Tribalism in Africa – the Complexity of Ethnicity

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Abstract

This project aims at investigating the humanitarian aid organization; Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke – Action Aid Denmark’s peace-building and conflict management strategies concerning the aftermath of the Kenyan Post Election Crisis 2007-2008. More specifically it is examined to what extent the organization is aware of ethnicity when planning these strategies. With an analysis concerning ethnicity and how the conflict can be set in relation to this, it is explored that the crisis holds an ethnic, yet complex, character. Furthermore, politics also functioned as a focal point in the crisis. The aspects found in the analysis have led to an extensive discussion elucidating the aforementioned investigation areas.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCR-K</td>
<td>Centre for Conflict Resolution - Kenya</td>
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<td>CPS</td>
<td>Country Programme Strategy</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
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<td>DPC</td>
<td>District Peace Committees</td>
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<td>FORD</td>
<td>Forum for the Restoration of Democracy</td>
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<td>GSU</td>
<td>General Service Unit</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
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<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<td>KAU</td>
<td>Kenya African Union</td>
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<td>KPEC</td>
<td>Kenyan Post Election Crisis</td>
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<td>KPU</td>
<td>Kenya People’s Union</td>
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<td>MSAAD</td>
<td>Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke – Action Aid Denmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS Kenya RSDP</td>
<td>MS Kenya Realignment Strategy Discussion Paper</td>
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<tr>
<td>NARC</td>
<td>National Rainbow Coalition</td>
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<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Steering Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non- Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODM</td>
<td>Orange Democratic Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
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<td>PNU</td>
<td>Party of National Unity</td>
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1. Introduction

It is thought-provoking how in a globalised world where borders have become more and more diminished, the concept of ethnicity still seems to have a substantial impact on the political and societal agenda worldwide. Ethnicity is a term often used when trying to define people’s affiliation in a given society. However, it is a concept of major complexity, applied by theorists in various ways and contexts whom thereby propose different usage of the term ethnicity. Moreover, also in public the concept of ethnicity continues to be a term hard to comprehend in matters of cultural encounters. The question is whether this ambiguity is of vital importance and if so to whom? Is it crucial to the actual citizens or to a third party involved? During the Kenyan Post Election Crisis (KPEC) in the end of 2007, this problematic becomes evident.

The election fraud which the citizens experienced has caused great conflict and stir in a new democracy, which was until then making great progress although dominated by different groups of people. Can this be an example of how ethnicity adds a further dimension to a given conflict? Moreover, does ethnicity tend to bring confusion to both political and historical angles in the conflict? Does this confusion also have an impact on a third party? In the KPEC, Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke – Action Aid Denmark (MSAAD), a Danish humanitarian aid organisation, was a third party involved. Only, is ethnicity a complex concept which MSAAD needs to take into account when working out interventions, schedules and strategies for the peace-building and conflict management in relation to the KPEC?
1.1. Motivation

Originally our motivation for writing this project derived from the discussion of the concepts of tribalism versus ethnicity which in a common perception have been and still are misunderstood and misused concepts. In his book about Kenya, Neal Sobania introduces a reason for using another term than tribalism:

"Because the words tribe and tribalism carry strong negative connotations in contemporary Kenya, and refer to serious national problems associated with ethnic divisions, I will not use them here"\(^1\).

We also had an interest in how different concepts are used in different areas of the world and how people are in one way or the other put into different categories, along with the consequences of this. Hence, we soon found out that we would place our focus only on the concept of ethnicity, rather than tribalism.

It is interesting how the concept of ethnicity tends to create more disagreement and confusion rather than settlements in many social contexts. The Kenyan Post Election Crisis is a good example of this and therefore we soon found that this case would be apparent when wanting to examine the concept of ethnicity. On December 27\(^{th}\) 2007 Kenya’s 10\(^{th}\) presidential election since independence in 1963 took place. It was an election which gained great attention from the international as well as from the Kenyan society, the polls were historically heavy and it was a close race between the two candidates, the president in office, Mwai Kibaki and the leader of the opposition, Raila Odinga\(^2\).

