

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE 2007 DECEMBER POST-ELECTION
VIOLENCE IN NAIVASHA TOWN AND ITS
EFFECTS UPON THE CHURCH

BY
PAUL NDIVO MBALUKA

*A Thesis Submitted To The Graduate School in Partial
Fulfillment of The Requirements for The Degree of Master
of Arts in Pastoral Studies*

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July, 2009

Student's Declaration

**THE 2007 DECEMBER POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN
NAIVASHA TOWN AND ITS EFFECT
UPON THE CHURCH**

I declare that this is my original work and not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented here are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed)



Paul Ndivo Mbaluka

July, 2009

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to discover the factors which led to the failure during the election preparation and consequences of the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha and how the church was affected. In order to achieve this purpose, research was carried out whereby data was collected through observations, discussions in groups, and face to face structured interviews with twelve participants, two police officers, two IDPs, two pastors, two youths (Mungiki members), two civil servants and two people from different ethnic background that were targeted (Luo, Kalenjin).

The findings revealed five categories of causative factors leading to the 2007 December post-election violence in Naivasha. These factors include political, land, revenge, tribalism and poverty issues. The Naivasha post-election violence that erupted in late January 2008 was revengeful though the above other factors played a key role. The research has examined the consequences and what should be put in place in order to avoid the same from happening again.

This study has revealed that though the church has been in one way or another blamed for its failure in lack of providing the right information during the 2007 political campaigns; it is the same institution in a strategic position of ensuring true forgiveness and reconciliation. The reconciliation must first begin with the church itself whereby disunity and segmentation among the Christian body must be dealt with first.

Based on these findings, the following recommendations are made: the government to put in place an independent ECK, punishment of the perpetrators, putting in place of the civic education, introduction of the poverty eradication schemes, constitution review among others. Recommendations were given that since the Church is not blamed so much among the Naivasha residents, it should take the initiative of rendering timely seminars and workshops on forgiveness and reconciliation to the community.

To

My dearest Wife Mary Nzisa and Children Melody, Daniel and our late Irene Katumbi who went to be with the Lord while I was still a student at NEGST, with love.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Kenya is a country situated in the eastern part of Africa and in its northern part it borders both Ethiopia and Sudan. It's one of the East African community countries and often recognized as the most economically developed within the three countries. According to the recent census report, the Kenyan population is around 36 million people. Kenya enjoys having 42 ethnic tribes that are scattered all over the country. Though Kenya is famous for its beauty, game reserves and the diversity of different languages, the recent tribal violence dominated both local and international news headlines hence tarnishing its dignity.

Background

Naivasha is a town in Rift Valley Province, Kenya, lying north west of Nairobi. It is located on the shore of Lake Naivasha and along the Nairobi - Nakuru highway and Uganda Railway. According to "Sustainable travel International online magazine" from <https://sustainabletravelinternational.org>, Lake Naivasha is a beautiful freshwater lake, fringed by thick papyrus. The lake is almost 13kms across, but its waters are shallow with an average depth of five metres. Lake area varies greatly according to rainfall, with an average range between 114 and 991 square kilometers. At the beginning of the 20th Century, Naivasha almost disappeared due to prolonged spells of droughts. The resulting open land has been farmed, until heavy rains a few years later caused the reappearance of its survival, though newly

established estates have emerged in places where there used to be water. The local Maasai christened the lake *Nai'posha* meaning "rough water", which the British later spelled as Naivasha.

Due to the freshness of the waters and relatively conducive climate, Naivasha has proved favorable for horticultural farming hence becoming a major source of employment. Naivasha being a cosmopolitan town in the Rift Valley of Kenya is densely populated by people from all diverse ethnicities and walks of life who basically come and reside for economic, cultural, spiritual and social purposes. All these people have lived in harmony working, residing, fellowshipping, schooling together till the 2007 December elections when the bewildering catastrophe struck. These different ethnic groups of people who've lived together in harmony for many years rose against one another in animosity.

This research project focuses upon the 2007 December post-election violence that befell this County but more specifically in Naivasha and so badly affected the church and the community at large. In the literature review we'll look at the issues pertaining conflicts and how they can be fueled into violence eruptions, so we'll begin by looking at the definition, causes and consequences of the unresolved conflicts. As a means of remedy, we'll look at what the bible says about forgiveness process and shortcomings brought about by revenge. On research methodology and procedures, this research has used entry procedures, validation and verification strategies, use of certain instruments in data collection, sampling and data collection and eventually data analysis in order to administer the findings and conclusion.

Problem Statement

Following the 27th December 2007 election in Kenya and its eventually unacceptable outcome, the country was thrown into uncontrollable disarray that left around 1000 people dead and over 350,000 rendered homeless and internally displaced. Even though the common man went to vote for their preferred presidential candidate, the unexpected came to reality. The Standard newspaper reported that in Naivasha town alone, forty two people died, but eye witnesses reported that the number was over seventy people—all of them from a certain ethnic background.

These skirmishes instilled a spirit of hatred, mistrust, and doubt in the hearts of the Naivasha people. Though this research has established that the church is not blamed for the post-election violence in Naivasha, we can't overlook the participation of some so called 'christians' in the carnage. According to Kenyan Catholic News Service, (dated August 27th, 2008), 1300 pastors signed a document admitting that senior church leaders participated in the skirmishes especially in other areas like Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru etc. They owned up their sinfulness in "taking partisan positions on national issues; elevating ethnic identities above Christian identity; direct involvement in party politics and participation in the post-election violence, (actions) which are made more ominous by the deteriorating national values, sinful political strategies and failure to faithfully stand for biblical values and principles."

Goals

My goal is to help the Church to become a movement for healing the wounds. As result of my research, it is expected that the church, para-church organizations, political figures as well as every individual minister of the gospel in Naivasha will: -

1. Become actively involved in propagating the message of love, hope, and reconciliation in residential areas.
2. Take an initiative of acting in love to their immediate considered 'enemies'.
3. Take an initiative to study and understand the importance of relationship between socialization and the concepts of conflict and its management. This study is dynamically aimed at spearheading the research process pertaining to the above.
4. Facilitate the practical biblical ways of initiating dialogue towards reconciliation of both domestic and public conflicts.

Purpose of the Study

My hypothesis is that the terrible skirmishes and violence experienced in Naivasha and its environs were as a result of poor and selfish involvement of both prominent political and spiritual leaders. I'll demonstrate that the church in general failed to lead the Kenyan citizens in the rightful ways of approaching the elections with biblical wisdom and understanding and this failure landed this country into great peril and caused immense disaster. According to Citizen Radio station (one of the Kenyan Local Radio stations), 1135 people lost their lives leaving over 350,000 others homeless and displaced within their own country. The biblical scholars in conjunction with the church must seek for a solution that will curb this spirit of hatred, fear, bitterness, despair and revenge that was planted in the minds of the Naivasha residents (and Kenyans as a whole) in the 2007 December post-election violence.

Hypothesis

1. The proposition of this project is that despite the above circumstances, there's still hope for a remedy that has to be initiated by the same church that so badly failed this country during the 2007 December elections. This project is geared towards creating a scholarly platform and awareness for the urgent need of the establishment of a reconciliation process. This initiative can be pioneered by the church.

Research Questions

1. What do you think are the factors that led to the 2007 December post-election violence?
2. What went wrong in the election preparations? Who do you think was responsible for the violence eruption in Naivasha and why?
3. What are the evident results/consequences of the 2007 December post-election violence epidemic?
4. What do you think should be put in place in order avoid the same from happening in Kenya in future?

Limitations

The data collection procedure will only cover selected Church leaders, politicians, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and the young people who were directly or indirectly involved as well as those who were directly or indirectly affected by the sadism. Though many challenges were expected on the pathway, the canvasser

being an eye witness of the unfolding of the events in Naivasha will have an added advantage to the anthology of the research materials.

