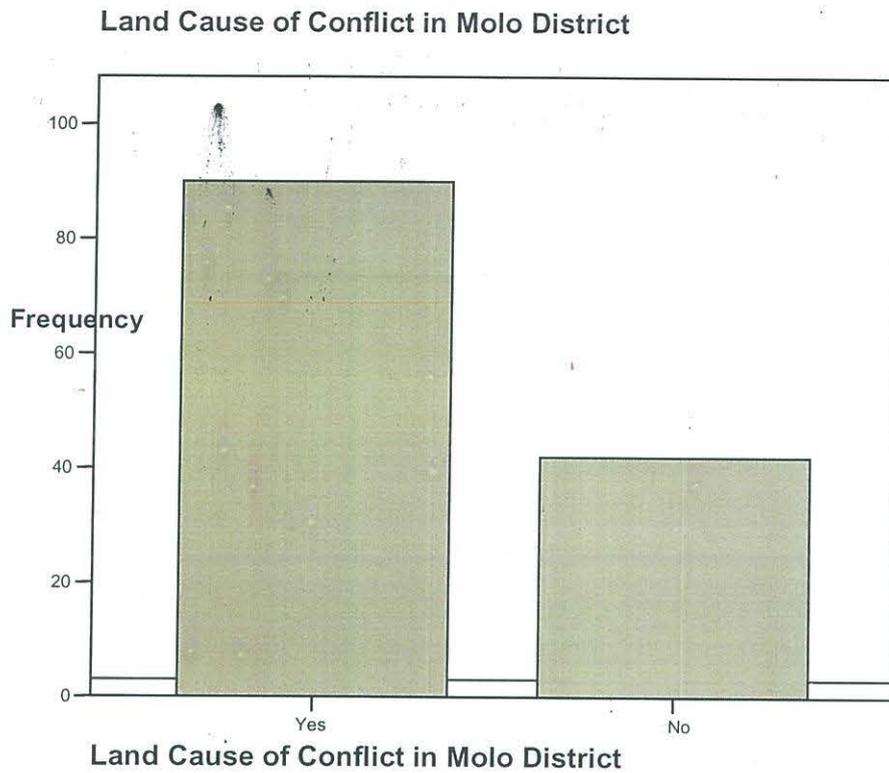
**Land as a cause of conflict in Molo District**

**Table 14**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	90	64.7	68.2	68.2
	No	42	30.2	31.8	100.0
	Total	132	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	5.0		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

Fig. 14



#### 4.3.7 Land cause of conflict in Molo District

The emotions attached to land in some part of Rift Valley region and other parts of the country cannot be overemphasized and therefore most respondents at 65 per cent of stated land as the cause of conflict in Molo, while 30 per cent of the respondents appear to suggest other causes. About 5 per cent of the respondents avoided the question and therefore did not take part in this question. To some extent, this can be interpreted to emphasize how emotive land issue is in many communities in Kenya and Africa in general.

Further, respondents who strongly agree that land is the cause of conflict stated that;

“One community believes land belongs to them and was stolen from by other communities”

“Historical injustices have to be addressed...land ownership has to be respected”

**The respondents who disagree that land is the cause of the conflict says that;**

“...conflict only occur during the election period”

“ ... the land was legally bought from the white settlers and we are here to stay”