Ethnicity plays a significant role in social order around the world; we found it important to look at the concept not only from a theoretical point of view but also

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\(^1\) Sobania, 2003: xiv

\(^2\) Høyrup, 2008: Kristeligt Dagblad
from a more practical angle such as humanitarian aid and their attention towards ethnicity.

1.2. Research Question

In relation to the abovementioned aspects, we have drawn up the following research question:

To what extent is Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke – Action Aid Denmark aware of ethnicity when planning their peace-building and conflict management strategies concerning the aftermath of the Kenyan Post Election Crisis from 2007/2008?

1.3. Sub-questions

To elucidate this question the sub-questions below become relevant:

- What is the concept of ethnicity and its importance when seeking to understand and solve conflicts?
- What is the ethnic and political situation in Kenya before and after the KPEC?
- To what extent does the KPEC hold an ethnic or political dimension?
- What are MSAAD’s strategies within the theme of peace-building and conflict management regarding Kenya, more specifically the KPEC?
- What is the possibility of MSAAD’s strategies being well-founded in relation to ethnicity?
1.4. Project Anchoring

This project is anchored in both the fields of Cultural Encounters and Communication. In regards to Cultural Encounters, the project revolves around many features which are common in the field. For instance, it deals with the cultural encounters and clashes between various groups examined in the project, and their consequences. The mentioned encounters are the clashes between different ethnic groups in Kenya, and the cultural encounters between a Western organization, namely MSAAD, and the civil society of Kenya. Additionally, a very prominent term within the field has been used extensively throughout the project, namely the concept of ethnicity. The theories regarding this concept are well-rooted in the field of Cultural Encounters since it is a concept that deals with how people cope with being similar and different from each other, and how they react during an encounter with other people or groups. The theorists used throughout the project, such as Fredrik Barth and Richard Jenkins, are relevant to the field.

Another discipline, in which this project is anchored, is that of Communication. Although specific theories within Communication have not been touched upon, many different aspects of the field are dealt with in the project. Through explaining and examining the intervention conducted by MS Kenya, the department of MSAAD working specifically with Kenya, in the post election crisis, it is elucidated how the organization has drawn upon their earlier work in order to be able to arrange, provide and communicate the most optimal strategies of aid for the Kenyan government and people. Also, the project is concerned with the aforementioned cultural clashes between the different ethnic groups in Kenya,
clashes which are often grounded in misinterpretation and miscommunication of ethnic differences.

1.5. Delimitations

The theorists Richard Jenkins and Frederik Barth have been chosen, as their work concerning the concept of ethnicity is considered dominant within social anthropology. Thereby, we are delimiting the theoretical framework to these two, thus the work and thoughts on ethnicity by other theorists will be excluded. However, David Parkin is brought into the paper, though we will only briefly refer to his definition of ethnicity as being political, and therefore other aspects of his investigations, such as ‘urban’ versus ‘rural’ and ‘congregational’ versus ‘interpersonal identification’ are excluded. Additionally, we are referring to Max Weber and Everett Hughes, but merely in order for us to elucidate from where Barth’s thoughts have derived.

When examining the KPEC, the main focus of this paper concentrates on the ethnic aspects, moreover the paper looks into the political dimensions, however to a lesser extent than ethnicity. Thus, we are excluding other aspects which could have an impact on the crisis namely; religion, colonial background, gender relations and economy. Additionally, although MS Kenya evaluates the aspects of poverty, history and corruption, we will not go into depth with these. Thereby, ethnicity will be the crucial concern while investigating the work of MSAAD. The project will examine the KPEC, and therefore other conflicts which have happened in Kenya are eliminated.

We are aware that the KPEC includes conflicts amongst various ethnic groups, however, we have chosen to focus on two groups namely: Kikuyus since this group is affiliated with Mwai Kibaki and Luos, which is the group that Raila
Odinga is related to. Kibaki, the president in office, and Odinga, the current prime minister, are the two main political characters within the crisis.