This study was limited by things like space i.e. it was only centralized in Naivasha area and according to the focus of study it could allow the inclusion of other places that were affected by the same. Another limitation was availability of viable respondents who'd provide the right information. Many people were available but it wasn't easy to get the right people with sound information. Distance and time was another major factor that affected this study since the right interviewees were sometimes a long distance away and getting them was a problem. A good example is the locating the right IDPs was a major problem because in Naivasha we currently don't have genuine IDPs, they were shifted to *Mahi-mahiu* (25 km from Naivasha town) where a piece of land was purchased and divided among them.

Another big problem was suspicion i.e. very few people were willing to accept a situation where they'll fill a questionnaire with their names on them because they were afraid that the names may be used to track them down. A good example in this is the young people, especially where the researcher had to get a Mungiki representative. Though none of them will admit that he/she is a Mungiki, yet he'll admit to be an adherent of their practices. It was not possible to use tape recorders because none of my respondents could accept to be recorded probably in fear of being quoted in future.

Delimitations

Due to the diversity of the effect the 2007 post-election atrocity had on many people, I've narrowed this study to the effect it had on the Church in Naivasha (Church of Christ). Though all the Naivasha residents were affected in one way or the

other, yet this research cannot accommodate all those diversities, otherwise its quality will be betrayed and diminished.

Definition of the Terms

Church: - Church is the term used in the New Testament most frequently to describe a group of persons professing trust in Jesus Christ, meeting together to worship Him, and seeking to enlist others to become His followers. The term 'Church' in this respect will be used to mean the visible body of Christ and more precisely, 'the true born again believers' in Naivasha.

Revenge: - This is doing something harmful in return for an injury or wrong doing. In this project, this word will be used to mean the act of violence, killing, looting, destruction of property etc, of people believed to be the other party's enemies.

Violence: - This is the use of force to injure or wrong. From the *Oxford Dictionary*, "violence is the behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage or kill. It's also a physical, emotional force or energy that leads to destruction when erroneously exploited."

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs): - From the plain look at it, this is a term that will be used to mean people who are rendered homeless in their own native country.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Definition of a Conflict

From the *Oxford Dictionary*, “a conflict is a serious disagreement, a long lasting struggle or most precisely a lack of agreement between opinions, principles etc.” From *Encarta Dictionary*, it is “a disagreement or clash between ideas, principles, or people.” This disagreement may lead to harsh reaction that causes violence and abuse.

The book *The Peace Maker* by Ken Sande is a biblical guide to resolving personal conflict as well as group conflicts. The author gives practical biblical guidance for conflict resolution that takes you beyond resolving conflicts to true, life-changing reconciliation with family, coworkers, and fellow believers. Ken Sande, in the process of producing this book, has worked closely with known writers like J.J. Packer, Charles W. Colson, Franklin Graham, John Piper, Tony Evans, Max Lucado, Timothy George, D. James Kennedy and Warren Wiersbe the author of a book known as *Real Peace*. Sande therefore defines conflict as “*a difference in opinion or purpose that frustrates someone’s goals or desires*. A definition is broad enough to include innocuous variations in taste, such as one spouse wanting a vacation in the mountains while the other prefers the waterfront, as well as hostile arguments, such as fights, quarrels, lawsuits, or church divisions” (Sande 2004, 32).

This is an indication that in a conflict, there is something to do with difference in opinions or desires. It's good to note that most conflicts begin from a good desire as it shall be discussed below.

Causes of Conflicts

We've as many causes of conflicts as we've different people with different interests and desires on earth. Every person has different test of things and this is why conflicts between people living together in a common place is inevitable.

As we look at the causes of conflicts, we'll consider a book entitled *The Peace Making Pastor* by Alfred Poirier, a biblical guide to resolving Church Conflicts. Poirier is chairman of the board for Peacemaker Ministries and serves it additionally as adjunct instructor and mediator. He's senior pastor of Rocky Mountain Community Church in Billings, Montana, USA. In this book, the author has done a thorough exploring the theology of reconciliation, and adds lessons from personal experience and lists practical steps for effective mediation. With this comprehensive guide, you can embrace peacemaking confidently as a way to glorify God through the overcoming power of the gospel. This indeed is a charming approach to conflict management. The author traces the origin of most conflicts from the New Testament Epistle by James.

In James 4:1-2 the Bible says that conflict starts not with him nor with her, but with us—with me. My desires cause conflict. And my desires can break a marriage. They are set over and against my wife's desires, so I wage war with her to get what I want. The source of conflict then is not something I lack or need but rather something I want—my desires. We are not empty cups needing to be filled. We are cups overflowing with pride, ambition, conceit, and selfish desires. In the same way, our hearts are not empty and passive but full and active, brimming over and spilling out. In brief, conflicts erupt in our homes and our marriages because there are desires in our hearts. James doesn't stop there, however. He wants us to look not only at ourselves and our desires but

particularly at the dynamic of our desires. Look again at James 4:2: “You want something but don’t get it. You kill and covet, but you cannot have what you want. You quarrel and fight (Poirier 2004, 27).

From the voters’ point of view, on the 2007 December 27th election, the Kenyan voters went to the ballot boxes in true innocence and in solemn hope that they’ll emerge with their preferred Presidential candidate. However things turned opposite. The delay of the results at the same time created an atmosphere of anxiety and disparity. This process reached a climax in tension and it was actually a true nationwide time of expectancy. Each country has a constitution that guards every party as well as the rights of every citizen. When one party, citizen or a political figure ignores the contract as stipulated by the constitution, then the complainant should rather seek justice from the law courts instead of taking the law in their hands. The temptation to use force (demand) was so high and the pressure for the complainant party to pave through the shortest way towards justice was so intense. It was illegal to iniquitously burn, loot, injure and violate any other human being’s rights in the name of claiming what one thinks rightfully belongs to him/her. Of course it was visible in the whole scenario that each political antagonist was demanding to push their way through regardless of whether it will lead to a national disaster or not.

“Google Scholar” is one of the well established academic research tools. Being well known engine for authentic erudite work, it presents appropriate information that has been studious researched and academically based. Though not all authors may be well known, Osborn Michelle in *Informa online World Magazine* places the events of 2007 December election and proceedings in a more accurate way. In <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp>, Osborn says that

Kenya's post-election crisis was partly fuelled by the seemingly innocuous, but insidious, power of rumour. In the 2007 election campaign, rumours fostering suspicion and mistrust were widely disseminated, and in the aftermath of the contested poll rumour frequently gave credence to claims that advanced specific political agendas. The use of mobile phone Short Message Service (SMS) texts in the circulation of rumours gave them an instantaneous spread, contributing to increased anxiety, sometimes leading to panic, and, on occasion, motivating people to action. This article examines the impact of rumour and its relation to politics within Kibera, a densely populated informal settlement in Nairobi's Lang'ata constituency. Lang'ata is the political base of Raila Odinga, presidential candidate and leader of the opposition ODM (Orange Democratic Movement) (Osborn 2008).

The violence in Kenya originated from a good desire which was to elect a Presidential candidate. There's nothing bad with having a new president or new members of Parliament in constituencies after election, for that is the reason why all voters went for the occasion. The good desire didn't prevail long enough before something else happened. This desire was interrupted by a demand. According to both Sande and Poirier, when a demand comes in, it pushes its way through.

Poirier says that, the pattern that James describes is that,

First, we start with our desires—we want something. That might be okay. But soon our desire rises to the level of a demand. Now we not only want but we insist we must have what we want. This demand quickly morphs into a dictatorial demand with godlike expectations—others must serve you and meet your desires (Poirier 2004, 28).

Again from “Google Scholar”, two Authors: Peter and Sievers Scholarly authors in “African Spectrum”, in “German Institute of Global and Area Studies” (GIGA African Affairs) have written important information of what happened in the 2007 December post-election violence. In <http://www.giga-hamburg.de/iaa>, they say the following,

Large-scale violence erupted after the official declaration of Kibaki's victory on the evening of December 30th. Much of the unrest took the shape of an ethnic conflict between communities that had voted overwhelmingly for Odinga (the Luo, Kalenjin) and those that had voted for Kibaki (the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru). Long-standing conflicts over land and social injustice fuelled the violence. According to different estimates, at least 1,000, but perhaps more than 1,500 people were killed altogether, mainly in the Rift Valley, Nyanza Province and

Nairobi. At least 350,000 people (but probably a much higher number) were evicted from their homes, mostly in the Rift Valley. The immediate crisis only came to an end after former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan succeeded in brokering a power-sharing deal between Kibaki and Odinga on February 28th, 2008” (Peters and Sievers 2008).