*Community chance to reconcile in Molo District*

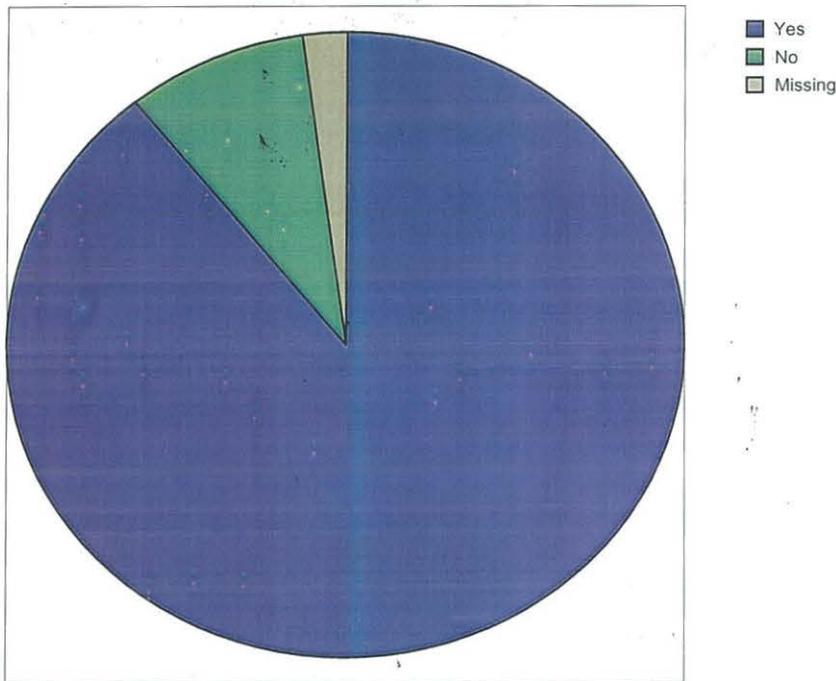
*Table 15*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	124	89.2	91.2	91.2
No	12	8.6	8.8	100.0
Total	136	97.8	100.0	
Missing System	3	2.2		
Total	139	100.0		

Source: field data, April 2011

Fig. 15

**Community Chance to Reconcile in Molo District**



**4.3.8 Community chance to reconcile in Molo District**

On community chance to reconcile, 89 per cent of the respondents indicated there is a chance for reconciliation, while 9 per cent of those responded stated that reconciliation is impossible to be achieved in Molo. About 2 per cent of the respondents choose not to answer the question.

From the onset, there is hope for peaceful co-existence in Molo and therefore it's important for community capacity to be built in order to address issues of concern. Lack of evidence for community reconciliation stated by 9 per cent of the respondents could have been contributed by the reason that in the past nothing much have happened and they seem not to see any hope anywhere coming. The encouragement to Molo district communities is that chances of reconciliations are possible when some mechanisms are sought and enhanced. Such mechanisms include elders, churches, mosques, community mobilization systems, schools and families.

John Paul Lederach envisions reconciliation as a meeting place where Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace come together. He writes how from his work in Nicaragua Psalm 85:10, the locus for these terms, took on such revelatory and reconciling potential He adds, "Reconciliation can be thus understood as both a focus and a locus. As a perspective, it is built on and oriented toward the relational aspects of a conflict. As a social phenomenon, reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet".