In addition, MSAAD will be the investigated organisation, since this was the Danish organisation we found most comprehensible, thereby other humanitarian aid organisations are left out. MSAAD has three main themes in their Kenya Country Programme Strategy, namely; local democracy, anti-corruption and peace-building & conflict management. We prioritize the latter, since the strategies of peace-building and conflict management seem more relevant in relation to the KPEC and the concept of ethnicity.

1.6. Semester Theme - Citizenship

Citizenship and the relation between individuals have always been relevant in order to examine and understand incidents and processes between humans throughout history.

Since our project aims at analysing the concept of ethnicity and examine how influential ethnicity was in the KPEC, we find that the project’s content will have a clear relation to the semester theme, citizenship. We see this connection between ethnicity and citizenship as they are both centred on the processes of how people organize and interact socially.

To specify the role of citizens we have chosen to use the humanitarian aid organization, MSAAD, as a case for analysis. MSAAD works with citizens and cooperation across borders. Their strategies are built upon the aim, namely to achieve equality of rights for all human beings, as they yearn to reach all social levels of citizens when wanting to strengthen the development of a democracy. The different levels of citizenship become evident within this project as we are
touching upon both ethnic groups, a whole country and, while examining MS and their work in Kenya, also upon how we are all world citizens.
2. Methodology

Within this project we seek to analyse and discuss to what extent MSAAD is aware of the ethnic aspects of the KPEC. In order for us to do so, it is relevant to look at our choice of the different theories, which will be elaborated on in the following.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

We have chosen to use Fredrik Barth’s theory on ethnicity, as he is one of the most dominant, and earliest, social anthropologists in the field of ethnicity. In his book ‘Ethnic Groups and Boundaries’ from 1969, Barth differs from other anthropological notions revolving around ethnicity, as he has a focus on the boundaries between the different groups, instead of, what Barth refers to as the ‘cultural stuff’, such as language and religion.

We find Barth’s focus on these boundaries relevant to our investigation of the conflicts that emerged during the KPEC, as these conflicts happened between different ethnic groups.

The social anthropologist, Richard Jenkins has, in his book ‘Rethinking Ethnicity’ first published in 1997, interpreted Barth’s thoughts about ethnicity. We have included Jenkins’ approach, due to the fact that he has expanded the work of Barth, by summarising this in what he calls the basic model of ethnicity. Furthermore, Jenkins seeks to view ethnicity in a broader context. Both Barth’s and Jenkins’ way of approaching the concept of ethnicity revolves around the interaction and boundaries between both social groups and individuals, and how these emerge through encounters. This way of conceptualising social interactions is interlinked with the fundamental notions of social constructionism, since this
notion takes its point of departure in the social context and claims how this will determine one’s self-perception, and moreover the social organisation of people.

2.2. Analytical Approach

With both Fredrik Barth’s and Richard Jenkins’ theories about ethnicity in mind, we aim to characterize the conflicts in the KPEC 2007-2008. Furthermore their way of understanding the concept of ethnicity will be used to reflect upon and analyse the problems arising in this conflict. We seek this understanding, as we regard MSAAD our case study. The main objective of this case study is to investigate to what extent MSAAD’s strategies include the reflection upon ethnicity in the KPEC, seen in the light of the theoretical framework chosen to draw on within this project.

The strategies within MSAAD, which will be emphasized, are their peace-building and conflict management strategies. Our reason for choosing these specific strategies is because both peace-building and conflict management, when inspecting ethnic conflicts and possible solutions, is one of the priorities within the MS-Kenya Country Programme Strategy 2008-2012 (CPS).

In order to see how MSAAD has developed their strategies after the KPEC, we also include their realignment strategy as this strategy was founded just in the aftermath of the KPEC.