It’s worthwhile noting that when these demands find their way, the demands are clearly stirred up by selfishness, greed and pride. When these egotistic motives take charge of a human heart, the humanity of other people as well as their rights and interest are disregarded. Ken Sande also points out that, there are four primary causes of conflicts. From the earlier considerations, the good willed desire pushes an individual to an extent of making very sharp demands and as a result the following consequences are evident: -

1. Misunderstandings resulting from poor communication (Josh 22:10-34).
Communication breakdown is one of the major causes of conflicts.
Interestingly enough, people may find themselves in an intensive difference simply because the communication is inadequate.
2. Difference in values, goals, gifts, calling, priorities, expectations, interests, or opinions can also lead to conflict (Acts 15:39; 1Cor.12:12-31). This is another major cause of conflicts in families, communities and churches.
3. Competition over limited resources, such as time, land or money, is a frequent source of disputes in families, churches, and businesses (Gen.13:1-12). I’d say that this is basically one of the aspects that triggered the 2007 December post-election violence. Apart from the issue of politicizing the election campaigns, our political leaders did expose the Kenyans to hatred and bitterness that was connected to power, long outstanding land disputes, as well as difference in opinion, hence triggering the post-election violence.

4. Sinful attitudes and habits that lead to sinful words and actions (James 4:1-2). The Bible puts it clear that sin is a major cause of conflicts.

Specific Causes of the 2007 December Post-election Violence

The Waki report will make a paramount contribution towards this project. It was written by a commission that was given the mandate to scrutinize the 2007 December Post-election violence in the entire country. It's called Waki Report because it was led by Justice Philip Waki. This commission of inquiry into Post-election violence was to purposely investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding the violence, the conduct of state security agencies in their handling of it, and to make recommendations concerning these and other matters. I've a lot of faith in this report as an authority for this project because it has involved intense study of the facts surrounding the subject in question.

The Waki report presents four major circumstances that led to the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha and other parts of Kenya.

Impunity after deliberate use of Violence in the past: - Kenya has experienced several tribal clashes in the past especially as from the early 1990s. The Kenyan political leaders are known to lure young men into violent acts whereby they evict, rape, burn people's houses and property, loot property and brutally kill innocent ones all in the name of demanding their rights. This elaborate arson that took place in the 2007 December post-election couldn't however been realized if the former cases were justly dealt with. Waki says that

Over time, this deliberate use of violence by politicians to obtain power since the early 1990s, plus the decision not to punish perpetrators has led to a culture of impunity and a constant escalation of violence. This, in turn, has caused a further diffusion of violence in the country, which now is largely outside of the

control of the State and its security agencies. Thus, violence has become a factor not just of elections but in everyday life. What this means in practice is that violence is widespread and can be tapped for a variety of reasons, including but not exclusively to win elections (Waki 2008, 22).

Enormous power around the Presidency: - The Waki Report also puts it clear that,

The power surrounding the president has given rise to two views among the politicians and the general public. First, people think that it is essential for the ethnic group from which they come from to win the Presidency in order to ensure access to state resources and goods. Secondly it also has led to a deliberate denudation of the authority and legitimacy of other oversight institutions that could check abuses of power and corruption and provide some accountability, and at the same time be seen by the public as neutral arbiters with respect to contentious issues, such as disputed elections results. As a result, in many respects the state agencies are not seen as legitimate (Waki 2008, 23).

These views have led to a major problem in the country and a notion that once an ethnic group gets a Presidential candidate, then they'll have added advantages. The more they'll be without a Presidential candidate or a prominent government official among them, the more they'll be like outcasts in this country.

Feeling among certain ethnic groups of historical marginalization in distribution of land and other resources: - "This feeling has been tapped by politicians to articulate grievances about historical injustices which resonate with certain sections of the public. This has created an underlying climate of tension and hate, and the potential for violence, waiting to be ignited and to explode" (Waki 2008, 23). This feeling has been cultivated and fuelled by the political leaders during the political rallies. The most misguided group of people prone to this feeling is the uneducated and unemployed young people who are actually the easy catch.

In a more specific manner, the 2007 December post-election violence was centered around political and land issues but more vividly, by a spiritual misguidance.

The Second cleavage that strongly influenced the elections was that between the Kikuyu and Luo communities, determined by strong tensions since the 1960s,

when Oginga Odinga, father of the 2007 presidential candidate Raila Odinga, was dismissed as vice president in 1966. Three years later, the other Luo leader, KANU Secretary-General, Tom Mboya, was assassinated; Odinga's Kenya's People's Party (KPU) was banned and its leader detained. Strong feelings of betrayal have never ceased, particularly because the Luo areas of Nyanza Province have felt neglected ever since in terms of investment and development" (Peters and Sievers 2008).

Poverty, unemployment and increased problems due to growing

population: - According to the Waki report and as said above, the easy prey are the naïve educated and uneducated, poor, unemployed and the young people in our society. Sometimes they're just mentally hooked while other times they're financially manipulated and dominated. In order to assure triumphant subjugation on the desperate young people, the "*god fathers*" will prioritize economic, spiritual, social and mental captivity. The Waki report continues to say that

These young people agree to join militias and organized gangs. These gangs have been alleged to intersect with parts of the Government and the security forces. These groups now have become "shadow governments" in the slums and even in other parts of the country and have been used by politicians to attack their opponents; to secure their own security, and to gain power. Furthermore, these proliferating militias also are said sometimes to dovetail with the State and its security apparatus thereby not only reducing the State's capacity to control the violence but also increasingly threatening the integrity of the State and the nation. This underlying endemic situation has created a climate where violence is increasingly likely to be used and where its use is increasingly unlikely to be checked (Waki 2008, 23).

This situation of poverty, unemployment and idleness among young people in Kenya has thrown the country into immense disarray and has promoted the launch of unlawful sects and youth alliance movements in every ethnic group, and they have become a threat to public security. These militias and sects have been used by our political leaders as well as the tycoons towards their own personal selfish gains. Grace N. Wamue, a Sociologist and a writer in *African Affairs (Royal African Society)* in her online article from <http://www.africanaffairs.article.htm>, about "Revisiting our Indigenous Shrines through Mungiki" writes the following,

Mungiki is a Gikuyu word that has been taken from the etymological root word *Muingi*, meaning masses or people. It is a term derived from the word *nguki*, which means *irindi* (crowd) and reflects a belief that people are entitled to a particular place of their own in the ontological order. The term therefore means ‘fishing the crowd from all corners of Kenya’. *Mungiki* also refers to a religio-political movement composed mainly of large masses of Gikuyu origin, and other non-Gikuyu (Pokots, Luos and Maasai). These are mainly youths in the 18—40 age group. However, there are exceptional cases in the 40—60 age bracket. The movement is estimated by its national co-ordinator to have about one and a half million members, including 400,000 women. These numbers are questionable, however, since it appears that most Kenyans shun the sect (Wamue 2001, 454).

In Naivasha, the researcher witnessed the proceeding of the events following the 2007 December post-election violence and as a resident, the unveiling of the dramatic happenings. In Naivasha, it’s astonishing that the violence was financially fuelled by the affluent business people (from Naivasha and other parts of Central Kenya) who in their terms could not stand to see their people being evicted from the Rift Valley and some parts of Western Kenya. Needless to say, they had to use the young men and the easiest target was this organized group of jobless young men and women—the *Mungiki*.