## Strategies communities can employ to resolve conflict in Molo District

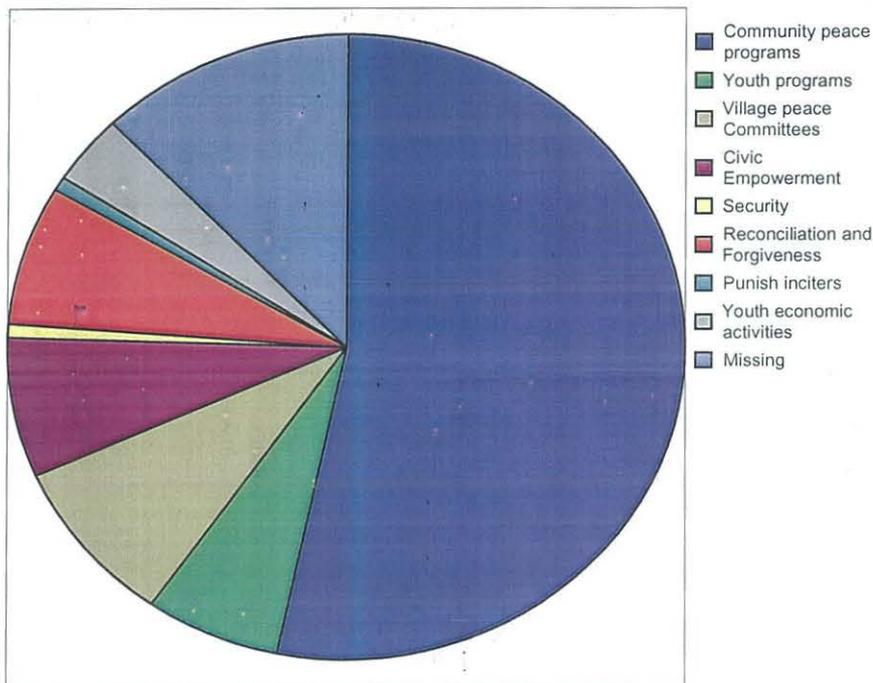
Table 16

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Community Peace Programs	74	53.2	60.7	60.7
Youth Programs	9	6.5	7.4	68.0
Village Peace Committees	12	8.6	9.8	77.9
Civic Empowerment	10	7.2	8.2	86.1
Security	1	.7	.8	86.9
Reconciliation and Forgiveness	10	7.2	8.2	95.1
Punish Inciters	1	.7	.8	95.9
Youth Economic Activities	5	3.6	4.1	100.0
Total	122	87.8	100.0	
Missing System	17	12.2		
Total	139	100.0		

Source: Field data, April 2011

Fig. 16

### Strategies t communities can employ in Resolving Conflict in Molo District



#### 4.3.9 Strategies communities can employ to resolve conflict

The respondents pointed out the need to develop structured approach to resolving conflict where 62 per cent stated that community peace committees and village peace committees are critical, while about 6 per cent indicated that constructive programs that engages the youth as a way out of the ethnic conflict in Molo district. Another 7 per cent of the respondents stated civic empowerment programs and another 7 per cent stated reconciliation and forgiveness in the community as the remedy to resolving the conflict. It's important to note that according to Desmond Tutu in his book, *No Future Without Forgiveness*; Reconciliation happens as persons or groups begin to shape their lives in positive relation to one another. It happens as people learn to deal with what separates them and as they find a bridge to new attitudes and practices that enable people to live in relation to one another, not in isolation from each other. Forgiveness is the means toward breaking the cycles of hostility and violence that lock people into repetitive

patterns of mutual destructiveness. A culture of reconciliation is established as persons seek repairative transformative or restorative justice. While on the other hand, Müller-Fahrenholz writes: "To understand what forgiveness does to our relationships we need to see the bondage that evil creates. In Song of Solomon the African-American novelist Toni Morrison writes, 'If you take a life, you own it. You are responsible for it. You can't get rid of nobody by killing them. They are still there, and they are yours now.' This is a forceful way of saying that every act of transgression constitutes a bondage that keeps the perpetrator and victim locked together. The more violent the transgression, the deeper the bondage".

Economic factors have been identified as one of the major causes of conflict in many communities in Kenya as competition for scarce resources is a common factor in almost all ethnic conflicts and therefore about 4 per cent of the respondents said youth economic activities is enough in realizing the desired sustainable peace in Molo. A small section of the respondents stated security and punishing the inciters at 1 per cent each as the road to resolving the conflict in Molo. 12 per cent avoided the question perhaps due to the complexity of the conflict in Molo district.

The above strategies are core according to the respondents in Molo district. However, the communities need to be involved in designing the strategies in order for their aspiration to be achieved.

