ELDERHOOD IN ETHNIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN RONGAI, NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA; 1992-2015

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (PEACE AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STUDIES) OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

NOVEMBER, 2016
DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other university or institution for academic credit.

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DEDICATION

To my dear wife Elizabeth and our children: Michelle, Eddy, Sharleen and Usher. They always urged me on.
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I first and foremost thank God Almighty for giving me the opportunity, resources and the strength to accomplish this academic task.

I am also greatly indebted to Kenyatta University and particularly the School of Humanities and Social Sciences for giving me the great opportunity to pursue this degree. Many thanks are extended to my supervisors Dr. Susan Mwangi, Dr Felistus Kinyanjui and Dr. Pius Kakai Wanyonyi for the guidance, inspiration and support that they accorded me to successfully write a proposal, complete the research and subsequently write this thesis. The members of staff of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences also contributed significantly towards the success of this academic task. To them all, I say thank you and may God bless you. I also wish to acknowledge the people of Rongai Sub-county and their administrators who made this study possible. More thanks to those who spared time for the interviews and the focused group discussions.

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CIPEV</td>
<td>Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJPC</td>
<td>Catholic Justice and Peace Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJPC-CDN</td>
<td>Catholic Justice and Peace Commission- Catholic Diocese of Nakuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPC</td>
<td>District Peace Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAMATUSA</td>
<td>Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana, Samburu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACOSTI</td>
<td>National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODM</td>
<td>Orange Democratic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEV</td>
<td>Post Election Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNU</td>
<td>Party of National Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>United Nation African Mission in Darfur</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNMISS</td>
<td>United Nation Mission in South Sudan</td>
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Elder:** A person who is senior in years and is respected in the community for his/her character and spirit, demonstrated through his/her behavior, good judgment and sensitivity to the needs of community and people.

**Elderhood:** The occupation of a senior position in an ethnic community by virtue of advanced age, wide experience, good behavior, good judgment and the willingness to sacrifice for the good of the members of the ethnic community.

**Ethnic Group:** Also used interchangeably with ethnic community. It is a socially defined category of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, social, cultural or national experience. In this study, ethnic groups are mainly the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu. There are also others such as the Whites/Europeans, Indians, Kisiis, Turkanas, Luos, and Luhyas.

**Ethnic Conflict:** A disruptive and destructive major disagreement between two or more ethnic groups. Ethnic conflict can be violent or non-violent. This study adopts and concentrates mainly on violent ethnic conflict. In this study, ethnic conflict is also used to refer to “tribal clashes”, “ethnic violence” and “violent ethnic conflict”.

**Ethnic Conflict management:** This means knowing when to confront, and when to avoid an ethnic conflict and understanding the issues around which it revolves with the objective of finding and facilitating a peaceful end; a situation that will spur sustainable development.
ABSTRACT

This study investigated elderhood in ethnic conflict management in Kenya’s Rongai Sub-county from 1992 to 2015. It is to be appreciated that ethnic conflict management results in peace which in turn creates a fertile environment for achievement of sustainable development. Western and contemporary conflict resolution mechanisms, which have been in use for decades, have not yielded the desired results and rather than solely relying on their legal and lengthy judicial processes, indigenous mechanisms have been sought. One such mechanism is the institution of elders which has become instrumental in addressing the prevailing challenges of ethnic based violence. This study specifically investigated the nature, origin and causes of ethnic conflicts, examined the institution of elderhood, and interrogated the roles of elders in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county. The study was based on the following premises: Land was the major cause of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county, elderhood institutions commanded respect among majority of ethnic groups in Rongai Sub-county and that the institution of elders played a significant role in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county. The study was guided by Protracted Social Conflict Theory and Conflict Transformation Theory. The study adopted descriptive research design. The target population was the people of Rongai Sub-county. The sample size was obtained using purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. Both primary and secondary data was collected. The primary data was collected using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions while secondary data was obtained from both published and unpublished records, magazines and books. The data collected was analyzed using thematic analysis where categories of responses for each objective from the respondents were identified, classified and combined into themes. The data was then interpreted and presented based on these categories and themes. This study has three major findings. First, the ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county were mainly of violent nature, originated from the reintroduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in early 1990s and were caused mainly by land and political issues. Secondly, the institution of elderhood was strong in Rongai Sub-county and commanded respect in the management of ethnic conflicts. Thirdly, the elders were the lead actors in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county and played key roles that were aimed at achieving peaceful co-existence among ethnic groups. The study, therefore, recommends that the institution of elderhood be supported by the government and given a leading role in ethnic conflicts management. Secondly, the underlying cause of ethnic conflicts be identified and resolved proactively. Thirdly, ways should be found to weed out the culture of intolerance and impunity among ethnic communities in Rongai Sub-county.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an introduction to the study and covers the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance and justification of the study, scope of the study, assumptions and limitations of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

According to Scherrer (1994), over the past decades, ethnic conflicts globally became the dominant form of political violence with serious consequences. The overwhelming majority of civil wars in the postwar era were fought in the name of ethno national autonomy or independence. The case was the same during earlier waves of civil wars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as during the Balkan wars or following the dissolution of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Since the 1950s, the number of ethnic conflicts continued to increase. In Africa, there were since the mid-1960s prolonged and protracted ethnic-related violent political conflicts, including in some cases, civil wars, especially in Algeria, Burundi, Chad, Cote d’Ivoire, Congo-Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), Ethiopia, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger Republic, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, the Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. The trend reached its peak around 1994. During this period, the impacts of ethnic conflicts were immense. In Bosnia for example, an intransigence of ethno nationalist politics had
led to catastrophe. The other case was the dissolution of the Soviet empire which ignited a bushfire of separatist battles at its southern borders. Burundi also found no more respite than did Myanmar’s hinterland or southern Sudan. This demonstrates that ethnicity and politics are very much interrelated, especially in Africa.

Anugwom (2000), Jinadu (2007) and Nnoli (2009) observe that the post-colonial era in Africa has witnessed manipulation and disintegration of ethnic identities and groups, thus making the state central to the dynamics of ethnicity. Although, ethnic based violence was noted in other places in the world, Africa stands out as the continent with the most prevalent of the cases in the entire world as opined by Nnoli and Jinadu.

In Kenya, Yieke (2010) articulates that in multi-ethnic communities, ethnicity is an additional variable in socio economic development over and above those normally present in the more homogenous communities. The role of ethnicity in development can be negative or positive as it can be a problem or a potentially rewarding challenge. The Kenyan style of politics in the Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi regimes was characterized by rewards in the form of development for political loyalty. According to Oyugi (2002), the problem of ethnicity, emerged during the colonial period, and has been progressively accentuated since independence with the politicization of ethnicity as a factor in national politics.

The epitome of ethnic clashes in Kenya was in the Rift Valley and the Coast where in the early 1990s, they became a matter of concern at both the international and local
level as humanitarian organizations begun to look for ways and means of resolving the conflict, (Kanyinga, 2007). Some of the organizations that were principally involved in peace and conflict management include the Robert Kennedy Memorial Centre for Human Rights, the Commonwealth Observer Group, Human Rights Watch (Africa), the Kenya Human Rights Commission and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK). Their intervention included, among other things, fact-finding missions to conflict-hit areas as well as peace building initiatives. In African communities the use of western/contemporary conflict resolution mechanism to manage and resolve ethnic conflicts and the continued neglect of indigenous knowledge systems could perhaps explain why ethnic conflicts still recur. The role of elders in ethnic conflict management and resolution has been an on-going debate among scholars and all stakeholders for a while now. In most peace and conflict management and resolution mechanisms, the role of elders was not appreciated and did not receive adequate scholarly attention.

Despite such ethnic conflicts escalating, little effort was sought to include elders in resolving the conflicts. The failure to fully involve indigenous mechanism of conflict management through the use of elders of the constantly warring communities in the Rift valley, which was the Centre of ethnic conflicts, made achievement of lasting peace elusive, and communities in the Rift Valley continued to live in suspicion which escalated during the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence (PEV). It is in this regard that this study interrogated elderhood in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county from 1992 to 2015.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya boasts of diverse cultures as a result of it being inhabited by different religious, ethnic, and racial groups. In the Rift Valley, diverse ethnic groups coexisted until the colonial legacy of ‘divide and rule’ polarized them. After independence, misunderstanding of Majimboism, ethnicized politics, land issues, and poor leadership further exacerbated the situation. The ethnic conflicts became more pronounced during election years with the worst being the infamous 2007/2008 post-election violence. All these factors have contributed to incompatibility of ethnic groups hence the perpetual ethnic related conflicts in the Rift Valley.

The perpetual ethnic related conflicts in the Rift Valley have posed unique challenges to development since the principles of coexistence and tolerance are important bases for building a peaceful society where sustainable development can be achieved. In many ways, the years lost to conflict amounted to a period in which human or economic development was suspended or, in some cases, even reversed. For sustainable development to be assured in Kenya, ending the ethnic related conflicts has become completely necessary. To address the conflicts, judicial processes have been emphasized and indigenous justice system neglected. One such system is the use of elders. This study, therefore, interrogated elderhood in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County from 1992 to 2015 in order to come up with recommendations on how to utilize the institution in managing ethnic conflicts.
1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research was guided by the following objectives:

1. To investigate the nature, origin and causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County, in the period 1992 to 2015.

2. To examine the significance of the institution of elderhood in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County from 1992 to 2015.

3. To interrogate the roles played by elders to manage ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County from 1992 to 2015.

1.4 Research Questions

This research was guided by the following research questions:

1. What were the nature, origins and causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County from 1992 to 2015?

2. What is the significance of the institution of elderhood in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County?

3. What roles did elders play in the management of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County?

1.5 Premises of the study

The study was carried out based on the following premises:

1. Land was the major cause of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county.

2. Elderhood institutions commanded respect among majority of ethnic groups in Rongai Sub-county.
3. Elders played a significant role in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county.

1.6 Significance and Justification of the Study

The study is of great significance to the ethnic groups residing in Rongai Sub-county and by extension other ethnic groups in cosmopolitan regions of this country as they will be able to understand the nature, origin and causes of ethnic conflicts and more importantly the role that elders can play to resolve them. Proposals on the means of resolving ethnic conflicts will enable them to co-exist and live harmoniously. This harmonious situation is expected to spur sustainable development throughout the country. This study has also suggested significant policy statements through its recommendations. The recommendations will inform policy makers both at the county and national level especially on the roles of the institution of elderhood in resolving ethnic conflicts.

The study is also expected to contribute valuable knowledge to the field of peace and conflict management. The field of development in general will also benefit from the findings and recommendations of this study because conflicts have been found to be a great impediment to development. This study is the only study that focused on elderhood in ethnic conflict resolution especially among the ethnic groups in the volatile Rift Valley. As such, it is expected to produce hitherto unavailable knowledge in this area. It will therefore form a useful material for reference to other researchers and readers.
Rongai Sub-county was selected because it has been the hot bed of ethnic conflicts among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic groups. The data was collected by the researcher using focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and secondary data which was sought from books. The participants for focus group discussions were the elders while those of the in-depth interviews were a few elders and other opinion shapers by virtue of their socioeconomic status in the Sub-county.

The study considered the period from 1992 to 2015. The year 1992 was the year the first multiparty elections were held after the repeal of Section 2A of Kenya’s Constitution. Although ethnic conflicts were there since independence, they became more pronounced from 1992 and worsened during the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence (PEV). The 2007/2008 PEV was the worst in the history of the County. From 2008 to 2015, concrete conflict management efforts were on-going between elders of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic groups as well as other ethnic groups residing in the county.

The elders were also selected because they had been involved in many parts of the country in resolution of conflicts and may have played a big role in calming tensions during the 2013 disputed presidential elections. Further, the decision to focus on elders in this study was informed by the fact that ethnic conflicts were rampant in Nakuru County and in many other parts of the country despite the application of the formal and conventional means of resolving conflicts which were in use since independence. It is
also to be noted that elders in many communities in Kenya command a lot of respect. In this regard, the need to research on elderhood in ethnic conflict management arose with the objective of coming up with recommendations on how well to utilize the institution of elderhood.

This study was also justified because it filled a knowledge gap that was left out by previous studies and scholarly works in the broad area of conflicts in Kenya. First, unlike Guyo (2009) who did a study on ‘Historical perspectives on the role of women in peace-making and conflict resolution in Tana River District’ and Kabelo (2010) whose study was on ‘The role of traditional clan elders in conflict resolution among the Borana of Marsabit District’, this study had an expanded definition of an elder. In this study, an elder is a person who is senior in years and is respected in the community for his/her character and spirit, demonstrated through his/her behavior, good judgment and sensitivity to the needs of community and people. In this study, therefore, an elder can be a woman or a man and of any ethnic background. This is different from Guyo’s and Kabelo’s studies that only considered clan elders and women respectively. Secondly, these two studies looked at one aspect of conflict management which is conflict resolution. In the current study, conflict management goes beyond conflict resolution and includes deterrence measures which in most cases results in sustainable peace and harmony among the conflicting ethnic groups. Thirdly, the current study concentrated specifically on ethnic conflicts unlike Guyo and Kabelo’s studies that looked at conflicts in general. Fourthly, other studies and scholarly works that include Kalma-Raj (2006), Klopp (2006), Nyukuri (1997) and Musau (2008) though done in the area of
conflict, did not link elders and ethnic conflict management. Lastly, none of these studies and works was done in Rongai Sub-county and in the larger Nakuru County. In view of the aforesaid, the need to conduct the current study came out strongly.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study on elderhood in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county from 1992 to 2015 was conducted in Rongai Sub-county between May to June 2015. The study focused on the geographical limits of Rongai Sub-county as it appeared in 2015. According to GoK (1999), the Sub-county had a population of 195,713 spread in the four wards which were; Kampi ya Moto, Ngata, Rongai and Solai. The study only considered the period between 1992 and 2015 and mainly focused on the Kalenjin and Kikuyu; the two largest ethnic groups in Rongai Sub-county.

The study faced limitations due to the sensitivity of the subject to the respondents. However, respondents were assured that the exercise was an academic research, and that the confidentiality of the information they gave was to be treated for academic purposes only. Language barrier was another limitation that this study faced. Some of the respondents especially the elders were either illiterate or semi-literate. The researcher, however, surmounted this challenge since he was competent in both Kiswahili, English and in one of the major languages spoken in the area. He also sought assistance of a research assistant who was competent in the languages he was poor at. In addition, the researcher used probes, clarifications and paraphrases which were possible in semi-structured interview schedule and focus group discussion guide.
This chapter presented an introduction to the study and covered the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance and justification of the study, scope of the study, assumptions and limitations of the study. The next chapter discusses literature review and the theoretical framework.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents literature related to the topic as particularly conceptualized under the objectives of the study. The review will therefore delve into the origin of ethnic conflicts, causes of ethnic conflicts and lastly the role of elders in ethnic conflict resolution. The related literature review was obtained from books, several websites on the internet, seminar papers, journals, periodicals and newspapers. The purpose of this literature review is to form a basis for the present study and to show gaps which this research seeks to address. This chapter also discusses the theoretical framework.