The Violence was a Way of Revenge

Since this project is based on the happenings in Naivasha, the violence didn’t begin immediately after the results were announced on 30th December 2007. Amazing enough, when other Rift Valley and Western towns for example Eldoret and Kisumu went up in smoke, most of the Naivasha residents rose up in jubilation. They even went into the streets in celebration and sang victory songs because the Presidential candidate who emerged the winner according to the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) (regardless of whether the election was rigged or not) was their favorite. Following this announcement, clashes broke out and the media showed mass

destruction of property, burning of people's homes, looting, rape cases, killing and many other ruinous activities were reported. For a period of three weeks, Lorries were seen in Naivasha ferrying people who were ejected from the Western and Rift Valley. This captivated the building up of pressure of anger and fury among the Naivasha and Central Kenya residents and as a result a quick plan of revengeful attack against the people who come from the Western and Rift valley was put in place.

Dr. Dan B. Allender & Dr. Tremper Longman III (both authors are scholars and lectures at different Seminary Institutions) have written a book known as *Bold Love* that draws out the aggressive, unrelenting, passionate power of genuine love. Far from helping you "get along" with others, bold love introduces the outlandish possibility of making a significant, life-changing impact on family, friends, coworkers—even your enemies. In this book both Allender and Longman talk about revenge and this is what they say

Revenge has a bad reputation. It is an emotion from the other side of the tracks that no good Christian should embrace. Revenge is a bully, a thug that must be controlled by more noble and godly sentiments. Ask most Christians, "Is it desirable to want revenge? Or is it ever godly to seek revenge?" I am confident that most would heartily say, "Absolutely not." (Longman and Allender, 2007, 185)

They continue to say that,

I am amazed how many Christians view revenge as intrinsically evil. I asked one man if vengeance was ever good. He answered, "It is the vilest of human desires. It goes back to the tribal demand of an eye for an eye. As Christians, we've gone beyond tribal vengeance to an ethic of love that offers the cheek, rather than requiring the repayment of an eye." Again, there is a measure (small as it may be) of truth in his words. We don't operate on an ethic of love, but his assumption is that love and vengeance are in opposition (Longman and Allender, 2007, 187).

In Naivasha, the researcher noted that rumors played another big role in fueling these mayhems. Few days before the uproar broke up on the 27th January 2008, reports indicated groups of young men from target places (Rift Valley and Western

Kenya) were seen buying petrol, machetes, etc in large quantities. Rumors also had it that at night, there are Lorries that are seen ferrying bows and arrows to the Kalenjin brothers as an indication that all Kikuyus living in Naivasha will soon be evicted just as it was done in other places. Osborn says that “Between October 2007 and February 2008, rumors played a significant role in shaping public perceptions of the emerging political crisis in Kibera. This narrative suggests the ways in which rumors served to escalate tensions, while sometimes also serving political purposes (Osborn 2008).”

These rumors brought a lot of confusion and of course something had to be done in haste and thus why young men (Mungiki) were hired from other parts of the Central Kenya to come and reinforce the violence. Naivasha was believed to be a battle ground of the young men from Western and Rift Valley—*Taliban* and *Kamjeshi* versus those from the Central Kenya—the *Mungiki*.

Results of Unresolved Conflicts

Sande talks about the results of disputes and unresolved conflicts and what may happen when conflicts take too long to be resolved or are never resolved at all.

In extreme cases, people may be so desperate to win a dispute that they will try to kill those who oppose them (see Acts 7:54-58). While most Christians would not actually kill someone, we should never forget that we stand guilty of murder in God’s eyes when we harbour anger or contempt in our hearts toward others (see 1John 3:15; Matt.5:21-22). There are two ways that people move into the attack zone. Some resort to an attack response the minute they encounter a conflict. Others move into this zone after they have tried unsuccessfully to escape from a conflict. When they can no longer ignore, cover up, or run away from the problem, they go to the other extreme and attack those who oppose them (Sande 2004, 24).

Following the revengeful outbreak of violence in Naivasha on the 27th January 2008, many people’s property was looted and burned. Women were raped and ransacked. Men were brutally killed and their bodies badly mutilated with machetes

and other crude weapons. The researcher witnessed over twenty bodies piled in one burned house where they had run for refuge from their attackers. Over ten thousand people were reported to have taken refuge in the prisons and police stations grounds in fear of these merciless terrifying killers. The whole town that was formerly known as the ‘Happy Valley’ abruptly turned to be ‘Sad Valley’. Parents reported their missing children; wives reported their lost husbands and husbands are now without their beloved wives who died in Naivasha town during the skirmishes.

Elizabeth Talitwala in her book *When Death Strikes What Next?* Talks about the trauma that comes with sudden deaths following accidents, attacks etc. Talitwala who is a lecturer at Daystar University in the Christian Ministries Department comes from a nursing background and holds a B.A. degree in Psychology and an M.A. degree in Counseling Psychology from United States International University (Africa). She’s currently studying for a PhD Psychology at the University of South Africa, Pretoria). She presents an in-depth study of the process of grief and how to cope with it.

Elizabeth says that

Traumatic death gives us no warning, no time to say goodbye or sort out our differences, no time to adjust or begin to prepare for what is coming, instead it rips our world apart leaving us in profound shock. The unfinished business of the day remains unresolved. All these things leave us so devastated and we experience a long period of deep shock, numbness and denial. When sudden death occurs there are legal complications that we must go through, because most sudden deaths well involve the police, post-mortems and the press. All this seems to intensify our grief, terrify us, and expose us more than we would like to be exposed (Talitwala 2002, 32).

People turned into Internally Displaced People (IDPs) within hours and bitterness and desperation engulfed them. A man known by the researcher lost ten of his nuclear family members (wives and children) and even though he may get married and be blessed with other children in future, these memories will never depart from his mind. When he was interrogated by reporters he said “I’ll never forget what they

did to me!” Many people were in great shock, fear and panic never knowing what to do next. People who lived as neighbors, close friends and same church members in hours turned into enemies! Many who owned business premises and decent homes in a short while were turned into poor people and beggars.

The Effect of Post-election Violence on the Church in Naivasha

When there is a conflict between two people which is not certainly resolved immediately, both Sande and Poirier say that the conflict involves other people and each party eventually acquires support. The unresolved conflicts in this nation have resulted into major disintegration and have caused disunity among Kenyan. Our political leaders and the public people have been segmented and divided according to ethnicities and geographical residence. The 2007 post-election violence has affected this nation so badly in that since the election, things are never the same again. This research will be aimed at how the church can become an answer and an instrument towards true forgiveness and reconciliation.

Forgiveness

This nation can be healed completely when the true forgiveness, and not impunity, takes its course. Impunity will only postpone the problem for some days, weeks, months or years. But forgiveness will certainly deal with the problem head on. The book *Forgive and Forget* by Lewis Smedes gives wise and helpful information about conflicts and where and how we need to exercise forgiveness when we've been wounded and hurt. Lewis B. Smedes is a former Professor of theology and ethics at

Fuller Theology Seminary and has authored many other books such as *The Art of Forgiving and the Good Life*.

Smedes says that “When you forgive the person who hurt you deeply and unfairly, you perform a miracle that has no equal. Nothing else is the same. Forgiving has its own feel and its own colour and its own climax, different from any other creative act in the repertoire of human relationships (Smedes 1996, 37).

He continues to say that,

Forgiving gets its unique beauty from the healing it brings to the saddest of all the pains. We need to do it at all only because we live in a world in which human love can be fractured by unfair suffering. It has something in common, in this respect, with the beauty of artful surgery. But precisely for this reason, as the healing of wounds left open from our painful pasts, we should not let it slip into a sloppy blend of several other nice things people can do for each other in unpleasant situations. We need to develop a fine taste for the distinctive quality of the forgiving art (Smedes 1996, 38).

On the same lesson of forgiveness, Augsburgers says that

Forgiveness requires what has really happened, owns the hurt incurred, responds to the other person with integrity, and affirms new behaviour for the future with genuine intentions. Repentance is the central task of forgiving and being forgiven. Where there is no repentance, there is no true forgiveness. Perhaps no proposition on forgiving will evoke more immediate disagreement than the insistence that repentance is indispensable. The virtue of loving acceptance is so deeply prized and so widely cited as the central definition of forgiveness that repentance has become separated from the act of forgiving (Augsburger 1982, 77).