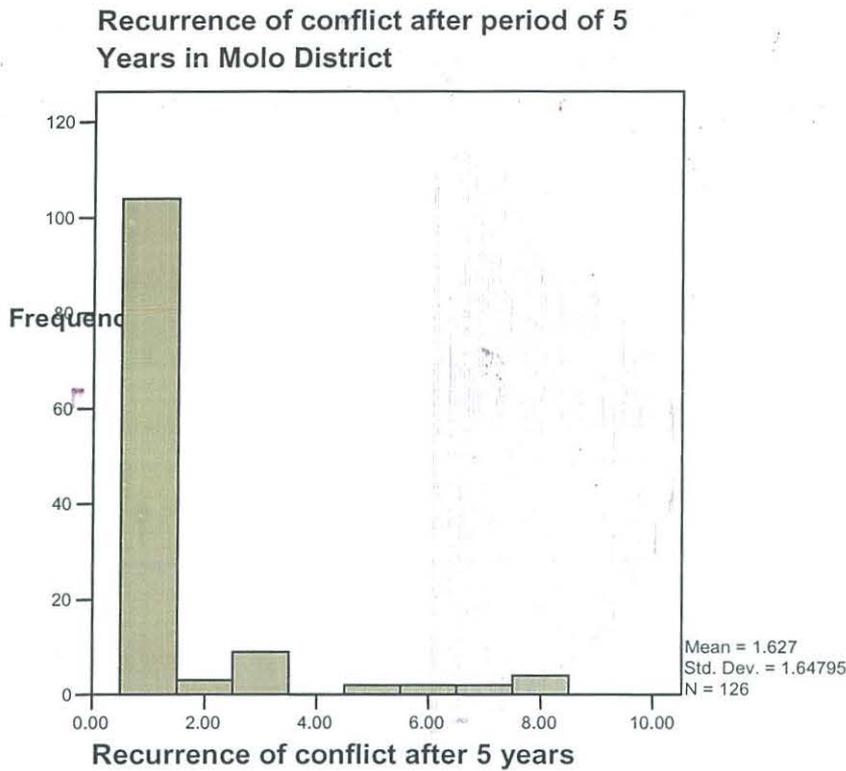
## Reasons of occurrence of conflict after period of 5 years in Molo District

Table 17

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Political				
	Incitement/Elections	104	74.8	82.5	82.5
	Land Historical				
	Injustices	3	2.2	2.4	84.9
	Negative Ethnicity	9	6.5	7.1	92.1
	Hate Speech	2	1.4	1.6	93.7
	Politician Funding to the Youth	2	1.4	1.6	95.2
	Political Strategy to Scuttle Vote	2	1.4	1.6	96.8
	Government Security Failure	4	2.9	3.2	100.0
	Total	126	90.6	100.0	
Missing	System	13	9.4		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: Field data, April 2011

Fig. 17



#### 4.3.10 Recurrence of conflict after period of five years

About the recurrence of conflict after every five years, 75 per cent stated political incitement from political leaders from the region. This happens every time there is general election. 2 per cent of the respondents were of the view that land historical injustices as the main cause. Land issue is very emotive and is used during election to force certain communities move out in masses. There is no other better time than during election for this to be carried. Negative ethnicity among various communities in Molo was stated as the cause of conflict every five years by 7 per cent of the respondents. The use of hate speech by ethnic community leaders during the election period was stated by 1 per cent as the cause for the conflict while another 1 per cent stated political funding to youth groups to cause some members of certain communities flee the area as the problem for the conflict every five years. About 1 per cent of the respondents said the conflict is part of political strategy to scuttle votes and easy way to get to power while 3 per cent

of the respondents stated that government failure to provide security as the cause to occurrence of conflict in every five years. About another 10 per cent of the respondents did not have an idea why the conflict happens in every five years.

From the responses, it's clear that the role of good political leadership cannot be overemphasized. The Molo political leadership failure has resulted in ethnic rivalry, suspicion and hostility among various ethnic communities leaving in Molo in the district. Without a bold and articulate leadership, conflict management or prevention will always be a mirage.