2.1 The Origin and the Nature of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya

According to Lake and Rothchild (1996), since the end of the Cold War, a wave of ethnic conflict swept across parts of Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Africa. Localities, states, and sometimes-whole regions were engulfed in convulsive fits of ethnic insecurity, violence, and genocide. Early optimism that the end of the Cold War might usher in a new world order was quickly shattered. Before the threat of nuclear arm aged dawn could fully fade, new threats of state meltdown and ethnic cleansing rippled across the international community. Lake and Rothchild’s study provided a rich history of ethnic conflicts in Kenya hence enriching this study.

Vandenberg (1998), Nwosu (1999) and Kalma-Raj (2006) noted that colonization was the root cause of ethnic conflicts in Africa. They said that colonization of Africa and
several other third world states ensured that peoples of diverse cultures were brought together under one country. To them, because of the mission of colonialism, most of these peoples were not well integrated into the new states. Instead, some of the imperial powers cashed in on the cultural divergence of these countries to ensure the examination of their objectives. Vandenberg, Nwosu and Kalma-Raj attributed the genesis of ethnic conflicts in Kenya to colonial. This information was necessary as it enabled this study to trace the genesis and development of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county.

In Kenya, several factors were identified as the source of outbreaks of communal violence among populations living in close proximity to each other. These included colonial, political instigation, availability of land, access to water and pasture resources, loss of traditional grazing land, cattle, lack of alternative sources of livelihood, fears of terrorism, harassment, theft and extortion (Oucho, 2002). This enriched this study as it brought out other smaller causes of ethnicity in Kenya.

Then origin of ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County and in particular, Rongai Sub-county could be attributed to the same reasons as those that affected the whole country. However, diversity of ethnic communities and the struggle for power and resources by the main tribal communities were to be blamed. This was confirmed by Oucho, (2002) who stated that; “Apart from Nairobi and Rift Valley provinces, all other Kenyan provinces hold one dominant ethnic group or culturally similar groups”. Oucho’s
findings helped this study to bring out the background of the area of the study in relation to the rest of the country.

As to the cause of ethnic conflicts in Kenya’s Rift Valley, Oyugi (2000) stated that ethnicity per se, in the absence of its politicization, did not cause conflict. He continued to posit that there was evidence to suggest that where ethnic conflict emerged in Africa, there were always political machinations behind it. Politicization of ethnicity often took place in a situation characterized by an inequitable structure of access. Such a structure gave rise to the emergence of the "in group" and the "out group" with the latter trying to break the structure of inequality as the former responded by building barriers to access that ensured the continuation of its privileged position. At the centre of this scenario were the elites, who, feeling excluded or threatened with exclusion, began to invoke ethnic ideology in the hope of establishing a "reliable" base of support to fight what was purely personal and/or elite interests. Such was the case in Rift Valley, especially among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic communities. This enriched this study in that it provided in-depth underlying causes of ethnic conflicts in the area of study.

Musau (2008), points out a wave of democratization that swept the continent in the early 1990s as the major cause of ethnic conflicts. To him, the international demands on “good governance” coupled with domestic pressures for political change were the main driving force behind this wave of change. Successful conducting of multiparty elections in Africa was and continued to be viewed as a successful transition to democracy. This was the problem that faced Kenya at the onset of multiparty democracy. Musau’s
findings shed light on the origin of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county which was the focus of this study.

2.2 Causes of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya

According to Human Rights Development Centre (2012) some of the causes of ethnic violence in Nakuru and by extension Rongai Sub-county, were deep historical and socio-economic imbalance, reflected in differing degrees of development in specific localities. Whilst not every situation was identical, common features included different traditions of pastoralism and agricultural farming, patterns of settlement, ownership, and economic development generally, sharing of many natural resources, including pastures and rivers. Competition over the use of resources produced claims that became difficult to reconcile. Since Rongai is part of the larger Nakuru County, the findings of the Human Rights Development Centre were extremely relevant in guiding this study. Furthermore, the centre documented the issues of ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County in the aftermath of the 2007/2008 PEV. This was the period when major ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County took place.

CIPEV (2008) gave many reasons for election clashes. First was the conflict over land, cattle rustling, political differences and ecological reasons among others. The second was the desire by resident Kalenjins in the province to recover what they think they lost when the Europeans forcibly acquired their ancestral land and the third reason was the desire to remove “foreigners”, derogatorily referred to as ‘madoadoa’ (Kiswahili word for spots) from their midst. The reference was mainly towards the Kikuyu, Kisii, Luo...
and other communities who had found permanent residence in the Rift Valley. Fourthly, was the negligence of the provincial administration and security officers to punish perpetrators of earlier political violence? Since the commission was in the hot-spots of post-election violence when the conflicts were still fresh, its findings guided this study in collecting valid data.

According to Oucho (2002), several factors were identified as the source of outbreaks of communal violence among populations that lived in close proximity to each other in Kenya. They included bad policies, political instigation, scramble for land, water and pasture resources, loss of traditional grazing land, battle over ownership of cattle, lack of alternative sources of livelihood, fears of terrorism, harassment, theft and extortion. Oucho’s findings were relevant to this study because they included some of the causes of ethnic conflicts that could easily be overlooked yet their impacts on ethnic relations were significant. These are: battle over ownership of cattle, lack of alternative sources of livelihood, fears of terrorism, harassment, theft and extortion.

Kalma-Raj (2006) also noted that ethicized politics in Africa was one of the major causes of ethnic conflicts. He stated that politics became ethicized in various parts of Africa to the extent that leaders relied on the backing of their own ethnic group; and if a leader was seen not to have adequately represented the interests of his own people, he or she was likely to be replaced by someone who better represented the interests of the ethnic group. This meant that one’s loyalty to his/her ethnic group or region offered protection, but at the same time, it also had the potential to create divisions in the
society. Kalm-Raj added that ethnic divisions impacted negatively on nationalism and development in Africa. He gave examples of countries like Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Liberia, Burundi and Uganda that had their share of ethnic rivalries that resulted in large scale violence, civil wars, and even genocide. Kalma-Raj’s focus was Africa in general. This gave this study a wider background on the issue of ethnicized politics as one of the causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county.

Nyukuri (1997) also found that one of the long term causes of the clashes in Kenya was attributed to the colonial legacy, which was essentially historical but with ramifications in the post-independence era. It was a historical fact that the indirect rule administered by the British colonialists later turned out to be the ‘divide and rule’ strategy which polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya. This in turn contributed to the subsequent incompatibility of these ethnic groups as actors on one nation-state called Kenya. Since then, things have never changed; the country continued to be polarized along tribal and political party line with the politicians taking the advantage. Nyukuri also found other significant causes of ethnic conflicts in Kenya as ethnicized politics, land issues, poor leadership and the misunderstanding of majimboism. Since one of the objectives of this study was to investigate the origin and causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county, the findings of Nyukuri on the causes of the ethnic conflicts in Kenya and by extension the rest of Africa, provided a good background.
2.3 Elderhood in Africa

As far back as 1875, in Britain, and other developed countries, old age was defined and enacted as, "any age after 50", yet pension schemes mostly used age 60 or 65 years for eligibility (Roebuck, 1979). The UN has not adopted a standard criterion, but generally uses 60 plus years to refer to the older population. Realistically, if a definition in Africa is to be developed, it should be over either 50 or 55 years of age, but even this is somewhat arbitrary and introduces additional problems of data comparability across nations. In Africa, the Yoruba people, defined elders as were locally referred to as agba, which was an assemblage of ancestral forces, witches and wizards, and other spiritual agents that ruled the Yoruba universe, and whose powers far exceeded those of ordinary mortals. Adeboye (2007) and Foner (1984), noted that older people were expected to possess wisdom, tact and maturity accumulated through experience over the years. These were collectively called ogbonagba (elderly wisdom). Yoruba conceived elderhood as okeagba (the summit of elderhood). Okeagba was not only applied to old age, but also to other forms of seniority such as formal positions of authority within or outside the lineage. This background, cements the assertion that elderhood was defined differently from community to community.

In Kenya, among the Kikuyu people, after their period of warrior-hood, men became eligible to become members of the council of elders called kiama, to which women could also be admitted (Finke, 2003). Traditionally, the elders served as the custodians of ancestral land and by extension, as the keepers of social cohesion within the community. The kiama also deliberated over judicial, religious and political matters
although their rule was limited to the length of their respective age sets. In the Kalenjin community, the basic unit of political organization was traditionally the *koret* or parish (Gay, 1981). This was a collection of twenty to one hundred scattered homesteads. It was administered by a council of adult males known collectively as the *kokwet* and was led by a spokesman called *poiyot ap kokwet*. This spokesman was someone recognized for his speaking abilities, knowledge of tribal laws, forceful personality, wealth, and social position. At public proceedings, although the *poiyot ap kokwet* was the first to speak, all of the elders were given the opportunity to state their opinions. The Kalenjin sub-ethnic communities which reside in Rongai District are predominantly the Tugens and the Kipsigis. The findings of both Finke and Gay were beneficial in this study since they brought out the organization and cultural diversity of the two main communities in Rongai who were the main protagonists.

There are qualities that made one to assume eldership. According to Kazeem (2009), an *Agba* who was an elder among the Yoruba of Nigeria were respected individuals identified by age and other qualities which marked them out in their families, communities, nations, regions and the world. To be identified as an *agba* s/he must be a fearless person (*alakikanju*); s/he must be knowledgeable and wise but must be someone who gave room for criticisms (*ologbon, oloye, afimotielomiran se*); s/he must be tolerant (*alamumora*); s/he must be upright in all ways (*olotito, olododo*); and s/he must not be selfish (*anikanjopon*). In this study, this background helped to cement the fact that there were qualities that made one to assume eldership which were different among communities.
2.4 Role of Elders in Ethnic Conflict management

According to Kwaku and Rankapo (2007), traditional conflict resolution processes were part of a well-structured, time proven social system geared towards reconciliation, maintenance and improvement of social relationships. The methods, processes and regulations were deeply rooted in the customs and traditions of peoples of Africa. The importance and utility of the processes lie in the fact that they strived “to restore a balance, to settle conflict and eliminate disputes”. Farah (2007) stated that after Siad Barre was defeated in Somalia, he returned to Somaliland and worked with other elders to defuse conflicts between different clans. This played a leading role in the various Somaliland national reconciliation conferences, which discussed the future of Somaliland and how to incorporate people from clans that had previously supported the Barre regime. Those issues were ultimately resolved through dialogue. The findings of Farah, Kwaku and Rankapo brought out some of the case studies where elders resolved conflicts and therefore guided this study.

Guyo (2010) set out to critically look at the historical perspectives on the role of women in peace-making and conflict resolution in Tana River County. Using the example of the Orma and the Pokomo women in the county, Guyo explored the roles of women in peace making and conflict resolution. Conflicts had over the years led to severe loss of human life and property. Despite the sustained local, state and regional efforts to resolve inter community conflicts in that region, there were no successes in reducing the frequency and impact of these conflicts. Guyo’s study found that women
were better negotiators in times of conflicts and were trusted more than their male counterparts. Guyo’s study revealed that women were significant social actors generally and in particular in peace making. This study therefore did not overlook the role of women in the institution of elderhood.

Among the Yoruba of Nigeria, the *agba* (elders) was a socio-political model for conflict resolution, and it was the third-party that was responsible for effective conflict resolution in indigenous Yoruba societies (Kazeem, 2009). In traditional Yoruba culture, Kazeem noted that the *agba* (elders) were usually relied upon as arbitrators and agents of conflict resolution in view of certain qualities possessed by this category of human beings. The findings of Kazeem gave this study the background information that the role of elders in managing conflicts in many societies in Africa was a common phenomenon that also applied to ethnic groups in Rongai Sub-county.

In conflict management, the roles of elders in most cases were complemented by the roles of other main actors. Oyugi (2000:15) found that these others were mainly NGOs, donor agencies, the churches and other religious institutions. According to Oyugi, the NGOs and donor agencies played role in conflict resolution and took part in helping those affected by clashes. They also carried out educational programs to urge people to live in harmony. The churches on the other hand, played the same roles but also reacted to condemn clashes that had occurred by pressurizing government to act on issues of ethnicity. This study expanded the definition of elders to include spiritual
elders, political elders, religious elders but more importantly to include women as elders too.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Several theories were used to explain the emergence, growth and tenacity of ethnic conflicts. The Theory of Social Conflict by Karl Marx was one of them. This theory viewed the structure of society in relation to its major classes, and the struggle between them as the engine of change in the social structure. This theory was inadequate and inappropriate to guide this research because the conflict in Rongai Sub-county was not about social classes but ethnic. The Protracted Social Theory and Conflict Transformation Theory were the two theories that guided this study as expounded below.

Protracted Social Conflict is a theory developed by Edward Azar in 1990. Protracted social conflict is a conflict characterized by the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, and fair access to political institutions and economic participation. This was indeed the case in Rongai where the dominant ethnic communities of Kalenjin and Kikuyu struggled for land, fair political and economic participation. According to Azar's, identification of the genesis of protracted conflicts was key in managing and resolving protracted conflicts. In Rongai, various intervention mechanisms were advanced to manage and resolve the ethnic conflicts. The institution of elderhood was however ignored or underestimated. This study therefore investigated elderhood and its use in the
identification of the genesis of the conflict. The study came up with suggestions on the best way to manage and resolve the conflicts using the elders.

The Conflict Transformation Theory developed by Johan Galtung in 1969, expresses the process by which conflicts such as ethnic conflicts, were transformed into peaceful outcomes. The tools of transformation in peace and conflict management process in Rongai included government peace initiatives, Robert Kennedy Memorial Centre for Human Rights, the Commonwealth Observer Group, Human Rights Watch (Africa), and the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC). This study sought to look at the crucial role that elders played in the transformation of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. This second theory complemented the protracted social conflict in guiding this study.

This chapter discussed literature review and the theoretical framework. The next chapter presents an in-depth methodology of how this study was undertaken to achieve the objectives.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction
This chapter presents an in-depth methodology of how this study was undertaken to achieve the objectives. It discusses the research design; a description of the study area; target population; sample size determination and sampling techniques and procedure; data collection instruments and procedures; reliability and validity of the research instrument; data analysis, presentation and interpretation and ethical considerations of the study.

3.1. Research Design
This study was qualitative in nature and used descriptive research design. A descriptive design approach is appropriate in guiding studies on people’s opinions and attitudes on social issues at the time of the research. It involves describing, reading, analyzing and interpreting conditions that exists. This study endeavoured to describe, analyze and interpret the respondents’ attitudes and opinions on the role of elders in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county from 1992 to 2015. The research design was therefore appropriate for this study. The design was also flexible as it allowed the researcher to collect qualitative data.