For true forgiveness to take place, each party has to acknowledge it's guilty and ownership of what has happened. At the same time, each has to own up and admit their own mistakes and be ready to bear the consequences attached to their own action. Forgiveness starts with individual persons whereby they've to first experience divine forgiveness from the Lord Jesus Christ, and so if one has been forgiven, it'll be possible to forgive others (Eph.4:32).

A frequent working definition is “forgiveness is an unconditional gift of love.” Any expectation of repentance as an integral part of forgiving is seen as the imposition of conditions, or as magical thinking that time can be turned backward, or as a fantasy that what is done can be undone, or as a puritan process of inducing additional guilt, or as a judgmental tactic to exact punishment, or as a pietistic strategy for coercing moral conformity. Repentance can serve any and occasionally all of the above functions and it can be a transaction of integrity that works justice out of injury. Two contrasting positions on the nature of genuine forgiveness on the issue of repentance: the one perspective holding that forgiveness precedes repentance, which then follows as a result; the other sees repentance as the core element in effecting forgiveness (Augsburger 1982, 78).

Forgiveness a Process

According to a course taken at NEGST campus on “Forgiveness,” the researcher learned that forgiveness is not a one time event; it’s a process that takes a long time and effort. Some conflicts may take a considerably shorter time compared to others which may take months or years. The longer time the conflict takes before it’s resolved the more negative effects and damage it leaves behind. People many times confuse forgiveness with forgetting and it has been commonly said that “You must Forgive and forget!” Smedes argues that “When we forgive someone, we do not forget the hurtful act, as if forgetting came along with the forgiveness package, the way strings come with a violin (Smedes 1996, 36).”

Begin with the basics. If you forget, you will not forgive at all. You can never forgive people for the things you have forgotten about. You need to forgive precisely because you have not forgotten what someone did; your memory keeps the pain alive long after the actual hurt has stopped. Remembering is your storage of pain. It is why you need to be healed in the first place. Forgetting, in fact, may be a dangerous way to escape the inner surgery of the heart that we call forgiving. There are two kinds of pain that we forget. We forget hurts too trivial to bother about. We forget pains too horrible for our memory to manage (Smedes 1996, 37).

Many people find it hard to forgive because they begin with the wrong step. The first step according to Smedes is to admit the hurt and not pretend that nothing

happened. If one finds it ok to scream or yell as a way to release pain, then one should let it go but pretending that the pain isn't there is one of the wrong things to do. "The pains we dare not remember are the most dangerous pains of all. We fear to face some horrible thing that once hurt us, and we stuff it into the black holes of our unconsciousness where we suppose it cannot hurt us. But it only comes back disguised; it is like a demon wearing an angel's face. It lays low for a while only to slug us later, on the sly (Smedes 1996, 38)."

Though the process may take long but eventually the pain and hurt is gone. This doesn't however mean that we'll never ever remember what happened but one has fully forgiven if he/she's never again living with the pain that one time was like a big mountain before him.

Once we have forgiven, however, we get a new freedom to forget. This time forgetting is a sign of health; it is not a trick to avoid spiritual surgery. We can forget because we have been healed. But even if it is easier to forget after we forgive, we should not make forgetting a test of our forgiving. The test of forgiveness lies with healing the lingering pain of the past, not with forgetting that the past ever happened (Smedes 1996, 39).

Forgiveness is freedom and whoever wants to attain this absolute liberty must prioritize forgiveness of his or her adversaries. This now leads us to the next chapter about research methodology that will be employed in this research project.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher used field study to explore why the 2007 December post-election violence was so intensified in Naivasha and how it affected the Church of Christ in Naivasha town and its environs.

Entry Procedures

The researcher obtained a written letter of introduction from NEGST so as to create an easy entry and acceptance from the target group of people. After acquiring this letter, the researcher booked appointments with the Pastors/ministers in charge of different congregations, internally displaced persons (IDPs), a Political figure—preferably a parliamentary contestant (one who lost the election), one of the police officer, one of the *Mungiki* young man/woman.

Validation and Verification Strategies

Validity is seen as an important strength of the qualitative research, and it determines the accuracy of the researcher's findings, the participants' response and the reader's points of view (Creswell 2003, 195). Here the researcher used different data by examining evidence from a number of people from different groups in the society to build coherent themes

Instrument Design

In this project, the researcher employed an interview guide with open-ended questions to give more opportunities to the informants to express themselves (Mugenda and Mugenda 1999). To ensure proper and smooth interviews, designed questionnaires were used.

When designing a questionnaire, one must be careful not to ask questions that will lead to ‘yes’ and ‘no’ responses though sometimes these responses are needed. The best thing is to use more than one version of questions. You can then allocate the ‘yes’ and ‘no’ version randomly (Gorard 2003, 44).

This questionnaire contained questions that acted as heart openers.

Administering the Instrument

In this project, the researcher used a note book, tape recorder and also filling of the questionnaire where and when necessary. Some people especially the IDPs and the Mungiki people are always suspicious of anybody who goes to them with things like tape recorders, writing materials or any other information recording facilities in fear of being tracked down. In case of such people, the researcher first consulted carefully in advance and with the aide of a written introductory letter (from NEGST) in order to mitigate suspicious notions. These plans and appropriate arrangements were put in order prior to the interviews so as to avoid any inconveniences.

Sampling and Data Collection

Sampling here does not mean selecting participants randomly, but choosing them based on their ability to contribute to an evolving theory” (Creswell 1997, 118). “Research sampling continued until theoretical saturation” (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 187). “Saturation occurs when new or relevant data is presented to an extend of

having no emergence of any new and different information and when the relationship categories or themes are clearly established (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, 188).”

“The first and most obvious point is that the process of research involves some consideration of previous work in the same field. All researchers read and use the research of others” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). “Therefore they need to develop what is referred to as ‘a model of interrogation’—for reading and using research results. The use of numbers is important. The use of sample, for example is a common phenomenon in all kinds of research using many different approaches to data collection and analysis” (Gorard 2003, 37).

The other approach was the use of informational access points such as the media and appropriate scholarly internet sites. The NEGST library and other libraries for books, journals and articles of course proved to be a major tool for information pertaining my project. Though it was hard to find available books addressing specifically on the 2008 post-election violence in Kenya, but those that talk about other related issues became a timely source of useful materials. The now eminent Waki report was of great help and a key source of information. Other sources are the magazines as well as newspapers stockpiles that contain updated information on my topic of discussion. The gathering of valid information towards this project development was open to any relevant hoard that proved reliable.

Data Analysis

The phase of analysis started with the first interview with any available person in the researcher’s list (Creswell 2003, 203)

Doing microanalysis is an eye-opener for students because it illustrates concretely that qualitative analysis involves a radically different way of thinking about data. It is distinct from any other research tradition in which they

may have been trained. Learning this new mode of thinking sometimes creates difficulties for students. They must learn to listen, letting the data speak to them. They must learn to relax, adopting a more flexible, less preplanned, and less controlled approach to research (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 59)

The plan for this analysis was based on words, phrases and sentences of the respondents. Comparison was made in order to detect some biases (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 99). The researcher used this analysis of the respondents towards finding out the factors that led to the 2007 December post-election violence in Naivasha, how the skirmishes affected the Church in Naivasha and suggestively how to bring about reconciliation.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter focused on the observations and discoveries that have been realized out of this research work. The researcher conducted 10 interviews with the Naivasha residents from diverse walks of life. The researcher assembled the code that emerged from the interviews (focused coding) and related the categories to their subcategories (axial coding) according to the objective of discovering “the factors that led to the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha, the evident consequences and how the same can be avoided in future.” When contacting the interviews, the analysis revealed a new dimension to the factors the researcher was looking for, so he added a new category: a common man from the opposing ethnicity. So this pushed the researcher to a point of adding two more people from the tribes that were evicted from Naivasha during the skirmishes in order to get more understanding. So this raised the number of the respondents from 10 to 12. Factors like “revenge”, “unspoken hatred among ethnicities” and “land issues” emerged to be very key issues that led to the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha. Interesting enough, the failure of the church didn’t emerge to be one of the key factors that led to violence.