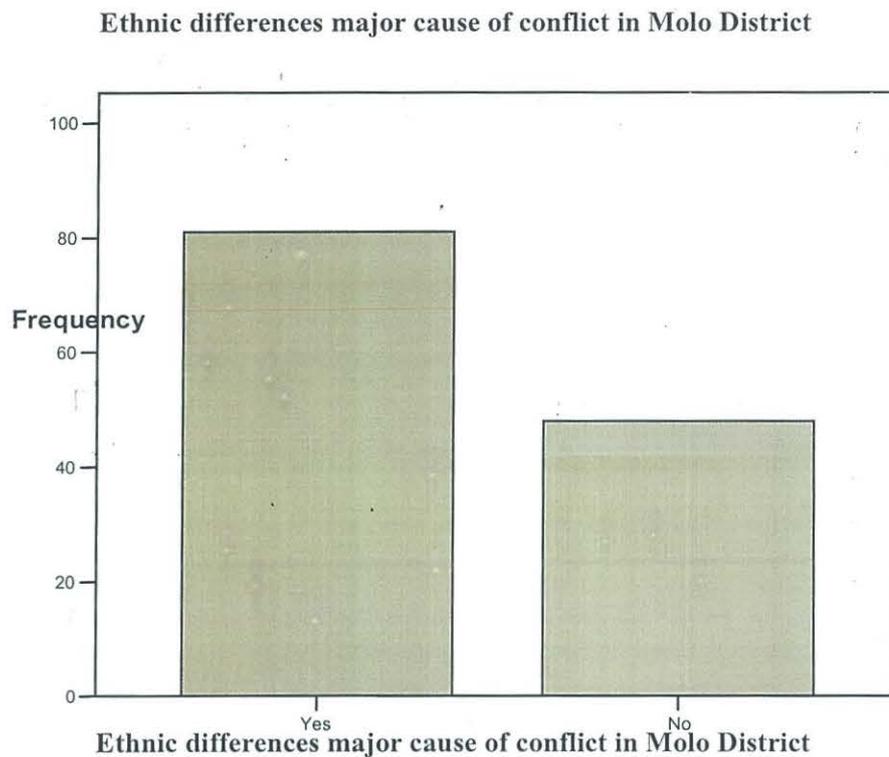
### Ethnic differences in Molo District

**Table 18**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	81	58.3	62.8	62.8
No	48	34.5	37.2	100.0
Total	129	92.8	100.0	
Missing System	10	7.2		
Total	139	100.0		

Source: Field data, April 2011

Fig. 18



#### *4.3.11 Ethnic differences the major cause of conflict in Molo district*

Most of the respondents, 58 per cent were categorical that ethnic differences is the major cause while 35 per cent does perceive ethnic difference as major cause of conflict. However, about 7 per cent were not sure whether ethnic difference is the major cause of conflict. It can also be interpreted their missing in responding to the question as being ignorant of what happens in Molo district.

Those respondents who feel ethnic difference is not the cause of conflict in Mol district highlights;

“All communities are equal and without political incitement... no such conflict would occur”

“... ethnic leaders mobilize their communities during election to fight others for political positions”

“Rift valley has many other tribes, why only two of them cause violence?”

“At no time did ethnic become a source... but only become an issue when ethnicized. People have been living in harmony without realizing their ethnic difference until when politicians to them”

**Political leaders being blamed for conflicts in Molo District**

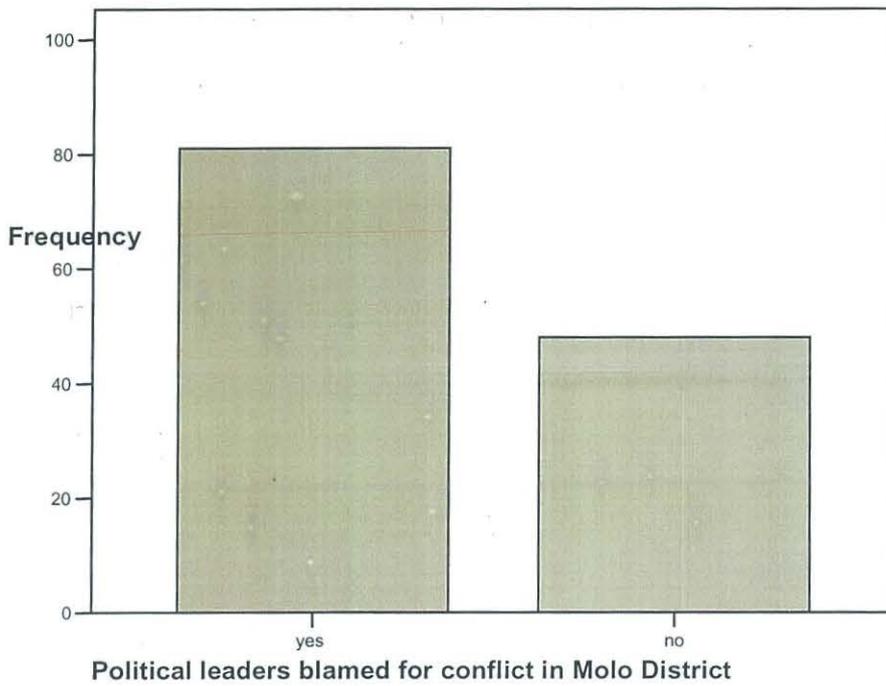
**Table 19**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	124	89.2	95.4	95.4
	No	6	4.3	4.6	100.0
	Total	130	93.5	100.0	
Missing	System	9	6.5		
Total		139	100.0		