3.2 Site of the Study
The study was carried out in Rongai Sub-county of Nakuru County. Figure 3.1 and 3.2 show the maps of Nakuru County and Rongai Sub-county respectively. The Sub-county
bordered Bahati and Subukia Sub-counties to the East, Baringo County to the North, Kuresoi North and Molo Sub-counties to the West and Njoro Sub-county to the South. This sub-county had a population of 195,713 spread in the five wards which were; Soin, Menengai West, Mosop, Solai and Visoi (GoK, 1999). The population mainly practiced farming and pastoralism. The major problem for the residents was the sporadic ethnic skirmishes around general elections. Rongai Sub-county was selected purposively because it was a hot bed of ethnic conflict among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic groups in Nakuru County.
Figure 3.1: Map of Nakuru County showing Rongai Sub-county

Figure 3.2: Map of Rongai Sub-county
3.3. Target Population

In this study, the target population was the people of Rongai Sub-County. It was from this population that a sample which comprised of elders and opinion leaders were derived.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Sizes

This study used two methods of sampling namely purposive and snowball techniques. Purposive sampling was used as it allowed units of the sample to be selected on the bases of personal judgment or convenience and irrespective of whether they are representative of the population or not. It also allowed the researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. In snowball sampling technique, the respondents were asked to assist the researcher to identify other potential participants with the specific range of information that the researcher was interested in.

The researcher chose purposive and snowball techniques of sampling because the target population was large and scattered in a vast area and therefore identifying and locating the respondents considering the time and cost constraints would have been hard. Also, qualitative researches such as this required that the researcher took the most accessible or the one that he/she could spend most time with. The two techniques enabled the researcher to achieve this.
This study therefore purposively selected elders from each of the five wards of the Sub-county for focus group discussions. The five wards were; Soin, Menengai West, Mosop, Solai and Visoi. In addition, the researcher also used snowball technique to select opinion leaders for in-depth interviews. Members of all these groups gave sufficient information on the subject of elderhood and ethnic conflict resolution in the sub-county.

In the end, this study used a sample size of five groups for the FGDs and 13 participants for in-depth interviews. As noted above, every ward produced one FGD comprising of eight elders. On the other hand, 13 respondents who were selected through the snowball technique participated in in-depth interviews. The respondents comprised of elders, some ordinary citizens and opinion leaders. The sample size of 13 participants for in-depth interviews was arrived at based on the saturation principle. Tables 3.1 and 3.2, summarizes how the sample sizes were arrived at.

**Table 3.1**

**Sample Size for FDGs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Number of Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visoi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menengai West</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solai</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosop</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Researcher, 2014*
Table 3.2

Sample Size for In-depth Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Elders</th>
<th>Number of Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalenjin Elders</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikuyu Elders</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusii Elder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Lady</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana Elder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Elder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher, 2014

3.5 Description of Data Collection Instruments

Based on the nature of data to be collected, the time available and the objectives of the study, this study employed the use of interview schedules to conduct in-depth Interviews, question guides to conduct focus group discussions and secondary sources of data as the main tools of data collection.

3.5.1 Secondary data

This study used relevant data that were available in the study area and Kenyatta University. These data had been collected and analyzed by other scholars and were either published or unpublished. Published data were available in: various publications of the central and county governments, various publications of foreign governments and international organizations, books, magazines, newspapers, reports by research scholars and universities. The sources of unpublished data included; letters, minutes of
peace meetings, peace training manuals and unpublished works by scholars and researchers. This method was appropriate for this study, because it enabled the researcher to get data at his/her own convenient time. The documented data was then critically examined and analyzed.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

In this method, an FGD Guide was used. This method of data collection was chosen because it enabled the researcher to explore the views of the participants and to generate answers to issues, which could have been more difficult in face to face interviews. This method was also suitable because it allowed the gathering of information even when the respondents happened to be largely illiterate or semi-literate as was the case in this study. Lastly, this approach reduced the amount of time as it generally yielded detailed qualitative information from a relatively large number of discussants congregated in one place.

3.5.3 In-depth Interviews

In this method, a semi-structured interview schedule was used. All interviews were informally conducted. This informal structure was preferred because the researcher felt that it created a more relaxed atmosphere and consequently encouraged more complete and spontaneous response from the interviewees. The in-depth interview was selected because of three reasons. First, it helped to verify the reliability of the information gathered by the focus group discussion and secondary data analysis. Second, the technique was useful in checking in-depth information that cannot be found in other
methods especially among the illiterates. Third, the approach created confidence on the part of the respondents and as they gained interest on the subject, more reliable, valid and objective results were obtained. This was particularly important among the respondents who were reserved, conservative and secretive and would have hoarded crucial information.

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

In this study, data was collected by the researcher using secondary data analysis, focus group discussion and the in-depth interviews. The researcher collected data after receiving permission from the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, the County Commissioner’s office and National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Permission to access secondary data from the offices of individuals, state and non-state actors was also sought. The researcher then booked appointments with the concerned custodians of secondary data, the groups and the interviewees. But before making a formal visit on the day of the appointment for each data collection event, the researcher made a pre-visit to determine the climatic conditions and was also familiarized with the area of study.

The researcher applied the three of instruments of data collection simultaneously. The logic with this was that information obtained from one of the instruments corroborated the information that was obtained from the other two instruments.
The focus group discussion was conducted among the selected group of elders. These groups were reached through the assistance of the chiefs and the village elders. These groups were dealt with separately and assembled in a conducive place selected by the discussants. The researcher then facilitated the discussion by use of the discussion guide and elicited details through probes, clarifications, paraphrases, reflections and summaries. Information was gathered by taking notes and use of auto-reverse tape-recorder to avoid turning off the tape in the process of discussion.

The respondents selected for the in-depth interviews were put in a relaxed and comfortable setting preferably in a private room to enhance confidentiality and enable them talk freely. All the interviews were tape recorded to capture the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee for purposes of analyzing data.

3.7. Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

The data collection instruments were tested for their validity and reliability. To achieve validity and reliability, the researcher ensured that the information that was developed was transmitted within essentially social context, and the study probed for deep understanding than a mere examination of surface features. This study also ensured validity and reliability by pilot-testing the instruments in the neighbouring Subukia Sub-county where one Elders group and two respondents that were conveniently accessible to the researcher were used to pilot-test the focus group discussion guide and the interview schedule respectively. The items in these instruments were then corrected and modified with the assistance of proven researchers, who included the supervisors.
Triangulation method was also adopted to improve validity and reliability of the instruments. The study therefore used secondary data, in-depth interviews and focused group discussion which forms a triangulation method.

3.8. Data Analysis

This study adopted thematic analysis in the process of analyzing the data. In this study therefore, data was analyzed by classifying the categories of responses for each objective from the respondents and combining them into themes. This involved transcribing the data, re-familiarization with the data, coding the data and finally producing the report. The data was again repeatedly exposed to analysis until the themes and categories that emerged were regarded as satisfactory. The data was then interpreted and presented based on these categories and themes.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

To ensure ethical considerations, the researcher obtained verbal consent from the respondents. They were also informed of the study objectives, methods and its relevance. They were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and no person was forced into participating in the study. At the same time, the researcher ensured that all respondents were treated with respect and their privacy observed. The researcher provided the respondents with his contacts in case they wanted to contact him in future.

In order to conform to the standards of conduct of the various government ministries, research permission was obtained from the offices of the Nakuru County Commissioner.
to carry out the study. A written permission was also obtained from Kenyatta University while NACOSTI issued the research permit.

This chapter presented an in-depth methodology of how this study was undertaken to achieve the objectives. The next chapter deals with the analysis, interpretation and presentation of data obtained from the participants through both primary and secondary sources.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses, interprets, and presents data obtained from the participants and secondary sources. The data from FGDs, in-depth interviews and secondary sources has been analyzed, interpreted, discussed and presented concurrently based on the common themes to avoid repetition. The data on in-depth interviews and secondary sources has however been used to support and beef up that from FGDs which was the main data collection instrument.


The first objective of the study was to investigate the origin, nature and causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county from 1992 to 2015. To answer this objective, four focus group discussions were engaged with the help of guiding questions which were formulated according to the study objectives and the principles of the Protracted Social Conflict and Conflict Transformation theories that guided this study. The information obtained was further reinforced and corroborated with secondary data and data obtained through interviews conducted among 13 purposively selected participants. The results are presented thematically in the sections that follow. The first theme is the origin, nature and causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. The origin, nature and causes have however been presented under separate sub-themes. The Second theme is the ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. Again, this theme has been broken into three
sub-themes based on the three major periods that the study considered which are: 1992 to 1996, 1997 to 2002 and 2003 to 2015. The presentation of results under the various sub-themes was aimed at achieving a better analysis, interpretation and discussion.

4.1.1 Origin of Ethnic Conflict in Rongai Sub-county

When the 32 participants in the four FGDs were asked to trace the origin of the ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-County, the majority who numbered 24 pointed out that it started from the 1992 general election when the Kalenjin community felt that the change of section 2A of the constitution to allow for multiparty politics was a ploy by the Kikuyu community to oust Daniel Arap Moi as president. On the one hand, the Kalenjin community felt that this was unfair bearing in mind that Mr. Moi stood loyal to the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta until his death as his vice president. In this light, the Kalenjin saw the Kikuyu community as ungrateful and selfish. On the other hand, the Kikuyu community viewed Moi’s regime as intolerably dictatorial and repressive. This sowed the seed of suspicion and hatred between the two major communities that reside in Rongai. After this, the situation became fluid and a minor conflict even that which involved individuals flared up and became interethnic clash.

A few participants, whose total number was nine, did not agree with the rest in the FGDs and argued that the return to multiparty politics to Kenya in early 1990s just exacerbated an already fluid condition between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic groups that could be traced back to independence period. The independence government, according to these participants, failed to correct the legacy of the colonial government
on land matters. In this case, the large tracks of land that were left behind by white farmers in the Rift Valley went to land buying companies and wealthy individuals. Through this, the Kikuyu came to settle in the Rift Valley, a move that created deep seated resentment from the Kalenjin community.

The viewpoint on the return of multiparty politics to Kenya in 1991 and its success in accentuating an already soar relationship between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic groups was confirmed by the views of some of the interviewees. One interviewee, who was a white farmer, had this to say:

The main protagonists in the sub-county in terms of ethnicity are the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu and as far as I am concerned, conflicts between the two, started during succession battle of Kenyatta senior following his death in 1978. But it became pronounced when the members of the Kikuyu teamed up with civil societies and other disgruntled ethnic communities to introduce multiparty politics in the early 1990s.

According to Human Rights Development Centre (HRDC) (2012), ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County at large originated from historical injustices and have led to imbalanced socioeconomic development, land disputes and political supremacy. HRDC, noted that most conflicts in Nakuru County were triggered by disagreements and careless statements made elsewhere in the country. In this regard, the elders were to educate the rest on the dangers of reacting violently to issues that emanated elsewhere and did not concern them.
As a pointer that the introduction of multi-party politics in early 1990s led to the rise in ethnic conflicts in Kenya as found by this study, Kangwanja (2009: 365) asserted that:

Kenya was already on the precipice long before the disputed 27 December 2007 election, which sparked the cataclysmic post-election violence that brought one of Africa’s most promising democracies to the brink of state failure. The 2008 crisis can be traced back to the deeply ingrained legacy of instrumentalisation of ethnicity and informalisation of violence in the intra-elite struggle for state power in multiparty Kenya.

Although many scholars traced the origin of ethnic conflicts in Kenya to different political dispensations, all including this study, concur that all the regimes right from the colonial government had their special contribution. Yieke (2010), blamed the genesis of ethnic conflicts in Kenya on the era of Kenyatta Senior. Yieke also said that Moi’s entry to power also contributed to the conflicts. This study agrees with all these, but found that the introduction of multiparty politics in 1991 was actually the trigger of inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Although Musau (2008) attributed the wave of conflicts that afflicted many African countries to the Cold War that ushered in a wave of advocacy of liberal democracy, he also pointed out that a wave of democratization that swept through the continent in the 1990s was the major cause of ethnic conflicts. The findings of this study concur with Musau’s latter assertions.

From the findings of this study, it can be firmly concluded that it is hard to pin-point exactly when ethnic conflicts in Rongai and by extension the whole country started. It is however clear that the re-introduction of political pluralism in 1991 following the repeal of section 2A of the then constitution in 1982, accentuated situations that had its
roots in the colonial legacy, the Cold war and the successive independence
governments. This section changed Kenya from a de facto to de jure one party state.
This made Kenya a one-party state by law with KANU as the ruling party. These
changes were contained in the Constitution of Kenya Amendment Act NO.7 of 1982
(GoK, 1982). The changes were followed by the mlolongo system where secret-ballots
were no longer used. The 1983 and 1988 elections affirmed and strengthened the
single-party system headed by KANU. The section came into existence after several
minor and major changes in the independence constitution that culminated in the 1982
Constitutional Amendment (Throup & Hornsby, 1998). Throup and Hornsby continued
to assert that, although by 1991, Kenya had been politically independent for 28 years, it
had experimented with multi-partyism for only a very short period of time: from 1960-
64 and 1966-69. For the rest of the years, Kenyatta and Moi ruled Kenya under a
single-party system. According to Throup and Hornsby, the 1990s witnessed
institutional decay, social breakdown and economic distress that forced the US, the
opposition and the civil society, to agitate for clean governance. As a result, Kenya’s
parliament amended the constitution in 1991 by repealing section 2A. This action re-
introduced political pluralism hence ending the de jure one-party rule in Kenya. The
opposition which, at first, appeared united fragmented along ethnic lines; as a result it
lost the election and Moi retained Kenya’s leadership.

All the political developments since independence in 1963, laid the foundation for
ethnic conflicts that haunted the country every election year. The late Samora Machel
of Mozambique had foreseen a dangerous political development in Africa where
ethnicity was whipped by myopic political elites for selfish aggrandizement. To emphasize the danger posed by ethnicity on nationhood, he stated: “for the nation to live, the tribe must die,” (Musau, 2008.13).


The respondents were asked whether ethnic conflicts occurred in Rongai Sub-county in the period 1992 to 1996. Respondents from the five focus group discussions unanimously observed that quarrels and disagreements that were normal in any society had been experienced in the sub-county since independence. However, ethnic conflicts of worrying proportions became pronounced immediately multiparty politics were re-introduced in Kenya in early 1991. Since then, ethnic conflicts became common especially during electioneering years. The interviewees also confirmed the observations of the FGDs. A teacher who was one of the interviewees stated that:

Although there were differences between the ethnic groups that resided in the Rift valley before 1991, the differences became more pronounced in 1991 when multiparty politics were re-introduced in Kenya. Towards the end of 1992, election campaigns were done when the region was tense and some places had already experienced violence that had never been seen before.

According to the interviewees, the ethnic violence continued in the Rift Valley even after the 1992 general elections. One interviewee noted that: “After the re-introduction of multipartysm in Kenya, the Rift valley has never remained the same again because ethnic animosity went a notch higher”. Many interviewees remembered that some
properties of Non-KAMATUSA communities were destroyed in Kampi ya Moto in Rongai Sub-county in 1994 after a dispute over a piece of land.

Klopp (2006) noted that rallies were held in the multi-ethnic Rift Valley throughout 1991, in which KAMATUSA leaders who were opposed to multiparty politics launched a counteroffensive against multiparty advocates who allegedly were the non-Kalenjin residents in the province. Klopp further observed that in most of the rallies that were held around that time, Kalenjin politicians threatened to drive away members of non-Kalenjin ethnic groups because of their failure to support KANU. The KANU politicians instilled fear among the KAMATUSA ethnic groups, alleging that Kikuyu settlers would expropriate their land in case the Kikuyu won the elections. According to Klopp, the first wave of violence consequently, occurred in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya towards the end of 1991. Non-Kalenjin, particularly the Kikuyu and the Luo were associated with the opposition; and hence considered enemies of the Kalenjin, Maasai and the other groups considered indigenous in the Rift Valley, who supported the ruling party KANU and were against the re-introduction of multipartysm.