Factors that led to the 2007 Post-election Violence

At this point the researcher came up with five categories of factors that led to the post-election violence that erupted in Naivasha in January 2008. These are tribalism, revenge, land issues, bad politics and poverty. According to the research

conducted, all of the five factors contributed to some degree to the entire problem. The categories of people who were interviewed are the IDPs, the Police, the Pastors, Politicians, Youths (Mungiki) and representatives of other tribes that were evicted from Naivasha. The figure below presents categories of groups of people according to their action during the skirmishes. In this figure, all the five factors (politics, poverty, land issues, revenge and tribalism) affected each group of people; so the role played by each totaled up to 100% of the reasons that led to the 2007 December post-election violence in Naivasha.

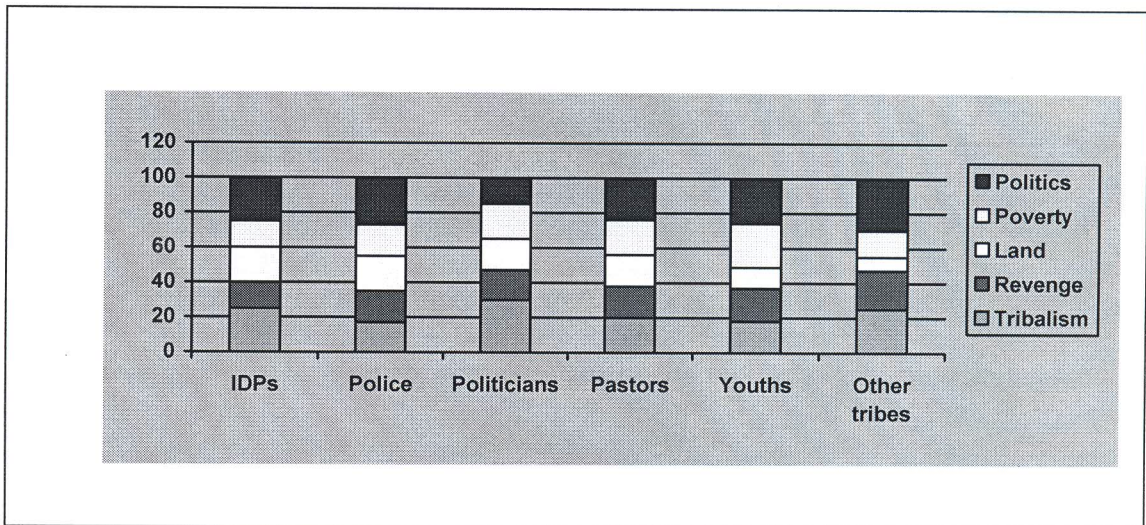


Figure 4.1: Factors matrix

These categories indicate the factors that led to the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha are interconnected to each other. Most respondents pointed out that revenge happened in Naivasha due to what had already happened in Rift Valley and other parts of the Republic whereby the Gikuyu people were evicted. This featured the aspect of tribalism which has been highly nurtured by politics. The four factors i.e. negative political influences; unresolved land issues, revenge, and tribalism have possibly taken roots in Kenya due to poverty. Two out of the twelve interviewees

admitted that the church took sides during the political campaigns in preparation for the 2007 December elections but the rest said that the Church played their role well enough. One respondent said that there was nothing wrong with the election preparations. What was wrong was lack of well stipulated period of time within the electoral law when the election results should be announced.

Unemployment among the youths has been blamed for the mess especially when it comes to the reason why the youths took part in looting, burning and merciless killing. Several youths admitted that it was possible for them to accept just a little token of money and be willing to obey their Moguls because they had no employment at the moment. The youths interviewed admitted that they were paid between one hundred shillings and three hundred shillings per day in order to take part in these scandalous acts.

The figure below shows how the four factors (tribalism, land problems, bad politics and revengeful acts) that led to the 2007 December post-election violence intensified poverty levels even way back before the violence eruption. Among the five factors, poverty levels in the country have been largely spelled before and after the violence. The doubled ended arrow pointing between poverty and 2007 December post-election violence circles shows how both factors are interrelated. This means that poverty (clothed in other factors) gave rise to violence and the same poverty is a sure consequence of the violence.

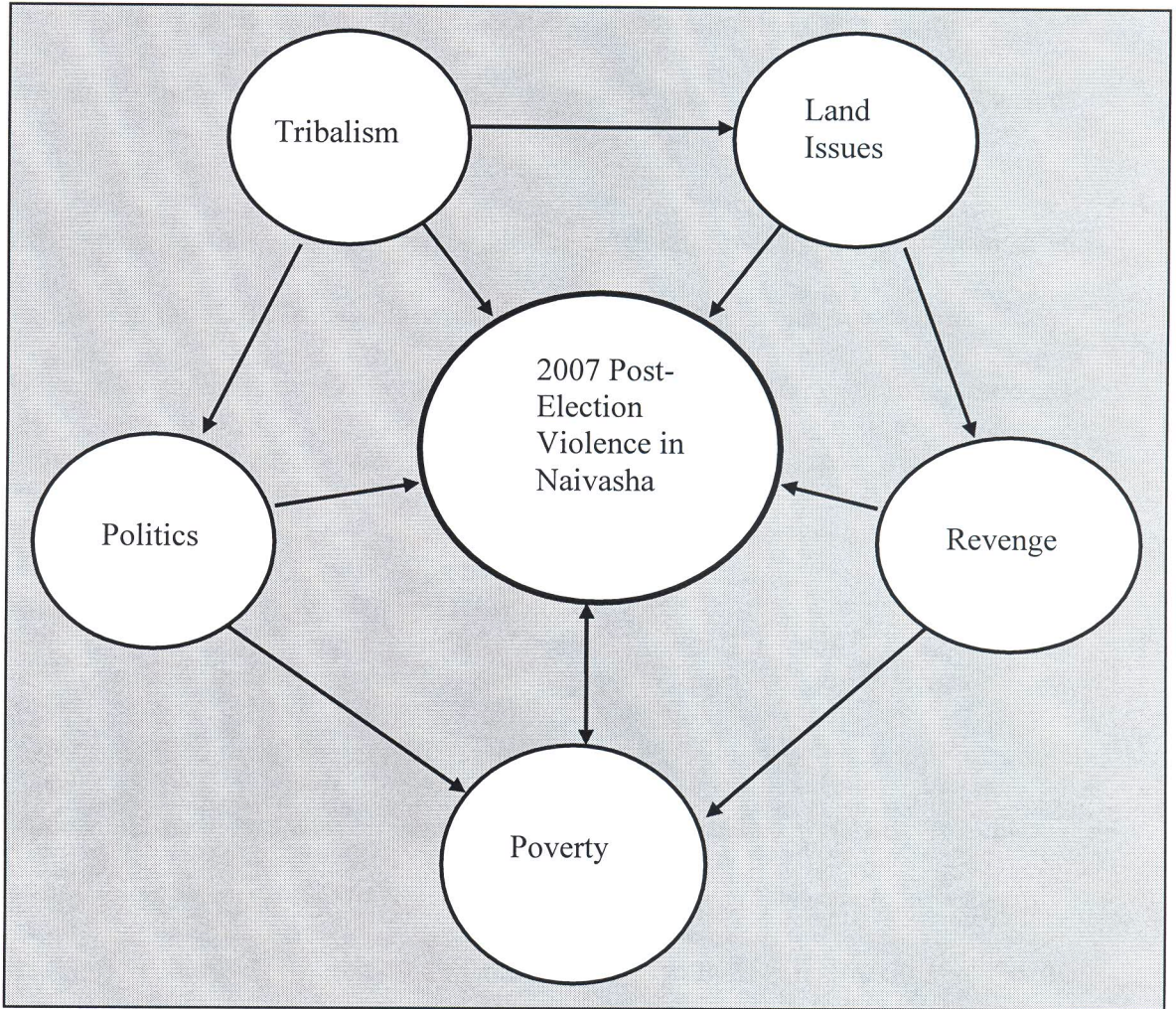


Figure 4.2: Factors' relationship

The Consequences of the 2007 Post-election Violence

According to interviewees, it was clear that all the five factors played key roles in the setting the background for the post-election violence in Naivasha. However one thing was evident: poverty led to the violence and at the same promoted violence into great heights. The Naivasha residents, as it's true in many other parts of the Republic, are currently experiencing acute shortage of food, economic hiccups and inflation. Though this may be a world wide phenomenon, yet the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya is a major factor in such a problem.