Source: Field data, April 2011

Fig. 19

Political leaders blamed for conflict in Molo District



**4.3.12 Political leaders blamed for conflict in Molo District**

On whether political leaders are to blame, 89 per cent of the respondents said they are to blame while about 4 per cent stated that political leaders are not to blame for the conflict in Molo. Out of those interviewed, 7 per cent of the respondents avoided the question altogether. The reason is perhaps out of ignorance or communities are less concerned about the politics of the district.

Conflict prevention means constructive handling of differences. It is an art of designing appropriate institutions to guide inevitable conflict into peaceful channels. The importance of conflict prevention cannot be overemphasized. It is when political leaders and states fail to address important issues and basic needs that violence brews. Judging from the response of those interviewed leaders should take a second look at their behavior and policy choices. Emphasis

here should be on discouraging political corruption and good governance. On what specific role political leader play, the respondents stated;

“No feedback mechanisms from communities, political leaders intention is to use their ethnic communities in order to remain in power”

“Using of their ethnic dialect to mobilize their communities against other communities for political gains”

One of the respondents who strongly disagreed that political leaders are to blame for ethnic conflict in Molo district said;

“The residents are to blame because they have right to make their own decision without the influence of political leaders”

#### *4.3.13 Are the political leaders to blame for the violent conflict in Molo and its neighboring district*

The respondents cited incidences that point to the failure of political leadership in Molo district by highlighting the following

#### *4.3.14 Failure to unite communities*

During focus group discussion, the participants indicated that politicians are to blame for failing to unite people who once lived as one community. Some participants strongly felt in most cases what the political leaders tell the people determines whether or not there will be ethnic misunderstanding especially before election. In this regard, communities have not developed an independent mode and do not apply internal vigilant to monitor and screen politicians words

#### *4.3.15 Conflict entrepreneurs*

The participants stated that it has been observed any time near election there are no nails and machetes in hardware shops and this is enough evidence to prove there are conflict entrepreneurs in Molo. It is believed that they are used by one ethnic community to make arrows for fighting. Further, the respondents sated that a certain community use guns during conflict and those guns disappear immediately after election only to resurface again in another election for evil use by the enemies of peace. This has been the case since 1992. The participants also stated that every

time there is ethnic conflict violent guns are used by one community and when the purpose is achieved they are hidden waiting for another election period to come.

#### ***4.3.16 Other ethnic/tribes living in Molo***

On the issue of whether there are other ethnic communities in Molo district apart from the warring ones, the participants stated that about three ethnic communities are found in Molo. These ethnic communities are Luo, Luhya and Kamba. They are mainly civil servants with a small section of Luhya and Kamba doing business. They are hardly around in Molo during election. They are either traveled home to vote from there or away for fear that they may be an easy target and therefore their presence is insignificant to change any statistics or stop any wave of violence. This proves how ethnicity is used as a major factor in Kenyan politics. The conflict mainly is between Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic communities and in extension Kisii. Kikuyu and Kisii are the two ethnic communities referred to by Kalenjins (the inhabitant) as foreigners. The three ethnic communities are predominantly farmers and the conflict is mainly about land injustices.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.0 Research Summary

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the findings conclusions and recommendations related to the information from respondents in Molo district, Nakuru County. From the analyzes of the research findings, ethnic conflict in Molo district is about survival because it revolves around resource (land) and political power control. However, the unaddressed historical injustices coupled with poor policy on management of land in rift valley have also played a role in Molo ethnic conflict. Further, corrupt political leadership at the national level has provided a fertile ground for breeding impunity and this failure has strengthened negative ethnicity in Molo district. The findings of the research have established a certain pattern which includes:

- The demand for ethnic and cultural autonomy,
- Competing demands for land, power and economic strength, and
- Created ethnic differences due to poor leadership.