Oyugi (2000) stated that the ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley took place against a background of an impending general election which became accentuated in 1992. This was to be the first time since independence when a truly multiparty election was to be held in post-independent Kenya. Therefore, the powers that be during that time played out tribal politics and ethnic conflicts erupted in the cosmopolitan Rift Valley.
Although it was hoped that the attacks would cease after the December 1992 general elections, attacks continued throughout 1993 and 1994 (Human Rights Watch, 1997). During this period, the KANU government was affirming her authority and had appointed a powerful provincial administration that was backed up by a friendly judiciary. Musau (2008) noted that after the 1992 elections, the provincial administration was reported to have had a hand in the clashes and also had a halfhearted response to the conflicts. Security officers reluctantly gazed as attacks ensued, without heeding to victims’ appeals for protection. Police for example stood by as the warriors looted, burned houses and destroyed houses and in some cases released the arrested perpetrators without charge (Muigai, 1995 as cited in Musau, 2008). On the other hand, the judicial apparatus on its part was apathetic and reluctant to bring the attackers to book (Human Rights Watch, 1997). The Human Rights Watch also cited discriminatory application of the law as part of the halfhearted and flawed response of the judiciary. It should be noted that during this period, the judiciary was not as independent as was stipulated in the constitution. The media was in the same situation. These two institutions feared reprisals from the executive. They also feared being viewed as sympathizers of the opposition. The security agents were also under firm control of the executive and were mostly used to suppress the opposition and the civil society who were perceived to be the enemies of the state.

4.1.3 Ethnic Conflicts in Rongai Sub-county (1997-2002)

The respondents were asked whether ethnic conflicts occurred in Rongai Sub-county in the period 1997 to 2002. They answered that the 1997 general election was peaceful
compared to the one of 1992. Tension was however high in the Sub-county and the entire Rift Valley region in the run-up to the general election. This was attributed to the agitation by the then opposition and the civil society for a reformed and a more inclusive electoral process. The respondents reminisced that the KANU government yielded and in December 1997, elections were held peacefully.

The respondents further noted that the outcome of the 1997 presidential elections was however disputed by the then Democratic Party (DP) candidate, Mwai Kibaki who was defeated by Daniel Arap Moi of KANU. In January, 1998, Mwai Kibaki went to court to contest the outcome of the elections. According to the respondents, the contest between the two main presidential candidates was conceptualized as a contest between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic communities. This was accentuated by the fact that KANU did not win any parliamentary seat in the Central Province where DP had an easy triumph. One respondent who was a retired teacher said: "This really angered the Kalenjin who reacted by attacking members of the Kikuyu ethnic group in some parts of Rongai Sub-county".

Klopp (2002) added that Mwai Kibaki’s declaration to challenge president Moi and the electoral commission in court for alleged irregularities in the electoral process, sparked reactions from Kalenjin leaders, which triggered ethnic conflicts. Klopp (2002:269) stated that:
Soon after his declaration, powerful supporters of the incumbent president Moi, alleging that Kibaki’s move was an insult to their Kalenjin community held a series of rallies threatening violence against kikuyu migrants in the Rift Valley, especially small holder farmers and traders.

The respondents continued to report that, sporadic ethnic violence continued for the better part of 1998. During this period even minor disagreement between members of the Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic communities triggered attacks and counter-attacks. The period from 1999 to 2002 was reported to experience relative calm. In the year 2002, the country held a very peaceful election where KANU was vanquished by a united opposition whose presidential candidate was Mwai Kibaki. The respondents observed that the 2002 elections were peaceful because KANU had lost popularity among many of the KAMATUSA ethnic groups. Many of the members of these ethnic groups had warmed up to the opposition in the run-up to 2002 elections.

According to Musau (2008), unlike the 1992 general elections, the 1997 general elections witnessed less violence in the Rift Valley. This did not however, signify that ethnic violence had become a thing of the past. Clashes erupted in 1998 after the elections. They pitted mainly the Pokot, Samburu and Kalenjin against the Kikuyu (Akiwumi Report, 1999). Musau stated that in 1997, the DP won majority of the parliamentary seats in Central Province while KANU won none. To him, these were electoral facts that might have played a key role in igniting ethnic conflicts in Rift Valley in 1998. Musau also noted that the areas where DP won parliamentary seats in the Rift Valley were adversely affected by the clashes. These were: Nakuru Town, Molo, Subukia, Kajiado South and Naivasha.
According to Akiwumi Report (1999), clashes in the Rift Valley continued sporadically in February and March, 1998. The report blamed deep political differences for the clashes. To start with, the attacks began the month following general elections. The results of the parliamentary elections indicated a dominance of KANU in the Rift Valley province and DP in the Central province. Moreover, the Rift Valley regions in which DP won were largely populated by the Kikuyu and the rest of the Rift Valley is dominated by the Kalenjin. The contest between KANU and DP was therefore easily conceptualized as a struggle between the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu. The inflammatory statements made by KANU politicians in response to Kibaki’s lodging of a petition to challenge the election results which immediately preceded the attacks further highlighted the politics of ethnic manipulation behind the conflict. The ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley were thus proxy struggles.


The respondents were asked whether ethnic conflicts occurred in Rongai Sub-county in the period of 2003 to 20015. To this, the respondents stated that by 2003, Rongai Sub-county had gotten used to situations of increased ethnic conflicts after every election. To emphasize the fact that by 2002, ethnic conflicts were almost becoming endemic in Rongai, a pastor who was one of the interviewees said:

Apart from Turbo, Enoosupukia, Likia, Kapenguria, Burnt Forest, Molo and Njoro, Kampi ya Moto in Rongai has indeed become ‘Kampi ya Moto’ (Kiswahili for the home of fire) since it burns every election year save for the 2002 and 2013 elections. Other parts of the sub-county have had similar problems but of lesser magnitudes.
The Kampi ya Moto FGD noted that in Rongai, the general elections of 2002 and 2013 were held peacefully and there were no skirmishes when the presidential results were announced unlike in 1992 and 1997 elections. The aftermath of the 2007/2008 PEV was noted to have resulted to the worst forms of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. The ethnic conflicts pitted the Kalenjin against the Kikuyu. The Kalenjin were supported by the other KAMATUSA ethnic groups. The conflicts were reported to have resulted to widespread destruction of properties and loss of lives.

The FGD gave reasons that made the 2013 general election a peaceful one. First, was the fact that by 2013, a lot of effort had been made by both state and non-state actors to ensure a peaceful coexistence of ethnic communities residing in Rongai Sub County. Secondly, the alleged perpetrators of the 2007/2008 PEV were facing charges in the International Criminal Court (ICC) at The Hague, Netherlands. The politicians that had gotten used of fanning tribal animosity to their advantage were therefore very careful in the run-up to 2013 elections. Thirdly, the Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic groups found themselves in the Jubilee Coalition. These two were until then, the major protagonists in ethnic conflicts in Rongai. Fourthly, the respondents observed that the fear of a repeat of ethnic clashes such as those that took place in 1992 and the infamous 2007/2008 PEV, may have played a big role in the peaceful 2013 elections.

It was observed by 28 majority participants in all FGDs that ethnic animosity that was mainly fanned by the politicians in Rongai heightened a few months to and after all general elections. The remaining periods experienced relative calm. Kangwanja (2010)
stated that Kenya was already on the precipice long before the disputed 27 December 2007 election. This applied to all other multiparty elections. The 2002 and 2013 elections were however comparatively peaceful because the presidential election results favoured the majority of the inhabitants of the Rift Valley. During the periods of relative calm, time and resources were spent in socioeconomic activities and the healing process.

Minutes of a Peace Keeping Meeting at Kampi ya Moto, Rongai Division (2008, 7th August) (Appendix D) also revealed the occurrence of conflicts in Rongai Sub-county in the period of 2003 to 2015. The minutes revealed that all members that attended apart from the District Officer were drawn from the two major rival ethnic groups and comprised respectable elders and politicians. All offered apologies to people whose properties were destroyed. It should be noted that this was at the peak of the infamous 2007/2008 Post Election Violence (PEV). To further reveal that ethnic conflicts occurred in Rongai, Human Rights Development Centre (2012) mentioned Rongai as one of the hot spots of ethnic related conflicts. Figure 4.1 depicts a meeting of District Peace Committee (DPC) at Kampi ya Moto. Mwagiru (2003), CJPC-CDN (2010) and the Nakuru DPC (2012); all confirmed that there were ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County. Nakuru DPC (2012) particularly documented peace-making processes in Kampi ya Moto and Maji Matamu parts of Rongai Sub-county.

Further revelation of the occurrence of ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley came from the Human Rights Watch (2013). While acknowledging the fact that the Rift Valley is
predominantly occupied by Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities, the Human Rights Watch stated that the two communities clashed after the 2007 elections over the disputed presidential elections results, which gave victory to the incumbent, Mwai Kibaki. The report continued and noted that almost half of the 1,300 post-election deaths occurred in the Rift Valley in which Rongai Sub-county is found.

Musau (2008) noted that after a few years of relative calm in Kenya, which is from 2002 to early 2007; violence broke out again on 30th December 2007 and continued until February 2008. The violence was linked to elections and with high ethnic undertones. The 2007-2008 post-election violence was reportedly triggered by the announcement of the presidential results, which were said to have fallen below international standards; spontaneous violence occurred immediately in major regions especially the Rift Valley. CIPEV (2008) however, documented that PEV was planned and did not occur spontaneously. Dagne (2008) noted that, although the conflict was initially political, pitting the ruling party; the Party of National Unity (PNU) and the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) supporters against each other, a keen ethnic dimension manifested itself, involving apparently three ethnic groups; the Kikuyu on the one hand against the Luo and Kalenjin on the other; the Luo and Kalenjin were also allegedly targeted by the police and the Kikuyu.

From the discussion in the preceding paragraph, the spontaneity versus planning of the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence (PEV), generated contradictory viewpoints. This study concludes that depending on one’s political leanings and ideological spectrum, it
was both planned and spontaneous. The planning part of it may have taken place before the 2007 general elections because the political stakes were so high that the political elites may have had an alternative plan of ascending to power. Furthermore, at the peak of PEV, the warring antagonists may have done a lot of panning to either consolidate the gains achieved or unleash revenge on the perceived enemies. The spontaneity of PEV is a viewpoint that was common among the common citizens of Kenya who may not have been privy to the secret dealings of the powerful political elites. To the proponents of this school of thought; who were mainly the supporters of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the run-up to 2007 elections was peaceful and its outcome which they expected to be peaceful was going to favour them. The announcement of the presidential results on 30\textsuperscript{th} December 2007, really took them by surprise. It is to be remembered that the ODM supporters had been psyched by their political leaders of a landslide win. The unexpected turn of events is likely to have led to a spontaneous eruption of the infamous PEV.

Although political undertones and ethnicity may have caused ethnic conflicts in Rongai, as argued by Dagne (2008) and Musau (2008) it is prudent to critically examine the political situation that triggered the conflict, as well as underlying social and economic grievances. For many years in Kenya, the root causes of ethnic conflicts have always been overlooked by both state and non-state actors. These actors rushed to treat the ‘symptoms’ and in this way, an amicable solution to the problem has remained elusive.
4.1.5 Nature of Ethnic Conflicts and Violence in Rongai Sub-county

Participants in all FGDs described the nature of the ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county as of a violent nature. The violence led to loss of lives and destruction of properties, looting and maiming. The conflicts were manifested in forms of land conflicts, socio-cultural conflicts and boundary disputes. On the boundary issue, the people of Morop and Kacherwa who were mainly members of the Kalenjin ethnic group were given as examples. They feuded over boundary issue for a decade. Other conflicts were resource based especially disputes over water and pasture in the arid
parts of Rongai. Some conflicts took political and economic dimensions. In this case, the ethnic group that produced political leaders was believed to benefit economically.

Information from a Kikuyu elder who was one of the interviewees, introduced a non-violent form of ethnic conflicts in Rongai, especially, during what he called ‘period of hibernation’. This was the period that came immediately after a major violent ethnic conflict. This period of lull was as a result of the interventions by both state and non-state actors. This period according to the interviewee was characterized by suspicions, silent political rivalry and tribal stereotyping between the major protagonists. This created a dangerous situation of tension that exploded at the slightest provocation such as during disputed election outcomes and even in minor disagreements. The Kikuyu elder had this to say about this period: “During this period, even a fight over matters that are purely personal between two men each from a rival ethnic group was enough to cause war between the rival ethnic groups.”

Senior Chief (Rtd), Mr Paul Kurere Labott who was one of the interviewees revealed another dimension of the nature of conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. The interviewee said that during the period of lull, any conflict was potentially constructive as it brought people together and generated lengthy discussions where people listened to varied views and always resulted to amicable solutions. On the contrary, conflicts at the times of heightened tension caused by major disagreements usually over politics and land resources were potentially destructive. In this case, the interviewee added that the conflicting communities became rigid and did not accommodate other points of views.
Abdi and Abdi (2009) also noted the presence of both constructive and destructive forms of conflicts in Rongai. The first was direct violence which involved intentionally harmful actions carried out by individuals who chose to do them alone or were commanded by an authority and acted accordingly. The second form was Structural Violence which was carried out by social organizations. It did not target individuals, but left them in poverty or otherwise put them in harm’s way, such as unsafe working conditions, dangerous products, or disease from pollution. The third form was the physical violence which encompassed behaviors that were intended or threatened to inflict bodily injury or death. This was the most straightforward and visible form of violence. Lastly was the psychological violence in which intend was to humiliate, degrade, intimidate or otherwise demean the dignity of others.

On the forms of violence, 10 out of the total 13 interviewees observed that structural and psychological violence was non-existent in Rongai Sub-county. They however observed that a psychological form of violence took place in some other parts of Nakuru where some members of communities that did not circumcise men in their rites of passage were harassed and circumcised publicly. Kimutai (2011) confirmed that this took place during the 2007/2008 PEV. Kimutai further stated that in the attacks which were targeted mainly at members of the Luo community, Luo men were subjected to forced circumcision, penile amputation and castration using broken bottles, pangas and knives by members of the outlawed Mungiki group in Nakuru and Naivasha. To bring out the objective of the attacks clearly, Kimutai stated that, “Luo men were forcibly
circumcised, others castrated in front of their families in a move meant to degrade and deprive the victims of their dignity”. In view of the fact that Rongai is part of Nakuru, it can be concluded that the psychological form of violence had the potential of happening in Rongai Sub-county.

This study’s finding that ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-county mainly resulted to violence is in agreement with the findings of Oyugi (2000:10) who noted a violent "revenge" by the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu (KAMATUSA) coalition that controlled political power at the time of President Moi’s Regime. Oyugi further stated that, expecting at the time to be humiliated at the forthcoming elections, the KAMATUSA group in KANU got together and decided that those ethnic groups that were betraying them had be taught a lesson. The lesson in question involved their violent expulsion from especially the ‘Kalenjin-Maasai lands’ in the Rift Valley.