Every interviewee the researcher came across admitted that a major consequence that can't go unnoticed is the massive death that left over a thousand people dead and many in IDP camps. Property was badly destroyed and ethnic differences and hatred were intensified. The researcher met a number of women and children in the IDP camps whose marriages and families broke due to these skirmishes and now they're forced to stay on their own. There were many rape cases reported yet many more were unreported and in these IDP camps the researcher witnessed several new born babies due to such cases. These acts left many people very psychologically affected and traumatized.

Besides high poverty level in Kenya, the 2007 post-election violence caused a major relational drift in our churches such that many churches lost important church leaders and members who belonged to the ethnic groups that were affected. This research has revealed that in Naivasha, high percentages of members are currently flocking to churches whereby the minister belongs to their tribe. So this implies that there's still tension, mistrust and suspicion among many parts in Kenya as its true in Naivasha.

Some of my interviewees (Police) revealed that currently they're handling so many cases of quarrels, abuses, and cases of some people being ejected from rented houses by their owners. According to one of them "Tribal sentiments has far reaching results among tribes in the nation for it has led to segmentation of nationalism." So this is an indication that the country's status in terms of unity went far lower than how it was before the elections.

The Remedy

One question that has been lingering in the background of our imagination is: How can Kenyans and more specifically the Naivasha residents forgive and reconcile to one another and live in harmony and love as before? The bigger percentage of the answer to this question can be provided by the Church. It's the Church that can initiate or bring about reconciliation. Therefore this process must begin from inside out. The church itself must first, be reconciled to each other and resolve its outstanding differences before going to the public. Secondly, the church must teach conflict management and reconciliation within itself whereby the ministers themselves must be willing to forgive and accept one another then practically they'll teach members to do the same. According to my research, a greater percentage admitted that the church is not so much blamed for the Naivasha post-election violence and this elevates it into a good platform of initiating the reconciliation process.

The church also is in a better a position to hold seminars with the community leaders whereby training sessions on reconciliation will be rendered. The Church should do this in conjunction with the Government administration offices and social services so as to bring about understanding and acceptance. The target groups should be the civil servants, all community leaders, all youths in rural/urban centers, schools and churches because through these institutions, it'll be possible to access all age groups and classes of people. The Church should also plan and cultivate for forums with the local political officers i.e. the Parliamentary officers and Councilors. This will enable the Church teach on the right way towards reconciliation. A possible way to do this is by initiating for prayer meetings with them so that each of them will see the need for such forums.

Reconciliation Process

Forgiveness and reconciliation is a long process and claims a lot of time. This process involves Jesus Christ and people. Jesus' has already finished His work of reconciliation on the cross and he has reconciled us to Himself so that we may be involved in the work of reconciliation (2 Corinthians 5:18-19). Jesus death on the cross is the fundamental basis for our forgiveness and reconciliation. All born again people are already reconciled to God and entrusted with this noble ministry. Jesus reconciled us to himself through the work of the cross and through grace.

The figure below explains this truth.

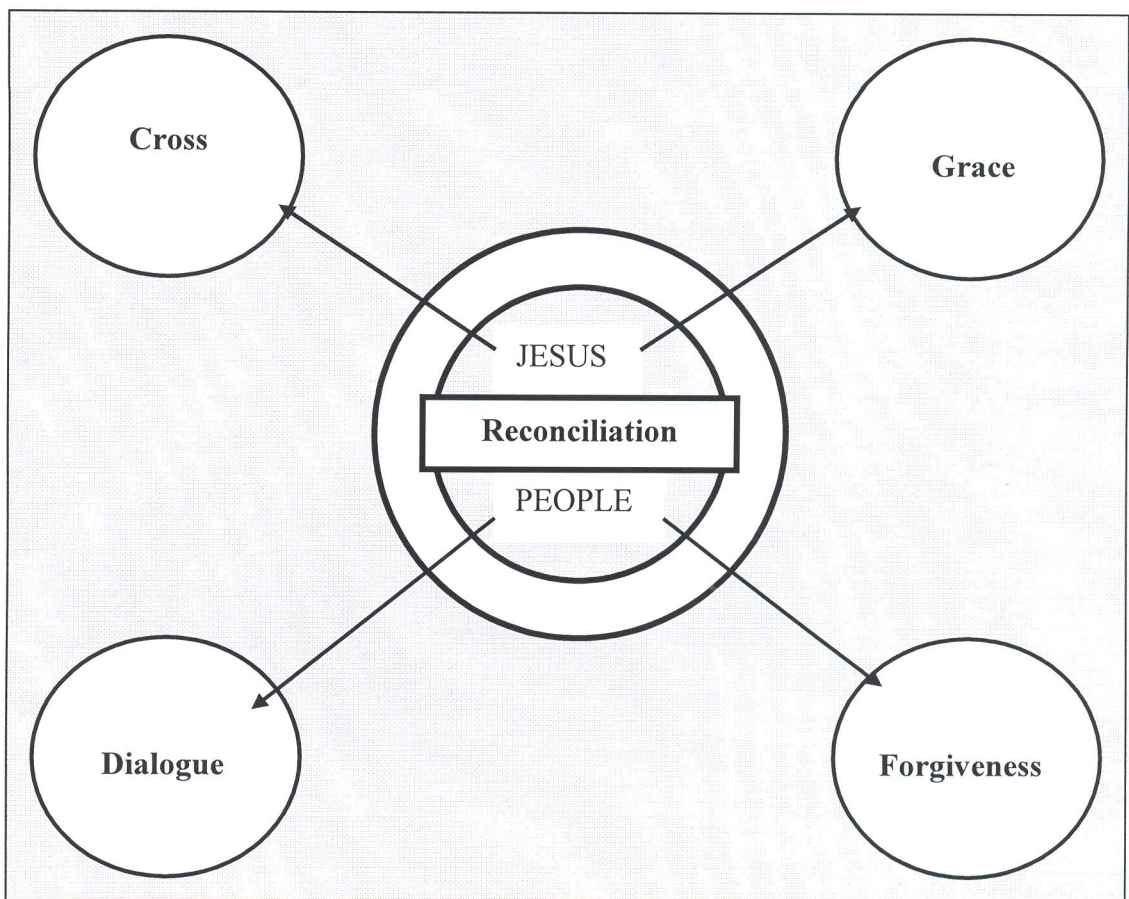


Figure 4.3: Reconciliation requirements

The cross signifies grace and there are things that cannot be provided by man. Christ accomplished his work of salvation on the cross and through this humanity received forgiveness of sins. In order for people to receive this reconciliation, there

must be dialogue in case of conflicts and disagreements. Christians (Church) must demonstrate this grace by being willing to forgive one another and building on what Christ accomplished on the cross. The reconciliation process is so extensive such that it takes willing people who are ready to travel together on the stony road of bringing about true forgiveness and reconciliation. This process becomes possible when the parties express their broken heartedness and willingness to correct the mess that has already been done. However the process becomes impossible when none or either of the parties doesn't own up their mistakes and failures.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to assess the factors that led to the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha, the consequences and what should be put in place in order to avoid the same from happening in future. In order to answer the four questions listed in Chapter one, the researcher interviewed twelve residents in Naivasha from different social status. The researcher interviewed two people from the security department, two pastors from different denominations, two IDPs, two youths (Mungiki), two civil servants and two people from affected ethnicities (Luo and Kalenjin). The data was analyzed by coding the information given and gauging it into percentage.

Suggestions

The following suggestions are put across: -

1. The Church will have to make a full initiative towards true reconciliation within its internal perimeters. Church leaders have to seek reconciliation first among themselves. During the 2007 election campaigns, many church leaders crisscrossed one another and differed a great deal and these differences must be resolved first before anything else. These differences were enhanced by geographical, ethnic, religious and political lines. Take

for example; the pastors in Rift Valley province obviously supported a certain political wave against the spiritual leaders in Central and Eastern provinces. It was extremely hard for these spiritual leaders to soberly give any biblical counsel. At the same time compromise ensnared most of them because the political figures had significantly financed them. Many church buildings and projects were initiated and quickly accomplished by the lethal funding of these politicians.