#### 5.2 Recommendations

From the research findings, the following recommendation can be made:

##### *Local conflict resolution mechanisms:*

Establishment of conflict resolution mechanisms and participation of all communities will bring reconciliation and healing. Dialogue enables people to speak out and thus finding solution to the problem. The government and other actors understanding sometimes are strange from the community point- of -view. Other actors come with their attitude which the community respect, but the community have different mentality all the same. Community need to be actively involved and feel a sense of ownership and belonging.

### ***Income Generating Activities (IGA):***

In order to save the youth from ill mobilization by political leaders for the wrong course, the government should come up with policies that encourage the youth in Molo district start income generating activities for development. Economic activities will give hope to the youths and make them responsible as well as facilitate them to become independent decision makers and work for peaceful Molo district.

### ***Early warning signs/indicator:***

To prevent the escalation of conflict, decision makers and other stakeholders need good and timely information and therefore an effective early warning system facilitate quick response. Timely and accurate reporting mechanism should be clear and response systems for action known by the community. Local community leaders need to be well informed, and highly involved in the process of mobilization from the beginning for peaceful co-existence.

### ***Effective and timely interventions:***

The analysis of the research findings indicate there has been laxity in responses whenever conflict erupts, appropriate mechanisms should be set in place to encourage and mobilize members of the community to participate in peace building instead of at all times arming themselves to fight with others. Community evaluation process is need for communities to dream together the Molo district they want and how best that can be achieved. The evaluation process will change the mindset of the people and especially the youth who are vulnerable all the time.

### ***Village Peace Dialogue Meetings:***

Dialogue between leaders from different ethnic communities in Molo district is needed. Such dialogue eases tension and helps develop cohesion and integration. Representatives of each village should be involved in the district peace committee. This way the observation of early warning indicators in the community will be enhanced. Further, leaders from different ethnic

communities will have a chance to meet under one umbrella (district peace committees) for deliberations with facilitations from the government and other stakeholders

***National Cohesion and Integration Commission critical role:***

There is great need for the government through National Cohesion and Integration Commission to develop codes of conduct to guide political leaders against inciting and mobilizing their ethnic communities for political gains especially during campaigns. The government should ensure the code of conduct are applied and legal steps are taken to punish violators by barring them from campaigning for any elected office before clearance from national cohesion and integration commission.

***National Land Policy:***

A clear national land policy need to be in place as outlined in the new constitution as an instruments address historical injustices on land. Implementation of land policy and rule of law will facilitate communities in Molo district and other part of the country from ethnic conflict.

***Issue based Politics:***

Issue based politics should be encouraged. Such politics are important in uniting different ethnic communities as opposed to division of communities based on ethnic lines. Like in many other countries in Africa politics is about one or more ethnic communities wanting to retain power while other ethnic communities want to take it. The politics is never about how good a leader is and how much they can deliver but in most cases are chosen on their ability to mobilize their communities against the others. To avoid political conflict, communities must know what they want from those wanting to be their leaders and leadership qualities they must possess. It must not be “us” verses “them”.

***Systematic and structured learning:***

Efforts should be made by all stakeholders in Molo district to learn from past violent conflict in order to initiate creative responses to ethnic conflict in the future. Government and other actors should allow communities to identify their own issues and responses, and not impose their own agenda upon them. In other words they should be listened to.