Kalma-Raj (2006) also found that ethnic conflicts in Africa were as a result of ethnic rivalries which usually resulted in large scale violence, civil wars, and even genocide. In Rongai, the 2007/2008 PEV as found by this study, was a violent one. The Human Rights Watch (2013: 27)) also confirmed the violent nature of ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley when it pointed out that:

The most notable incidents, during the 2007/2008 PEV, were the burning alive of Kikuyus who had sought refuge in Kiambaa Church after being attacked in Kimuri village, resulting in 28 deaths, and the burning alive by an organized mob of 19 Luo community members in a house in Naivasha.
It is to be noted that the interviewees argued that violence, albeit of different magnitudes, were reported in many hot-spots of ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley; including Rongai, during the 2007/2008 PEV. The CIPEV (2008) also revealed the violent nature of ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley where people were attacked with crude weapons. Entire villages and houses (including churches) were also burnt. Traumatic (or forced) circumcision and gender based violence also occurred. The findings by CIPEV are similar to those that were documented by the Akiwumi Report (1999), Human Rights Watch (1999) and Musau (2008). In all these clashes, the perpetrators seemed to have one objective; to deliver a devastating damage on the perceived enemy to the extent that recovery was impossible.

The non-violent constructive ethnic conflict as found by this study and confirmed by Abdi and Abdi (2009) in Rongai, was not very common in Kenya and in the entire continent where ethnic conflicts usually resulted in destructive violence. It is however to be noted that this occurred when a truce and recovery had been realized in the wake of a destructive violence and the protagonists were afraid of the consequences of repeated destructive violence. The psychological violence was however common and had occurred in some parts of Kenya. In Naivasha Sub-county, members of a community were forcefully circumcised in public with an aim of humiliating them. This was during the 2007/2008 PEV (Kimutai, 2011).

According to the Protracted Social Conflict theory that guided this study, protracted social conflict is characterized by mostly violent struggle by communal groups. This
was indeed the case in Rongai where the dominant ethnic communities of Kalenjin and Kikuyu engaged in violent struggles for land, fair political and economic participation. This study therefore confirmed the principles of the theory as developed by Azar in 1990.

4.1.6 Causes of Ethnic Conflicts in Rongai Sub-County

When participants in the FGDs were asked to state the causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county, they named land issues, ethicized politics, marginalization, capitalism, water and pasture, cattle theft and prolonged inter-ethnic suspicions as the major ones.

The focus group discussions cited land as the major player in ethnic conflicts in Rongai. They put it that land in Rift Valley was believed to belong to the Kalenjin and when Kenyatta Senior took over power from the colonial masters, he recovered the land from white settlers and instead of returning back to the ‘rightful owners’- the Kalenjin, he gave it to his kinsmen -the Kikuyu. To emphasize the importance placed on land ownership among communities in Kenya, one interviewee who was a Kenyan farmer of Indian descent said that: “if title deeds were to be withdrawn in Kenya today, there would be total anarchy.”

On ethnicized Kenya’s Politics, the FGDs argued that ethnic cards were played every election year. They said that politicians had a tendency of whipping ethnic emotions
around elections to win votes. This strained the relationship between ethnic groups like Kikuyu and the Kalenjin who already shared a history of ethnic conflict.

The FGDs also observed that ethnic conflicts were exacerbated by the view by the two dominant ethnic communities in the sub-county that Kenya’s presidential elections was a zero-sum game where the community that produced the president benefited immensely whereas the one that lost suffered a corresponding loss. In this regard, the stakes were so high during electioneering period that political leaders impressed upon their communities on the significance of voting as a block to ensure that one of them was in any political office.

Another reason for ethnic conflict in Rongai according to the respondents was marginalization which led to unequal share of resources that included appointment to government positions, economic and political participation. Most respondents were of the opinion that successive regimes in Kenya were perceived to favour either the Kalenjin or the Kikuyu. In this case, each of these major ethnic groups felt locked out for the years that the regime that was perceived not to favour them was in power and vice versa. The respondents named government appointments to lucrative positions and allocation of huge tracks of land that was bought using public funds as the benefits that accrued to the favoured ethnic community. There were however few respondents who disagreed with the view that some regimes marginalized specific ethnic communities. They opined that the issue of marginalization came about because of the
twisted belief and expectations among Kenyans that they were only to benefit when a person from their own ethnic community ascended to the presidency.

Most interviewees (9 out of 13) added capitalism as one of the causes of ethnic conflict in Rongai. They said that the culture of get-rich-quick at the expense of anything else including the morals and values of the society has been inculcated in many Kenyans. One interviewee who was a Ward Administrator stated that: “No wonder former president of Tanzania, the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, branded Kenya a man-eat-man society”. It therefore followed that because of the high premium placed on accumulation of wealth, any obstacle to such a move was eliminated at the slighted opportunity.

Most interviewees (9 out of 13) also mentioned that sometimes conflicts arose over utilization of water and pasture resources mainly in arid parts of Rongai sub-county. This situation was worsened by the fact that the different communities that resided in Rongai had different methods of utilizing water and pasture resources due to their traditionally different livelihoods. For example, farmers would block water and channel it to their farms to irrigate their crops and water their livestock in zero-grazing units. On the contrary, pastoralists required uninterrupted flow of water. It was also observed that farmers had complained of the trespassing of pastoralists on their farms with livestock during the dry season. They clashed on several occasions over this.
Secondary sources of data confirmed the fact that water and pasture resources were one of the conflict areas in Rongai Sub-county. Nakuru DPC (2009. p.21) documented and evaluated the establishment of the Nakuru District Peace Committee (DPC) and stated that, the Kampi ya Moto DPC had handled two cases of conflict that arose from disputes over water resources. Nakuru DPC continued to state that River Rongai was the main source of water for domestic and agricultural use in the area and farmers who lived upstream tended to divert large amounts of water from the river and irrigated their farms. This angered the people who lived downstream and who always threatened to violently attack the farmers. Nakuru DPC, also, noted that the DPC had also resolved conflicts between farmers and pastoralists over grazing. Nakuru DPC observed that the interventions had emphasized tolerance of diversity and peaceful resolution of disputes.

Cattle theft was named as one of the causes of conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. Though rare, this vice led to loss of lives and destruction of properties. Nakuru DPC (2009. p.22) documented and evaluated the establishment of the Nakuru District Peace Committee (DPC). It showed a picture (Figure 4.2) of a hut that was burnt down in Mumoi Village on May 28, 2009 during a revenge attack related to cattle rustling and therefore corroborated the information from FGDs.

An interviewee who was a business lady in Solai Township observed that in Rongai Sub-county, ethnic groups had been in what could be called prolonged suspicion of each other because of the ugly experiences during tribal clashes that became common in Kenya since the introduction of multiparty politics in early 1990s. In these
conditions, any slight provocation was enough to incite full blown and widespread violence that pitted rival ethnic communities. The business lady put it thus: “not everybody who experienced ethnic conflict violence had healed psychologically. They still nursed deep seated anger and fear against the rival community that perpetrated their suffering”. The business-woman continued and observed that since the 2007/2008 PEV, the situation in Rongai had remained fluid and polarized and the current political marriage between the two major communities was hoped to last and bring about permanent healing.

Figure 4.2: Hut that was burnt in Mumoi during a revenge attack related to cattle rustling
From the analysis of the data, it is clear that the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county are land issues and the tribal based nature of Kenya’s politics. Other causes were cattle theft, capitalism, prolonged inter-ethnic suspicion and disputes over use of water and pasture resources. Musau (2008) confirmed politicized ethnicity as a cause by stating that in the 1990s, ethnicity was pointed out as formidable force in Africa by a number of African leaders. It was perceived as a great challenge to nationhood. He quoted the late Samora Machel of Mozambique who was of the opinion that: “for the nation to live, the tribe must die.”

Some scholars also pointed out the central role ethnicity played in society. According to Thomson (2004:62), ethnic groups remain an important form of social organization in Africa today, because they continued to serve contemporary social, political and economic needs. Oyugi (2000:7) confirmed that Land was an underlying factor behind much of the organized violence in the Rift Valley, as well as being critical to the more localized ongoing conflicts in various parts of the region. He continued to argue that, since the 1990s certain leaders had exploited grievances over perceived ‘historical injustices’ and poorly handled settlement schemes for electoral advantage. These grievances were perceived as favoritism and corruption by successive governments in allocation of fertile land, including a refusal to prevent and reverse settlement of outsiders (notably Kikuyu) in land originally appropriated from the local residents by the colonial authorities. This of course had occurred in a context of rapid population growth in what remained a largely agricultural society.
Still on land, the Ndungu Commission uncovered injustices concerning land allocation. The Ndungu Commission pointed out that, irregular allocation of land, in the larger Nakuru County in the 1990s, sowed the seeds of discord among the ethnic groups (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The Akiwumi Commission also named land grievances as root causes of the violence in the Rift Valley (Akiwumi Report, 1999). Kanyinga (2009, 325) also blamed ethnic conflicts in Rift Valley on the way land question was handled by stating that:

Analyses of what went wrong with Kenya tend to gloss over the land question as a factor behind the violence. Yet the manner in which the land question in the former white highlands and especially in the Rift Valley region has been addressed throughout the post-colonial period played an important role in the post-2007 election violence.

Oyugi (2000:7) also confirmed that politicized ethnicity had been the source of conflicts in Africa. To emphasize the important role of politics, he stated that ethnicity *per se*, in the absence of its politicization, did not cause conflict. There was evidence to suggest that where ethnic conflict emerged in Africa, there were always political machinations behind it. Politicization of ethnicity often took place in a situation characterized by an inequitable structure of access. Such a structure gave rise to the emergence of the “in group” and the “out group” with the latter trying to break the structure of inequality as the former responded by building barriers to access that ensured the continuation of its privileged position. This had been the case in Rongai Sub-county where the major ethnic communities took turns to occupy both the “in group” and the “out group” during Kenyatta Senior’s and Moi’s regimes. Yieke (2010)
also blamed politicized ethnicity, land issues, and the culture of impunity as the main causes of ethnic conflicts in Kenya.

The findings of this study strongly concurred with Nyukuri (1997), who found that, one of the long term causes of the clashes in Kenya was the colonial legacy, which was essentially historical but with ramifications in the post-independence era. To Nyukuri, this was a historical fact that the direct rule administered by the British colonialists later turned out to be the ‘divide and rule’ strategy which polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya. This in turn contributed to the subsequent incompatibility of these ethnic groups as actors on one nation-state called Kenya. The conditions surrounding the introduction of multiparty politics eventually caused the breakout of ethnic conflicts and violence.

The findings of Nyukuri (1997) that land was another source of ethnic conflicts in Kenya were also confirmed by the findings of this study. Nyukuri found that for a long time in the history of this country, land had remained a thorny economic and political issue.

The Protracted Social Conflict theory developed by Edward Azar in 1990 pointed out that social conflict had causes such as struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, and fair access to political institutions and economic participation. This study found that this was indeed the case in Rongai where
the dominant ethnic communities of Kalenjin and Kikuyu struggled for land, fair political and economic participation.

4.2 Elderhood among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-County

The second objective of the study was to examine the institution of elderhood among ethnic groups in Rongai Sub-county, from 1992 to 2015. To answer this objective, four focused group discussions were engaged with the help of guiding questions which were formulated according to the study objectives and the principles of the Protracted Social Conflict and Conflict Transformation theories that guided this study. The information obtained was further reinforced and corroborated by secondary data and data obtained through interviews conducted from 13 purposively selected participants. The FGDs participants were specifically asked to give a generally accepted definition of an elder at least according to the major ethnic groups that inhabit Rongai Sub-County. They were also asked to confirm whether elderhood was still respected in the modern age and whether there was a council of elders in Rongai Sub-County. The results are presented in the sections that follow under sub-themes which are: the concept of Elderhood among both the Kalenjin and Kikuyu, elderhood and command for respect among both the Kikuyu and presence of structured and institutionalized council of elders among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county.
4.2.1 The Concept of Elderhood among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county

When FGDs participants were asked to define an elder, they first observed that the definition of an elder varied in the two ethnic groups; the Kalenjin and Kikuyu. However, across the two communities in Rongai Sub-County, it was agreed that an elder was not only about age nor formal education but also wisdom. They further said that an elder was someone who had earned respect first at domestic level, that is, at home. The person was a negotiator, arbitrator, peacemaker, could separate wrong from right and lastly someone who was relied upon even during crises like the PEV of 2007/2008. In fact a Kikuyu elder quoted another old man who was supposed to be an elder by virtue of age, who upon being pressed to intervene during the PEV, was heard saying, “wacha kiumane, serikali, watajua namna watafanya” (let it take its own cause, the government must be knowing what to do). To the elder such a person with defeatist attitude did not qualify to be an elder.

Most interviewees (8 out of 13) defined an elder in the same manner as the FGDs. However one interviewee, a teacher, defined an elder as a respected ‘old man’ a ‘Mzee’ in Kiswahili who had lived up to his reputation for years. He went further and said that an elder of yesteryears (about 30 years ago) fitted his description perfectly but not the modern day elder. He attributed the erosion of elderhood qualities to modern education and civilization. Nakuru DPC (2009, P.17) stated that elders who sat in the District Peace Committees were selected by the communities on the basis of their
character and commitment to peace work. In this regard, an elder was a person of good character and committed to duty.

According to Human Rights Development Centre (2012), a member of a peace committee (an elder) had to display good leadership qualities that included: commanding respect from the community; had diverse knowledge in peace building and conflict management; exhibited openness and willingness to learn and adopted new ways of working with ease; was impartial and non-partisan in decision making; had the willingness to sacrifice time, energy and resources; and was a good listener and communicator. Human Rights Development Centre also emphasizes that illiteracy should not be used to close out a person who possessed prerequisite qualities from elderhood or belonged to a peace committee.

This study found that the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county had elders who occupied the powerful and coveted position by virtue of their special attributes. These findings were in line with what other scholars found both in Kenya and around the globe. For example, Roebuck (1979) stated that the UN used the age of 60 and above to refer to elders. In Africa, the Yoruba had elders who were referred to as ‘agba’ and comprised of ancestral forces, witches and wizards, and other spiritual agents that ruled the Yoruba universe, and whose powers far exceeded those of ordinary mortals (Foner, 1984 & Adeboye, 2007). In Kenya, Finke (2003) and Gay (1918) confirmed the existence of elderhood among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin who predominantly resided in Rongai Sub-county.
4.2.2 Elderhood and Command for Respect among the Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county

Most participants in FGDs (27 out of 32) were in agreement that respect for elders and by extension elderhood had deteriorated in recent times among the Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county. The members of the Kikuyu were found not to value and respect elders. The participants, however, gave an explanation for this observation that members of the Kikuyu community in Rongai migrated to the sub-county from various places of their ancestral lands in Central Kenya and were therefore of different cultural backgrounds. Such people according to the participants, experienced cultural erosion and therefore found it hard to respect the institution of elderhood. In addition, most of them were elites who achieved high levels of formal education and were able to purchase land in the sub-county. Such a social class according to the participants did not have regard for traditional institutions such as elderhood.