2. This reconciliation will have to be expanded to the rest of the body i.e. the church members themselves will have to be involved in the reconciliation process whereby dialogue will take root within the members from different ethnicities who were involved in the skirmishes. Just imagine what a great rift there is between people who've been worshipping in the same church as brethren in Christ and immediately after the results of the elections were out were the same people who burned houses, killed loved ones so mercilessly—just because you don't belong to their ethnic background! This process of reconciliation of such people must not be rushed in any way. It must be given appropriate time that will allow true healing.
3. The church should initiate reconciliation campaigns that will be aimed at involvement of the ethnic eldership in negotiations especially where land disputes triggered the violence. I've spoken to many people from Rift valley who believe that the skirmishes were as a result of a long outstanding land disputes that have existed for ages. So the 2007 elections disorders were just a trigger to emission of pressure that has been building for years. Some have admitted that at a certain point in history these clashes in Rift Valley could have taken place regardless of the election saga. Such complex situations

such as land disputes can only be resolved by the church with the involvement of the clan elders, headmen, as well as ethnic leaders together with the political representatives.

4. Though forgiveness is paramount for this country, however, amnesty must be done with careful considerations. I propose that a just forgiveness has to find its course in order to prevent such cases from reoccurring in future in this country. My fear is that what many people call forgiveness is not actually true forgiveness rather a soft way of overlooking crime. The church therefore must strive forward in implementing true forgiveness by advocating against amnesty, and at the same time fighting for justice. Eventually forgiveness should be granted to those who deserve it. Justice therefore entails advocacy for people to be given back what rightfully belongs to them e.g. those who're in the IDP camps must be given back their rightful pieces of land and be compensated for what they lost during the post-election violence. I don't believe in true forgiveness without compensation of what can be compensated. This therefore is a long process that will involve negotiation and dialogue—the church must be in the fore front to initiate this.
5. All our spiritual, political, social and civil leaders must seek to provide exemplary and right leadership patterns that can be emulated by those who are being led. For instance, recently we've been having outbreaks of uproars and violent demonstrations in our Kenyan high schools. Even though the problem was blamed upon the teachers and lack of discipline among the student body, the real cause of these strikes should be blamed upon the prominent government officials, parents and even the teachers. What

happens when the political leaders demand something? What has been happening with the teachers when they demand an increment of their salary? To make the matter worse, what happened when most voters believed that the 2007 December elections were rigged? The obvious answer to all these questions is that people have been going to the streets in riots and demonstrations as if that is the only realistic solution. I propose therefore that the Church has an obligation to begin a campaign of how to resolve conflicts calmly, considerately and biblically driven.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research demonstrated that the 2007 post-election violence in Naivasha was revengeful as well as an eruption of unresolved long-term underlying problems. Although there are many negative effects of the post-election violence evident today in Naivasha, there's still hope for restoration and reconciliation. This research arrived at the following conclusions regarding the research questions: -

1. What do you think are the factors that led to the 2007 December post-election violence?

This research has summarized all the factors that led to the 2007 post-election violence into five categories. First, the Political issues i.e. wrong motive driven political campaigns by the contestants send wrong signals to the public. Secondly, Land issues and unequal distribution of resources has played a key role in building up tension among different ethnicities. Thirdly, Tribalism has emerged as the biggest loophole in the 2007 post-election violence yet it has been cultivated by bad political sentiments and land issues especially in the Rift Valley. Fourthly, Poverty was a

stronghold that was used by the tycoons and politicians in hooking up the youths in the violence. Finally, the Naivasha post-election violence was more of revenge more than a reaction to the election results.

2. What went wrong in the election preparations? Who would you blame for the violence eruption in Naivasha and why?

First, this research has revealed that civic education that was conducted before the election didn't offer a balanced education enough to prepare the voters for free will elections. This is why the politicians used money to bribe people for their votes. Secondly, the ECK wasn't independent enough from the Government's manipulation and that's why the delay in announcing the results became unavoidable phenomenon. Thirdly, the post-election violence in Naivasha started on 27th January 2008, almost a month after the election results were announced, so this shows that it wasn't due to election results as such but revenge after seeing how people (Gikuyu) were evicted from the Rift Valley. Fourthly, the Political contestants uttered careless and sentiments that were meant to stir up negative emotional feelings against opposition. Finally, the Clergy that was supposed to provide direction and guidance about such matters took sides with the political figures.

3. What are the evident results/consequences of the January 2008 post-election violence epidemic?

Consequences such as massive death of innocent people, displacement of people from their homes, intensity of ethnic hatred, destruction of property, rape, physical mutilation and all sorts of psychological effects are among the negative impact the post-election violence had on the Naivasha residents. Other consequences are the decline of economy currently experienced in Kenya due to destruction of food,

business premises and houses and displacement from employment. This has far greatly exaggerated poverty levels in Naivasha and Kenya as a whole.

4. What do you think should be put in place in order to avoid the same from happening in Kenya in future?

This question is discussed in depth in the recommendations below.

Recommendations

Every sober mind would not stand seeing the same happening again in the future in this land. So to prevent this, the following recommendations are made: -

1. *Independent Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK)*: - The ECK should become an independent body free from the Government's influence. It should also come up with new strict rules to be followed by the political campaigners. No ethnic incitements should be allowed during the political campaigns.
2. *Police*: - The Government must put in place stipulated rules during the training of the police officers that will enhance discipline and proper guidance in their work ethics.
3. *Political Figures*: - Campaign monitors must be put in place in order to assure compliance with the law by the political candidates.
4. *Constitution Review*: - The constitution review should be made a priority in order to regulate Presidential powers and other high Government officials as well as implementation of the rights of the common man.

5. *Civic education*: - The Government as well as the church should be willing to educate the people about matters like, dangers of tribal wars, how to choose the right leaders, how to avoid incitement etc.
6. *Poverty Eradication*: - Youths and Kenyans should be taught on how to initiate self employment projects in case one hasn't secured employment. The youths should be equipped and empowered with information on how they should think and act independently and not just follow multitudes.
7. *Punishment of the Perpetrators*: - Impunity must not be allowed in this country anymore. All the interviewees admitted that the people who were behind the skirmishes no matter their positions in the country or in the churches should be brought to justice.
8. *Equal Distribution of resources*: - The government must put in place ways on how resources will be distributed to all Kenyans. Resources like land, medical, communication, educational, administrative facilities etc must be equally distributed to all Kenyans without any favourism.
9. *The Church*: - Though not many of the researcher's respondents blamed the Church for the violence in Naivasha, however the Church didn't play its noble task of giving this country the appropriate directives. Partisanship by the Church must be avoided in future. The church leadership must demonstrate love, unity, kindness and guidance in the future. The Church has portrayed dividedness in the past among itself and in order to initiate reconciliation in the country, it must seek reconciliation within itself first.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study was limited to only Naivasha town and its environs and the interviews were carried out on two people who represented a specific social class of people. More study is recommended in the future in other towns that were affected by post-election violence. These towns and places includes Eldoret, Nakuru, Nairobi—Kibera slums, Mombasa and Kisumu. The researcher also recommends that study be carried on the causative factors, especially land issues, and these disputes that have existed for ages may be resolved. More study should be done on how the right compensation for the affected people will be carried on appropriately.

More study on how to bring about true forgiveness without amnesty and impunity should be carried out and especially on the issue of implementation of justice on the responsible political figures. Further research is recommended on how to involve clan elders and head men in the reconciliation process on these ethnic tensions that has existed for ages.

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APPENDIX

Interview Guide

1. What do you think are the factors that led to the 2007 December post-election violence?
2. What went wrong in the election preparations? Who would you blame for the violence eruption in Naivasha and why?
3. What are the evident results/consequences of the January 2008 post-election violence epidemic?
4. What do you think should be put in place in order avoid the same from happening in Kenya in future?