*Political goodwill to resolve Historical Injustices:*

Conflict in Molo district lacks the political will for a lasting solution. The government need to prove its commitment to peace in Molo and other parts of the country by engaging all communities and seek to address issues that affect them.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

In view of the research findings, community participation in conflict resolution and reconciliation mechanisms is important. A deliberate move to train and mobilize media is important for positive and timely information and pursuit to reach masses. Private sector should be involved in conflict resolution and reconciliation in Molo district. It is worth noting that no development that can take place in the absence of peace. Investment in conflict resolution, reconciliation, healing and peacebuilding is set to go a long way in impacting and changing the mindset of communities in Molo District and beyond.

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## Appendix x 1: Questionnaire Questions

### RESEARCH TOPIC: THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION. A CASE STUDY OF MOLO DISTRICT IN KENYA.

#### CATEGORY A

Please tick where appropriate and fill the structured questionnaire with applicable answers.

#### Personal Information

1. Gender

a) Male\_\_ b) Female\_\_

2. Age brackets

a) Below 20 years\_\_ b) Between 20 – 30 years\_\_ c) Between 31 – 40 years\_\_  
d) Between 41 – 50 years\_\_ e) Above 50 years\_\_

3. Marital status

a) Single\_\_ b) Married\_\_ c) Separated\_\_ d) Divorced\_\_ e) Window/Widower\_\_

4. Were you born in Molo District

a) Yes\_\_ b) No\_\_

5. For how long have you been living in Molo District?

a) Below 5 years\_\_ b) Between 5 – 10 years\_\_ c) Between 10 – 20 years\_\_

#### CATEGORY B

1. Are there any reconciliation efforts by community leaders

a) Yes\_\_ b) No\_\_

2. Who do you think are most affected by conflict

- a) Women\_\_
- b) Men\_\_
- c) Youth\_\_
- d) Children\_\_

3. Do the community leaders have the ability to predict conflict (early warning signs) before it happens?

- a) Yes\_\_
- b) No\_\_

4. During conflict, are those involved in property destruction from outside the district)

- a) Yes\_\_
- b) No\_\_

**CATEGORY C**

1. What are the major causes of violent conflict in Molo District?

- a).....
- b).....
- c).....

2. What is the role of community members in conflict resolution and reconciliation in Molo District?

- a).....
- b).....
- c).....

3. Do you think government has a role to play in reconciliation and healing in the District?

- a) Yes\_\_
- b) No\_\_

a) If Yes what is the role.....  
.....

b) If No explain.....  
.....

4. Is it true that conflict in Molo District is caused by land?

- a) If Yes, explain.....  
.....
- b) If No Explain.....  
.....

5. Do you think communities stand a chance to reconcile with each other?

- a) Yes\_\_\_
- b) No\_\_\_
  
- a) If No, explain.....  
.....
- b) If Yes Explain.....  
.....

6. What strategies can the communities through their leaders employ to resolve conflict in Molo District?

- a).....
- b).....
- c).....

7. Why do you think there is conflict after every five years?

- a).....
- b).....
- c).....

8. Is ethnic differences the major cause of conflict in Molo District?

- a) Yes\_\_\_
- b) No\_\_\_

### Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule

#### DATA COLLECTION SITE: MOLO DISTRICT

S/NO	ACTIVITY	DATES	COMMENTS
1.	Deployment of questionnaire	15 <sup>th</sup> February, 2011	
2.	Pre-testing of the questionnaire	20 <sup>th</sup> February, 2011	Pre-testing-in Naivasha
3.	Briefing meeting with questionnaire dissemination team	5 <sup>th</sup> March, 2011	
4.	Dissemination of the questionnaire	5 <sup>th</sup> to 8th March, 2011	
5.	Collection of questionnaire from the field	March to April, 2011	
6.	Data analysis process begins	April- Mid July, 2011	
7.	Research draft report	25 <sup>th</sup> June, 2011	
8.	Sending the draft report to the supervisor for input	16 <sup>th</sup> July, 2011	
9.	Supervisor's feedback	September 2011	
10.	Correction and compilation of the final report	September, 2011	
11.	Presentation of the final report	Face to face session (September 2011)	

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