As a pointer to the deteriorating respect for elders among the Kikuyu in Rongai as indicated by the respondents, Kenyatta (1938) pointed out that the traditional way of life of Agikuyu was disrupted when they came into contact with British people around 1888. It is therefore expected that by the time the Kikuyu moved from their ancestral home to Rongai a lot had changed on their traditions. Kenyatta also stated that the Agikuyu were ruled by generations called Riika and that the ruling generation at the arrival of the Europeans was called Maina who handed over to Mwangi in 1898.
The interviews yielded a different perspective on elderhood and command for respect. Most of the interviewees asserted that in Rongai Sub-county the institution of elderhood was respected and highly regarded in matters of conflict. In other matters, however, elderhood no longer commanded respect as it was during the yesteryears. One interviewee who was a village elder pointed out that:

If there is a time when elders are respected and valued; it is during conflict. Members of all communities, especially, the youths, come pleading for the disputes to be resolved by the elders, may be because they own properties and their entire future is at stake.

Nakuru DPC (2009. p.1), acknowledged the high respect commanded by the elders who were members of Divisional Peace Committee in Rongai. Nakuru DPC, however, cautions that the respect of elderhood was dependent on how the institution was formed. According to Nakuru DPC’s findings, elders in Rongai were to be formed through a democratic process, and were a representative of the diversity of their areas of operation. They were also to enjoy goodwill and legitimacy in the community. This was in agreement with the views of the participants that not everybody could become an elder and commanded respect. Nakuru DPC, further, found that cultural-sensitive approaches were fundamental to the effectiveness of the institution of elderhood and by extension DPCs.

Nyukuri (1997) found that the retired president of Kenya, Daniel arap Moi had a lot of respect for the elders. He vehemently objected the use of the Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Alliance (GEMA) and Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu (KAMATUSA)
caucuses in resolving ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley. According to Moi, GEMA and KAMATUSA were an elitist grouping whose creation had little or nothing to do with the rank and file of the affected ethnic communities. These talks were widely believed to be between politicians who had selfish economic interests and could not compromise on most pertinent issues under consideration, particularly those related to land and resettlement of the displaced victims. Instead, Moi wondered why the elders had been overshadowed and yet they were the true representatives of the people. This confirmed the findings of this study that elders commanded a lot of respect even from the high and mighty in the society and especially on matters of ethnic conflicts.

The findings of this study were also similar to what Kazeem (2009) found about the elders among the Yoruba of Nigeria. He stated that the agba (elderhood) was not only an important institution of conflict management. This was common among many traditional societies in Africa.

4.2.2 Elderhood and Command for Respect among the Kalenjin in Rongai Sub-county

Participants in FGDs asserted that though respect for elders and by extension elderhood had deteriorated in recent times, it was still comparatively strong among the Kalenjin. The members of the Kalenjin community were found to be most respectful and still valued and respected elders as compared to members of other ethnic communities that included the Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba, Luhya and Turkana in the Sub-county. The participants, gave an explanation for this observation that the Kalenjin community were
indigenous in Rongai and their traditions had not been polluted as in other communities whose members were a conglomeration of people who migrated to the sub-county from various places of their ancestral lands and were therefore of different cultural backgrounds.

Most interviewees reported that among the Kalenjin, elders were so respected that they resolved all disputes that affect them. The Kokwet elders were the local authority for allocating land for cultivation; they were the body to which the ordinary member of the tribe would look for a decision in a dispute or problem which defied solution by direct agreement between the parties. One Kikuyu elder who was an interviewee observed that: “Because of the high respect the Kalenjin youth accord their elders, I tend to think that the atrocities they commit against other communities are sanctioned by the elders”. This means that for a successful conflict resolution mission to be achieved, the elders must be involved. Elderhood in the Kalenjin ethnic group was therefore, an important institution of conflict management.

To underscore the importance of elders among the Kalenjin, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi who was the president of the republic of Kenya from 1978 to 2002 and a Kalenjin himself was fond of using elders to resolve ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Nyukuri (1997) found that the retired president saw elders as true representatives of the people and had a lot of respect for the elders. In the 2007-2008 post-election violence, although the flawed election was a major factor triggering the violence, it was also pointed out that local politicians especially those in the Rift Valley, to a significant extent fuelled and planned
and funded the violence while community leaders did little to intervene (Musau, 2008). The Human Rights Watch (2013) also blamed the Kalenjin elders for doing little to resolve ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley. From all these arguments and observations, it can be concluded that the Kalenjin elders commanded a lot of respect among its members. The institution of elderhood in the Kalenjin community could play a significant role in achieving harmony between the various ethnic communities that reside in Rongai.

4.2.3 Presence of a Structured and Institutionalized Council of Elders among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county

Participants were asked whether there was an organized and institutionalized group of elders in Rongai Sub-County similar to the council of elders that became common in Kenya and they confirmed that indeed all the ethnic communities had some organizations involving elders but formed for different reasons. Kikuyu and the Kalenjin were found to have more structured council of elders. In the Kikuyu community ‘Kiama’ was a Member of Kikuyu Council of elders whereas a ‘Poiyot ap Kokwet’ was an elder in Kalenjin who was the spokesman for the ‘Kokwet’ which was a collection of twenty to one hundred scattered homesteads. It was also reported that some members of the communities also belonged to the Kikuyu and Kalenjin Council of Elders. Some belonged to the National Council of elders that drew members from all counties in the country.
According to interviewees, every community in the sub-county had a council of elders. However, from comments of some interviewees, it seemed smaller ethnic groups did not have councils of elders. One interviewee, a white farmer observed that; “being a Kenyan ‘Mzungu’, he had never been a member of any council of elders”

Secondary sources of data revealed an organized and institutionalized group of elders which drew members from almost all communities in the sub-county and which was called Divisional Peace committee (DPC). Therefore, all the four divisions in Rongai had DPCs that were composed of elders of impeccable character traits. Nakuru DPC (2009. P.17) documented and evaluated the establishment of the former Nakuru District Peace Committees and reported that elders who sat in the Divisional Peace Committees were selected by the communities on the basis of their character and commitment to peace work. Nakuru DPC (2008), detailed a training manual for the members of Provincial Administration and documented formation and activities of DPCs.

Kenyatta (1938) acknowledged the presence of a structured and institutionalized elderhood among the Kikuyu. He pointed out that by the time the Europeans came to Kenya in 1888; the Kikuyu were ruled by generations called Riika. Kenyatta named Maina as the ruling Riika in 1888. According to Kenyatta, the traditional symbols of power that the Riika used was the Muthĩgi (stick) which signified power to lead and the itimũ (Spear) signifying power to call people to a war. The respondents admitted that these were no longer in existence among the Kikuyu of Rongai. The council of elders that existed was not Riika.
On the existence of institutionalized elderhood among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county, Nyukuri (1997:37) quoted the then president of Kenya complaining of exclusion of elders from the warring communities in resolving conflicts. He was particularly surprised that the Kikuyu, who lived in Central Province at that time, had been involved in matters that should have been sorted out by elders from the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities who lived in the Rift Valley Province. He said: "There is no reason why the Kikuyu should hire the services of leaders from Central Province to speak on their behalf as if there were no elders here." These sentiments revealed existence of elderhood among the two ethnic groups.

Elsewhere in Africa, the agba (elders) was a socio-political model for conflict resolution, and it was an entity that was responsible for effective conflict resolution in indigenous Yoruba societies of Nigeria (Kazeem, 2009). This was similar to what this study found in Rongai. The council of elders of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities had been formalized and institutionalized to the extent that it received recognition by all in matters of arbitration.

4.3 The role of Elders in Ethnic Conflict Management in Rongai Sub-county

The third objective of the study was to examine the role of elders in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county. This objective and the questions that the participants in FGDs and interviews were asked were formulated in line with the principles of the Protracted Social Conflict and Conflict Transformation theories that
guided this study. The results are as presented in the sections that follow under two themes which are: the role played by different actors in conflict management and the role played by elders in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Subcounty from 1992 to 2015.

4.3.1 Role Played by Other Actors in Ethnic Conflict Management in Rongai Sub-county

FGDs participants identified the following as the other actors in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county: State actors, churches/missionaries, foreign governments and donor organizations, charitable individuals, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and council of elders.

On the role of state actors, one interviewee who was a Ward Administrator pointed out that; “the long arm of the government reached all the parts of Rongai”. Respondents were also unanimous that through the ministry in charge of internal security, state actors were very instrumental in resolving conflicts. The Chiefs and Administration Police had managed to bring a semblance of security in the area. This enabled people to freely move and continue with their socio-economic and cultural activities without fear of insecurity. The chiefs in the area also ensured that security situation was monitored and reported in time. They also negotiated peace pacts on several occasions. The sub-county commander, assistant county commanders, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were all members of peace committees at various levels. It was also reported that the offices of the Sub-
county and Ward Administrators that were constituted in 2014, had boosted conflicts management in the sub-county.

Minutes of peace meetings that were held in Rongai also corroborated information from the participants that state actors were deeply involved in ethnic conflict management. Both the District and Divisional Peace Committees (DPCs) held peace meetings where members of the ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government were fully represented and in most cases chaired the proceedings. In Minutes of a Peace Keeping Meeting at Kampi ya Moto, Rongai Division (2008, 7th August), (Appendix K), the District Officer (DO), Chief and three Sub-Chiefs were present. In this meeting, the DO was reported as follows:

The DO urged people to bring to an end the on-going chaos. She reminded people that solutions to the problems will come from them. She urged that people understand one another and respect each other. She requested elders to talk to their young generations and guide them.

The signing of a Nakuru Peace Accord in 2012 was also attended by a DO and two chiefs (Human Rights Development Centre, 2012).

According to majority of FGDs participants, Churches and missionaries provided religious teachings which made people ethical to the extent that they did not engage in quarrels, disputes, idle talks and gossips. They, instead, engaged in productive activities. The major churches in the area of study were the African Inland Church (AIC) and the
Roman Catholic. Missionaries associated with these churches played a significant role in improving relations among people.

According to a pastor who was one of the interviewees, churches played very crucial roles by bringing God life to society; God was a reality not a faraway God. They taught people how to live well with neighbours hence peace. “A peaceful society is a developing society; peace and development are synonyms; church preaches peace” said the 40 year old pastor. The interviewee continued to report that, churches build and started schools especially in remote places. They engaged in water projects to alleviate water shortage by donating water pumps hence reducing water related conflicts. It was also reported that the church had been in the forefront in educating the community on their civil rights and the benefits of peaceful co-existence. It was clear that the church had a holistic approach to issues and therefore contributed immensely towards ethnic conflict management.

Charitable Individuals were also named by the most FGDs participants as main actors in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai. These individuals participated through self-help groups, *harambees* (Kiswahili for pulling together) and acts of charity. These provided avenues where individuals came together and pulled their resources to solve problems that emanated from ethnic conflicts. Many peace projects were implemented using funds raised through *harambees* and personal donations. Charitable individuals especially the priests, nuns and politicians used personal wealth to bankroll peace programmes and feed the affected such as the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Majority of
Participants in FGDs reported that many of the philanthropic individuals became chief guests in fundraising functions and helped many affected people settle down peacefully.

On Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), FGDs participants reported that the World Vision Kenya is one of the NGOs that were on the forefront in conflict management. This NGO was reported to use direct and indirect means of ensuring that all the communities in Rongai lived harmoniously. It created awareness on effects of ethnic conflicts and other social vices including cattle rustling. It also created capacity particularly among the elders through peace seminars and workshops. World vision, in addition, subsidized fees for children orphaned in the wake of violent conflicts.

The Community Based Organizations (CBOs) were reported by the FGDs participants to have played an important role by resettling and compensating victims of ethnic conflicts in Rongai. The objective of doing this was to reduce cases of revenge attacks that occurred when the affected community tried to recover whatever was taken from them during conflict. The Imani CBO was named as one of the most popular CBOs in the sub-county. Others were Agano, Tumaini and Exodus. The participants observed a surge in the number of CBOs operating in the county and whose achievements had not been felt. One interviewee who was a peasant farmer observed that: “Some of the CBOs seem to be benefitting from our predicaments. It is like they are happy when conflicts occur.” Figure 4.3 shows victims of 2007/2008 PEV receiving chicken, goats and wire meshes donated by one of the CBO at Maji Matamu Centre.
Foreign Governments and Donor organizations played important role in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai. An Indian elder who was one of the interviewees named the governments of the United States of America (USA), Norway, and Germany to have either directly or indirectly participated in sponsoring and executing projects that had enhanced conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county. State funded bodies and organizations such as the United Nations, World Bank and the United States Agency for international Development (USAID) were also named to have contributed immensely.
The USA and USAID, assisted in donating and distributing relief foods especially during the 2007/2008 PEV. The UN also helped to distribute the relief food on behalf of USA. Norway and German governments worked through churches and NGOs. According to one interviewee, who was a pastor; “The peace related programmes of some churches and CBOs in the Sub-County were sponsored by both individuals from Norway and Norwegian government. Some also receive help from USA, Germany and Norway”.

Capacity building through training on conflict issues was found to be another major avenue that was used by the foreign governments and bodies who sponsored compilation of most of the training manuals that were used in the area of study. Examples were the Provincial Administration Training Manual that was used by Nakuru District Peace Committee to train participants of peace initiatives in the county in 2008. Another was Training Resource Guide on Conflict Prevention and Transformation authored by Dekha Abdi and Nuri Abdi in 2009. This was funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the former by United States Agency for international Development (USAID).

Works of other scholars on this area of the main actors and their roles in conflict management may not be very similar with those that this study found. This was because the conflicts in Rongai Sub-county were mainly ethnic and pitted two biggest communities which were the Kalenjin and Kikuyu. Furthermore, the conflicts were
mainly over land and political supremacy and occurred mainly around election time. Closer to the findings of this study, were the works of Oyugi (2000:15) who found that in conflict management, the main actors were NGOs, donor agencies, the churches and other religious institutions. According to Oyugi, the NGOs and donor agencies played role in conflict resolution and took part in helping those affected by clashes. They also carried out educational programs to urge people to live in harmony. The churches on the other hand, played the same roles but also reacted to condemn the previous clashes by pressurizing government to act on issues of ethnicity. Other similar findings were those of Nyukuri (1997), Kwaku and Rankapo (2007), Musau (2009) and Boru (2010).

The CBOs were found to be one of the major actors that complemented the role of elders in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county. It was, however, to be noted that some participants were skeptical about the roles of CBOs that seemed to benefit their ‘brief case owners’ more than the victims. It seemed therefore that in conflict situations, the actors that assisted were unscrupulous and had ulterior motives. Musau (2008:7) also observed that many CBOs in Kenya failed due to uncoordinated local linkages.

4.3.2 Role Played by Elders in Ethnic Conflict Management in Rongai Sub-county (1992-2015)

Majority of Participants in FGDs (27 out of 32) noted that elders were the lead actors in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county. Their first role was to regulate community rules. Participants observed that all communities had a system of regulation
of community rules that was led by a council of elders. Among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities, the *Kokwet* and *Kiama* were instrumental in regulation of rules in a wide variety of contexts such as at times of crisis that or conflicts. Participants noted that violators of the regulations were sanctioned and sometimes threatened with curses. Some were given a thorough beating in public especially among the pastoral communities who never understood or even accessed the formal justice system. The small Turkana community in Rongai, was noted by participants to prefer the form of punishment that involved caning. Disciplining those who broke the laws was reported to be a form of conflict regulation, because it aimed at ensuring that tensions did not arise within the community and also between communities due to members failing to respect rules. It was noted that fear of being disciplined especially among the youth played a crucial role in reducing tensions that could cause serious outbreaks of violence.

Secondly, the respondents said that elders played the important role of regulating negotiations and compensations in ethnic conflicts. Since the flare-up of ethnic related conflicts, several negotiations and compensations were brokered by the elders. For instance, in the 2007/8 PEV, the elders from the Turkana community were reported to have agreed in principle not to support either the Kalenjin or kikuyu in the conflicts. Other smaller communities followed suit and conditions improved tremendously. Rules governing compensations were also passed by the elders according to cases.
In some cases, it was reported that the elders imposed collective sanctions and punishments to inculcate a sense of collective responsibility in the community whose member or members committed the offence. Participants reported that on several occasions, collective punishments were applied to target the collective ego and psyche of the affected community. This provided a forum in which community members offered ideas for a permanent solution to the conflict.

The participants continued to observe that, the elders were also handy in brokering political deals like for instance, the members of the Kikuyu community prior to 2013 election, agreed to back Mr. Raymond Moi for the Rongai parliamentary seat to appease the Kalenjin community. According to the participants, elders played a key role in preventing outsiders from spreading malicious rumours that widened the rift between the two main protagonists in Rongai Sub-county.

Thirdly, FGDs participants stated that elders played the crucial role of coordinating and implementing innovations and programmes that were geared towards promoting peaceful co-existence of communities. Sporting activities were used on several occasions. One interviewee who was a teacher reported that:

> A sport is great for youth integration. The elders in conjunction with NGOs such as the World Vision Kenya have on several occasions organized sporting activities in the entire Rongai. Even girls are involved and it has been good for peacemaking.
The information from participants was corroborated by Abdi and Abdi, (2009,p.12) who stated that elders, who were members of DPCs in Rongai, were very enthusiastic in the use of sports as a tool for achieving peace. The DPC in Rongai, used sports to enhance ethnic relations because goal oriented, group activities provided individuals from diverse backgrounds with positive experiences of being bound together for common purpose.

Participants in FGDs also reported that the elders were instrumental in controlling the activities of the politicians who were accused of making ethnically divisive utterances that threatened peaceful co-existence of communities. Their record of polarizing communities made elders to be cautious of them. Those who fell short of the expectations of elders were on several occasions summoned and cautioned. Those who did not comply were warned of dire consequences through the media. On the other hand, some participants noted that there was a silver lining in involving politicians in that the institution of elderhood had always been given a voice at the national stage by the politicians.

Fourthly, participants reported that the elders in Rongai Sub-county played the role of initiating dialogue between the various communities on peace and security. It was noted that the elders held peace meetings all over the sub-county from village to village especially during PEV crisis. One elder remembered how elders aged above 70 years were summoned by the provincial administration after the 2007/8 PEV to move from village to village restraining the youth from fighting and preaching peace. In the peace
meetings, members of all communities were educated on the importance of harmonious co-existence. Problems that had accumulated over time were also resolved. This was well captured by one elderly participant who observed that; “In Maji Matamu, we played a key role in negotiating a peaceful resolution to an ethnic conflict that had caused some youth to burn a home.”

Lastly, elders in Rongai Sub-county played the role of acting as a link between the county and national government. Participants noted that the councils of elders of the ethnic groups in Rongai were recognized at both the county and national level as important stakeholders in achieving a peaceful co-existence of communities. It was also noted that some elders belonged to the DPCs that were formed in 2008. Some were members of the National Council of Elders. One participant remembered that towards the end of 2008, an elder from Rongai invited the entire National Council of Elders to preach peace in the sub-county for a whole week.

In comparison with other actors, majority of the interviewees were of the opinion that the elders made a significant contribution and as a traditional system of justice and conflict regulation, was more effective. The reasons given for this were: the results were visible to all the communities since elders were closer to the people; complied with community values and rules; their resolution of conflicts were found to be more durable; elders were richer in history and wisdom; they commanded more respect from the youths hence could easily calm them and restrain them from further fighting; sometime elders were the commanders or spiritual leaders of the communities. For
example, it was noted that among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin elders administered oaths. They therefore easily commanded them to withdraw from any conflict. Other reasons given were that; engaging elders in a conflict management process was faster and cheaper as compared to the courts that were relied upon by state actors and the NGOs. Lastly, elders were reported to lean on reconciliation and restitution. This act yielded better results.

Mr. Samwel Yator, who was one of the interviewees gave very high rating to the elders but lamented on challenges that hampered their success. According to him, elders faced challenges such as the ethnicized politics, and negative effects of civilization. The latter according to him made people individualistic, selfish and with low regard to traditional systems such as elderhood.

A few participants in FGDs (8 out of 30), however, were of contrary opinion and opined that the traditional mechanism of elderhood had serious bottlenecks in managing ethnic conflicts. These participants were particularly concerned with the system of compensation applied by the elders which did not thoroughly punish an individual. They observed that the elders preferred dealing with families, clans and even the entire community to stand in the place of the offender. One of the participants in Kampi ya Moto FGD said:

When an individual commits an offence and was caught, the elders allowed his family or clan to pay for compensation to the victims. In doing this, the offender did not feel even a pinch of the pain and was
therefore, most likely to repeat the offence or commit other major atrocities. This was very unfair and many of such cases are still common here.

The dissenting voices further noted that since the elders lived and operated in the neighbourhood, they feared dealing with hardcore and dangerous criminals. They turned a blind eye when it came to crimes committed by such criminals and powerful politicians. In the end, the rights of the poor were abused by the rich who paid their way out of trouble. One of them observed; “in any case, the poor did not generally participate in council meetings and could not call on the council to convene when they were abused”. These dissenting participants positively perceived the state actors and other actors that applied formal means of managing ethnic conflicts as more governed by the principle of equality of rights and fairer. For this reason, they were more likely to register lasting solution to ethnic conflicts in Rongai.

Although this study found that the trust on elders and their roles was waning especially among the youth, their role in ethnic conflicts management was still significant and was to endure for a long time. The declining trust on the elders was perhaps related to the current undemocratic means of selecting people to sit in the councils of elders. Furthermore, the political elites had compromised elderhood for selfish gains. In the recent past, the Luo and Ameru councils of elders were engaged in internal wars over leadership and alliances to powerful political leaders. In this case the elders were perceived to be puppets of the politicians that plan, fuel and fund their activities. Oyugi,
(2000:6) confirmed this and stated that, at the grassroots level, the elders assisted the friendly politicians in garnering support.

It is however to be noted that at the time of serious crisis, it was natural that everybody was knocked back to their senses. It was during this period that objective solutions to conflicts were found by all the concerned parties which included the elders. The findings of this study confirmed this. Elderhood was therefore a leading player in ethnic conflict management, not only in Rongai but in the entire country.

The elders in all communities since time immemorial played a leading role in resolving any form of conflict; no wonder Kiswahili speakers have a saying that: “where there are the old men (elders), nothing goes bad.” This was a fact that was established by this study and works done by other scholars. Kwaku and Rankapo (2007) stated that the traditional conflict resolution processes that used the elders were deeply rooted in the customs and traditions of peoples of Africa where their role was geared towards reconciliation, maintenance and improvement of social relationships. Kazeem (2009) and Boru (2010) noted a leading role of elders in resolving conflicts among the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Borana of Northern Kenya respectively. Farah (2007) documented how Siad Barre returned to Somaliland and worked with other elders to defuse conflicts between different clans after suffering defeat.
4.3.3 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed, interpreted, discussed and presented data obtained from both primary and secondary sources. This study found that ethnic conflicts in Rongai sub-county were mainly of violent nature, originated from the re-introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in early 1990s and were caused mainly by land and political issues. It also found that the institution of elderhood was strong in Rongai Sub-county and commanded respect in the management of ethnic conflicts. Further, this study found that as compared to other actors who included the well-resourced state actors and NGOs, elders played a leading role in ethnic conflicts management.

The Conflict Transformation Theory that was developed by Johan Galtung in 1969 guided the analysis, discussion, interpretation and the themes under which the data was presented. The theory expressed the process by which conflicts, such as ethnic conflicts, were transformed into peaceful outcomes. One of the tools of transformation in peace and conflict management process in Rongai that this study found was the institution of elderhood. The elders were found to have played the crucial role in the transformation of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county.

The next chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction
This chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study based on the study objectives.

5.1 Summary of the Findings
The purpose of the study was to investigate elderhood in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county from 1992 to 2015. To answer the objectives of the study, four focused group discussions were engaged with the help of guiding questions which were formulated according to the study objectives. The information was further reinforced by interviews conducted from 13 purposely selected participants and the secondary data. The results were as summarized under the objectives as follows:

The first objective of the study was to investigate the origin and causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-County. The study found that ethnic conflicts in Rongai sub-county were mainly of violent nature, originated from the introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in early 1990s and were caused mainly by land and political issues.
On nature of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county, the study found it to be mainly violent. The violence led to loss of lives and destruction of properties, looting and maiming. The conflicts were also manifested in forms of land conflicts, socio-cultural conflicts and boundary disputes. The study further found that there were four main forms of violence that took place in conflict situation. These were: direct, structural, physical and psychological. It was however found that the structural and psychological forms of violence were rare in Rongai Sub-county. There was also a non-violent form of ethnic conflict in Rongai, especially, during what was called ‘period of hibernation’ which was the period that comes immediately after a major violent ethnic conflict. The study also found an interesting dimension of the nature of conflicts in Rongai Sub-county that during the period of lull, any conflict was potentially constructive as it generated lengthy discussions where people listened to varied views and always resulted to amicable solutions.

On the origin of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-County, the study further found that the seeds of discord had been sown by the colonial legacy which the successive independence governments failed to correct. Since this period, ethnic conflicts became common especially during election years and mainly involved the two major ethnic groups that resided in the sub-county which were the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu. As a result, the situation in the sub-county remained fluid and a minor conflict even that which involved individuals flared up and became inter-ethnic clashes.
On the causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-County, the study further found that the conflicts have been mainly over land and political supremacy which reared its ugly horns every election year since the introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya. It was also established that ethnic conflicts were exacerbated by the view of the two dominant ethnic communities in the sub-county that Kenya’s presidential elections were a zero-sum game where the community that produced the president benefited immensely whereas the one that lost suffered a corresponding loss. The study also found other causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county to include marginalization, capitalism and scarce water and pasture resources, cattle theft and prolonged inter-ethnic suspicion.

5.1.2 Elderhood among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-County

The second objective of the study was to examine the institution of elderhood among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Rongai Sub-county, from 1992 to 2015. The study found that the institution of elderhood was strong in Rongai Sub-county and commanded respect in the management of ethnic conflicts. In respect to the above finding, the definition of an elder was found to vary from community to community. However, among the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities in Rongai Sub-county, an elder was not about age nor formal education but wisdom. Additionally, an elder was a person of good character, committed to duty and had earned respect. The person was to be a negotiator, arbitrator, peacemaker, could
separate wrong from right and lastly someone who could be relied upon during crisis. An elder was also required to display good leadership qualities.

On elderhood and command for respect, the study found that the institution of elderhood was respected and highly regarded in matters of conflict. In other matters, however, elderhood no longer commanded respect as it was during the yesteryears. Respect for elders had deteriorated in recent times and was varied from community to community. The respect for elderhood was also found to be dependent on how the institution was formed. Elderhood that was formed through a democratic process, and was a representative of the diversity of its areas of operation was found to command more respect. This was the case in Rongai Sub-county where elders commanded respect especially in matters of ethnic conflicts management.

This study also found that there was an organized and institutionalized group of elders in Rongai Sub-county and that both Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic groups had organizations involving elders but formed for different reasons. Compared to other communities, the Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic groups were found to have more structured council of elders. It was also established that some members of these two communities in Rongai belonged to the National Council of Elders that drew members from all counties in the country. This study further revealed that an organized and institutionalized group of elders which drew members from almost all communities in the sub-county and which was called Divisional Peace committee (DPC) also existed.
Therefore, all the four divisions in Rongai had DPCs that were composed of elders of impeccable character traits.

5.1.3 The Role of Elders in Ethnic Conflict Management in Rongai Sub-county

The third objective of the study was to examine the role of elders in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-County. On this, the study found that as compared to other actors, the elders played a leading role in ethnic conflict management. The other actors were found to be the state actors, churches/missionaries, foreign governments and bodies, charitable individuals, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and Community Based Organizations (CBOs).

The study found that the role of state actors through the ministry in charge of internal security was very instrumental in resolving conflicts. The Chiefs, Kenya Police Reservists and Administration Police managed to bring a semblance of security in the area by monitoring and reporting security situation. They also negotiated peace pacts on several occasions. They were also members of peace committees at various levels. It was also found that the recently constituted offices of the Sub-county and Ward Administrators boosted conflicts management in the sub-county. Both District and Divisional Peace Committees (DPCs) that were instrumental in peacemaking processes were found to have members of the ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government who in most cases were chairs of the proceedings. The DPCs held peace keeping meetings especially during crisis.
The non-state actors that included the churches, charitable individuals, foreign governments and bodies, CBOs and NGOs were found to have participated either directly or indirectly in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county. They build capacity in the people and their leaders through various socioeconomic activities and projects with the objective of enabling harmonious co-existence of the various ethnic groups residing in the sub-county.

On elders, the study found that they were the lead actors in ethnic conflicts management in Rongai Sub-county. Their first role was to regulate community rules. It was established that all communities had a system of regulation of community rules that was led by a council of elders. The elders were also found to have played the important role of regulating negotiations and compensations in ethnic conflicts. The elders also played the crucial role of coordinating and implementing innovations and programmes such as sporting activities that were geared towards promoting peaceful co-existence of communities. The study further established that the elders were instrumental in controlling the activities of the politicians accused to have made ethnically divisive utterances that polarized communities and threatened their peaceful co-existence. The elders in Rongai Sub-county also played the role of initiating dialogue between the various communities on peace and security. It was found that the elders held peace meetings all over the sub-county from village to village especially during PEV crisis. The study further established that, elders in Rongai Sub-county played the role of acting as a link between the county and national governments and
were recognized at both levels as important stakeholders in the quest for a peaceful co-existence of communities.

In comparison to other actors, the study found that the elders had made a significant contribution and as a traditional system of justice and conflict regulation, they were more effective because of a number of reasons that included: complied with community values and rules; their resolution of the conflicts was found to be more durable; elders were richer in history and wisdom; they commanded more respect from the youths and sometimes they were the commanders or spiritual leaders of the communities. Other reasons were that: engaging elders in a conflict management process was faster and cheaper as compared to the courts that were relied upon by state actors and the NGOs. Lastly, elders were reported to have leaned more on reconciliation and restitution. This act yielded better results.

Despite the very high rating given to the elders, this study found that challenges hampered their success. The challenges were the ethnicized politics and negative effects of civilization. The latter made people individualistic, selfish and with low regard to traditional systems such as elderhood. It was further established that traditional mechanism of elderhood had serious bottlenecks in managing ethnic conflicts. It was found that the system of compensation applied by the elders did not thoroughly punish individuals because the elders preferred dealing with families, clans and even the entire community who stood in the place of the offender. Further to this, the elders lived and operated in the neighbourhood and therefore feared dealing with
hardcore and dangerous criminals. They were also known to turn a blind eye when it came to crimes committed by powerful politicians. In the end the rights of the poor were abused by the rich who paid their way out of trouble.

5.2 Conclusions

This study found that ethnic conflicts in Rongai sub-county were mainly of violent nature originated from the introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in early 1990s and were caused mainly by land and political issues. It also found that the institution of elderhood was strong in Rongai Sub-county and commanded respect in the management of ethnic conflicts. Further, this study found that as compared to other actors who included the well-resourced state actors and NGOs, elders played a leading role in ethnic conflicts management. The study, therefore, concludes that the institution of elderhood was very crucial in resolving conflicts since time immemorial. In Kenya, the role of elders became more pronounced during and after the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence (PEV). Councils of elders were formed throughout the country and have continued to resolve conflicts and crisis of every manner. Although the institution of elderhood was politicized to the extent that they were no longer trusted in some quarters, they remained relevant and favoured when it came to ethnic conflicts management as evidenced by the findings of this study. It is therefore hoped that the findings and recommendations of this study will be used by the county and national governments to empower the institution of elderhood throughout the country so that peaceful inter-ethnic co-existence and the development dividends that come with it are achieved.
5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions, this study makes the following recommendations:

Firstly, the institution of elderhood should be resourced and given the specific mandate of managing ethnic conflicts throughout the country. To achieve this, the avenues through which elders operate such as Divisional Peace Committees (DPCs) and Councils of Elders should be strengthened and encouraged to operate even during peaceful periods. This study found that during peace periods, the seeds of discord were sown and created conditions of tensions and suspicions that waited to explode at the slightest trigger such as during polarized electioneering.

Secondly, the underlying causes of ethnic conflicts be identified and resolved proactively. Kneejerk reactions that end up focusing on the symptoms should be discouraged. The issues of land and politics that were found by this study to be major causes of ethnic conflicts should be adequately addressed. One way to address this is by fully implementing the current progressive constitution and the findings of commissions such as the Ndung’u Land Commission of 2005. In doing this, some semblance of equitable distribution of resources will be achieved. This may eradicate the view among Kenyans that presidential election is a zero-sum game where the community that produces the president benefits immensely whereas the losing one suffers a corresponding loss. Chapter six of Kenya’s constitution should also be fully
applied to weed out unethical political demagogues from Kenya’s political landscape because they are known to incite ethnic passions for their selfish gain.

Thirdly, ways should be found to weed out the culture of intolerance and impunity among Kenyans. Both state and non-state actors should make concerted effort to impress upon Kenyans that unity in diversity is beneficial as it guarantees sustainable development. Kenyans should be educated on the sanctity of life and the respect for private property. Additionally, the law enforcers should fairly apply the full force of the law in order to eradicate the culture of impunity.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

This study concentrated on the role of elders in ethnic conflicts management. In the course of conducting the study, the researcher discovered that other than the elders, the role of non-state actors came out very strongly. This should, therefore, be investigated in other studies in the same sub-county or any other sub-county that is prone to ethnic conflicts.

It is also to be noted that this study found that major causes of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county were land and politics. This means that the residents of the sub-county heavily relied on land resources and political favours for their livelihoods. There is therefore need for these people to adopt alternative livelihoods so that issues of land and politics cease to be matters of life and death. This necessitates a research on the
determinants of adoption of alternative livelihoods among the people of Rongai Sub-county with a view to proposing means of improving the adoption.

This study also found that violence was the major manifestation of ethnic conflicts in Rongai Sub-county. There is need for the protagonists to resort to non-violent means of resolving ethnic conflicts. In this case, further research is hereby recommended on the non-violent means of resolving ethnic conflicts in Rongai and any part of Kenya where ethnic conflicts are common.
REFERENCES


Minutes of a Peace Keeping Meeting at Kampiya Moto, Rongai Division (2008, 7th August). Initiative of Rongai DPC.


APPENDIX A: Interview Schedule

INTRODUCTION

Greetings and Welcome.

I am a student at Kenyatta University undertaking a Masters of Arts degree in Peace and conflict management Studies. I am conducting a study on the role of elders in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub County, Nakuru County, Kenya.

In order to carry out the study effectively, I am obliged to collect data on the subject matter. I therefore wish to kindly request you to answer the following questions as objectively and as accurately as possible. The study is conducted purely for academic purposes and is not meant to evaluate your opinion or demean you or your institution in any way whatsoever. Please note that, your identity and responses will be treated with uttermost confidentiality.

Thank you.
SECTION 1: General Information

Name of Interviewee and Occupation (Optional)

1. ............................................................

Venue of discussion-----------------------------------------------

Date of Discussion -----------------------------------------------


1. Have there been conflicts in Rongai Sub County? Since when? Explain.

2. What is the nature of these conflicts?

3. What is the origin of ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-County?

4. What are the causes of ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-County?

SECTION 3: The Institution of Elderhood in Rongai Sub-County

1. Who is an elder in your Community?

2. Is elderhood respected in Rongai Sub-County?
3. Are there council of elders in Rongai Sub-County?

SECTION 4: The Role of Elders in Ethnic Conflict Management in Rongai Sub-County

1. Who are the main actors in peace and conflict management in Rongai Sub-County?

2. Which role has each actor played in managing ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-County?

3. What role has elders played from 1992 to 2014 in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-County?

4. As compared to other actors, how do you rate elders in ethnic conflict management and why? Explain?
APPENDIX B: Focus Group Discussion Guide

INTRODUCTION

Greetings to all of you and welcome.

I am a student at Kenyatta University undertaking a Masters of Arts degree in Peace and Conflict Studies. I am conducting a study on the role of elders in ethnic conflict resolution, in Rongai Sub-County, Nakuru County Kenya.

In order to carry out the study effectively, I am obliged to collect data on the subject matter. I therefore wish to kindly request you to fully participate in this discussion and answer the following questions as objectively and as accurately as possible. The study is conducted purely for academic purposes and is not meant to evaluate your opinion or demean you or your institution in any way whatsoever. Please note that, your identity and responses will be treated with uttermost confidentiality.

Before we start I would like to remind you that there is no right or wrong answer in this discussion. We are interested in knowing what each of you think, so please feel free to be frank and to share your point of view, regardless of whether you agree or disagree with what you hear. It is very important that we hear all your opinions.

You probably prefer that your comments should not be revealed to people outside this group.
Please treat others in the group as you want to be treated by not telling anyone about what you hear in this discussion today.

Let's start by going around the circle and having each person introduce himself.

SECTION 1: General Information

Names of Discussants and occupation (Optional)

1. ………………………………………………………………………………………

2. ………………………………………………………………………………………

3. ………………………………………………………………………………………

4. ………………………………………………………………………………………

5. ………………………………………………………………………………………

Venue of discussion-----------------------------------------------------------------

Date of Discussion -----------------------------------------------------------------

SECTION: Nature, Origin and Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Rongai Sub-County

1. Have there been conflicts in Rongai Sub County?

2. What was the nature of these conflicts?
3. What is the origin of ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-County?

4. What are the causes of ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-County?

SECTION 3: The Institution of Elderhood among Communities in Rongai Sub-County

1. Who is an elder in your Community?

2. Is elderhood respected in Rongai Sub-County?

3. Are there council of Elders in Rongai Sub-County?

SECTION 4: The Role of Elders in Ethnic Conflict Resolution in Rongai Sub-County

1. Who are the main actors in peace and conflict resolution in Rongai Sub-county?

2. Which role has each actor played in resolving ethnic conflict in Rongai Sub-county?

3. What role has elders played from 1992 to 2015 in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub-county?

4. As compared to other actors, how do you rate elders in ethnic conflict management and why?
APPENDIX C: List of Informants

1. Snr Chief (Rtd) Paul Kurere Labott - Kalenjin Elder
2. Chief (Rtd) Samwel Yator - Kalenjin Elder
3. Kipkemoi Arap Chumo - Ward Administrator
4. Michael Maina Njogu - Kikuyu Elder
5. Gabriel Munga (Village Elder) - Kikuyu Elder
6. Samson Mwangi - Peasant Farmer
7. Simon Nyaberri - Gusii Elder
8. Selina Okello - Business Lady
9. Joseph Mutuol - Pastor
10. Millis Jones - White Farmer
11. William Samal - Turkana Elder
12. Stephen Makhoha - Teacher
13. Ranju Patel - Indian Elder
APPENDIX D: Minutes of Peace Keeping Meeting in Rongai

PEACE KEEPING MEETING HELD ON 7TH JANUARY 2008
KAMPI YA MOTO DIVISION/RONGAI CONSTITUENCY

AGENDA
PEACE KEEPING

LEADERS PRESENT
1. D.O
2. Chief
3. Sub – Chiefs
4. Maj Gen. (Rtd.) Cheлагat
5. Maj Gen. (Rtd.) Njoroge
6. Cllr. Stephen Lagat
7. Joseph Kimeto

Attached is a list of those who attended the meeting. The meeting started with a word of prayer from Hosea Kamau.

General Cheлагat was elected chairman, Joseph Nderitu was elected secretary.

Areas represented:- Kampi ya Moto, Morop, Ranjuera, Mahinga, Kipsyen, Kapsetek, Ol Rongai, Barina, Naithuit, Kosambo, Losibol and others.

The chairman thanked the members for electing him. He gave a history of how while in school they had election between KADU & KANU. When election were held as students KADU was defeated hence KADU dissolved to join KANU.

He informed leaders and other members that we are all leaders and hence there was need for respecting leadership and giving others a chance to play their role. Incase they fail time would come to vote them out.

He informed leaders and other members that we casted our votes and whoever won in our station is known. Hence if anything went wrong in Nairobi, we were never part of the problem and none of us in Kampi ya Moto Division participated. He cautioned leaders on what they talk thus they should be conscious of what they say.

He cautioned leaders and other members to stop tribalism. He reminded leaders that they are intermarried and as a result should live harmoniously. He concluded by saying that we should learn to solve our own problem locally and among ourselves.

ELECTED COUNCILLOR
He sent apologies to those whose properties were burnt. He reminded leaders that election were held well and those whom he was competing with had no grudge. He opened a forum in which people should talk freely of what actually happened and get a solution.

GENERAL NJOROGE
He informed leaders that we have had enough security. He urged leaders to be free and talk of problems facing us and how to solve them.
He talked of how several houses have been burnt. He also talked of how there has been insecurity in the area. Animals destroying food crop and several threats. He urged administration to intervene and assist.

THE D.O
The D.O urged people to bring to an end the on going chaos. She reminded people that solutions to the problems will come from them. She urged that people understand one another and respect each other. She requested elders to talk to their young generations and guide them.

CHIEF
He talked of how he had a hectic time to contain the chaos. He urged people to cooperate in promoting peace.

RECOMMENDATION
1. Elders and youth should be appointed and incorporated in the Provincial Administration. These would assist in peace keeping and development.
2. Elders to talk to the young generation and guide them. Senior Officers thus retired officers be assisting in development and other matters.
3. Sub-chiefs to hold barazas in their respective areas so as to promote peace and development.
4. The elected councillor to accompany the Sub-Chiefs in their meetings.
5. The Chiefs to be assisted in eradicating local brew by those who brew it and those who rent houses.
6. None of those whose properties were destroyed would be displaced. Those whose properties were destroyed be assisted.
7. Those involved with the destruction to face the legal action.

DECLARATION
1. The residents will not involve themselves with presidential matters which were above them.
2. No revenge should take place.
3. People to continue living together as was the case before election. As well continue with development programme.
4. Outsiders will not be allowed to cause chaos in our area.

Being no other business the meeting ended with a word of prayer from Mr. Hosea Kamaa.

COMPiled BY:

Chairman  
Sign  
Date 04/11/08

Secretary  
Sign  
Date 07/11/08

C.C: D.O, CHIEF, SUB-CHIEF AND LOCAL ELDERS
APPENDIX E: Letter of Introduction from Kenyatta University

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
NAKURU CAMPUS
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

P.O BOX 17952-20100
Nakuru

Tel: 020-2310707
Email:director-nakuru@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac

DATE: Monday, May 11, 2015

TO: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

SAIMON KIPYEGON CHERUTICH  REG NO: C50/NKU/PT/25928/2013

This is to confirm that the person named above of ID. NO.13067821 is a registered Student of
Kenyatta University (Nakuru Campus) pursuing a course in Master of Arts (Peace and
Conflict Management). He has completed his course work and is going on with his research
project.

Any assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
TRANSFORMING HIGHER EDUCATION...ENHANCING LIVES
APPENDIX F: Letter of Authorization by County Commissioner

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND
COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegram: "DISTRICTER", Nakuru
Telephone: Nakuru 051-2212515
When replying please quote

Ref. No. CC:SR:EDU 12/1/2 VOL/1/168

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAKURU COUNTY
P.O. BOX 81
NAKURU

2nd June, 2015

The Deputy County Commissioner,
RONGAI SUB COUNTY.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION - SIMON KIPYEGON CHERUTICH

The above named student has been given permission to carry out research on "Elderhood in ethnic conflict management from 8th June to 8th July, 2015" in your Sub-County.

Kindly give him the necessary assistance.

M.B. MOHAMED OGW
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAKURU COUNTY
APPENDIX G: Research Authorization by NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 3218420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote
Ref: No.

NACOSTI/P/15/2336/6300

Simon Kipyegon Cherutich
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Elderhood in ethnic conflict management in Rongai Sub County, Nakuru County, Kenya, 1992-2014,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nakuru County for a period ending 21st December, 2015.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nakuru County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nakuru County.

The County Director of Education
Nakuru County.

APPENDIX H: Photo of Researcher Discussing Land Issues with Elders

Source: Researcher, 2015
APPENDIX I: Map of Kenya Showing the Location of Nakuru County

Source: Republic of Kenya; KNBS, 2009
APPENDIX J: Glossary

Elite: The person who has high status, successful and powerful in Rongai mostly due to wealth and good education.

Harambee: A Kiswahili word, meaning to pull together.

Itimū: A Spear for Kikuyu elders that signified power to call people to a war.

Kalenjin: A Nilotic ethnic group inhabits the Rift valley province in Kenya. They are estimated to number a little over 4.9 M individuals as per the Kenyan census 2009.

Muthuri wa Kiama: Member of Kikuyu Council of Elders.

Kikuyu: The largest ethnic in Kenya it is estimated to be slightly over 6.6m as per 2009 census.

Kokwet: A collection of twenty to one hundred scattered homesteads.

Koret: Basic unit of a political organization among the Kalenjin.

Madoadoa: A Kiswahili word that was used derogatively in the Rift-Valley to unwanted ‘spots’ in their ‘ancestral land’. These ‘madoadoa’ or ‘spots’ included Kikuyu, Luo, Kisii, Luhya and any other ethnic group other than the Kalenjin.

Muthīgi: A stick that was used by Kikuyu elders which signified power to lead.

Poiyot ap Kokwet: Elder in Kalenjin who is the spokesman for the Kokwet.

Riika: A ruling generation among the Agikuyu in the 17th Century.