Ultimately, all the aforementioned aspects for the analysis will be used as a base for our discussion, in which we will reflect upon and answer our research question.
2.3. Source Criticism

Throughout the project, various sources have been used in order for us to give a thorough account of the dominant theories within the concept of ethnicity, of the situation before and after the election crisis in Kenya and of the organization in focus; MSAAD. Given the fact that this project is concerned with a current problematic, impartial materials concerning this, such as encyclopaedias and other scientific literature, are limited. Also, evaluative materials from MSAAD have not been published. This lack of material is also a consequence of the fact that the strategies are still being implemented.

When writing the chapter concerning ethnicity, both primary and secondary literature is taken into utility. Because ethnicity is a very comprehensive concept, this project will only contain the most relevant and prominent theories and theorists in the field. When using Fredrik Barth and his book ‘Ethnic Groups and Boundaries’, it is because even though the book was published in 1969, he is still one of the most important theorists within the field. Many of his successors, such as Richard Jenkins, have used his work to draw upon and develop further, thus it is important to give an account of one of the founding fathers of the concept of ethnicity. However, other thoughts and theories about ethnicity have also been taken into account in this project, thus securing different views of the concept. By drawing upon these different views, we seek to compose a reliable and valid definition of the different aspects within the concept of ethnicity.

For describing the situation in Kenya from the election and up until current day, we have used sources, among others, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danish media such as the national news channel Danmarks Radio and various newspapers. Additionally, the report written by the ‘Commission of Inquiry into
Post Election Violence’ also known as the ‘Waki-report’, and the ‘MS Kenya Country Programme Strategy 2008-2012’ from 2007 have been used. As mentioned, these sources are not completely neutral as they are all somehow influenced by an underlying agenda. For instance, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs intend to inform and eventually protect Danish citizens who might consider travelling to Kenya, Danish media are interested in informing and making people aware of the situations regarding Kenya, and MS Kenya have worked together their Country Programme Strategy in order for them to be able to conduct sufficient and sensible aid according to the situations in Kenya.

However, despite these underlying agendas, we find the sources reliable and relevant because they all seek to deal realistically with Kenya. The Danish media, also including Danmarks Radio, abide by the Danish agreement of public service, a regulation stating that any show of bias or partial opinions or information, is prohibited³. Additionally, the aforementioned sources mentioned are not used in an isolated context in the project, but are supplemented by or used to supplement other sources.

Using MSAAD as a primary source for the chapter regarding the organisation is quite relevant, considering the fact that we, in this project, seek to clarify the strategies and approaches within the organization, in addition to their own stances. We are aware that it is in the best interest of the organization to appear as decent as possible, but by dealing with primary sources from MSAAD, the project gains a clear and consistent overview of what kind of organization MSAAD is, and what premises they have for conducting their work in Kenya.

³ [http://www.kum.dk/sw3853.asp](http://www.kum.dk/sw3853.asp)
All in all, considering the extensive field of this project, appropriate delimitations have been made to secure the project of maintaining a relevant and well sought capacity of information.

3. Introduction to Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke – MS Action Aid Denmark

In the following, a brief introduction to MSAAD, their aim as an organization and their conflict management strategies will be given. When looking further into MSAAD’s work in Kenya, we will refer to the department within MSAAD called MS Kenya.

3.1. MSAAD as an Organization

MSAAD was formerly known as Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, an international humanitarian aid organisation founded back in 1944, which originally came into existence as a consequence of the Second World War endeavouring to bring together and rebuild Europe. The ambitions are still the same; however, today the focus has changed; now primarily concerning developing countries. Since September 2008, Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke has been a committed part of Action Aid International and the collaboration has brought along the name MS Action Aid Denmark (MSAAD). The reason for the affiliation with Action Aid International was to a high degree because of the possibility of having a greater voice at the international level\textsuperscript{4}. Together they are working with 200 partner organisations in more than 50 countries aiming to create social change.

The aim is to achieve equality of rights for all human beings and encourage collaboration across borders, national as well as cultural, and to connect people

\textsuperscript{4} Appendix 1
and develop sympathy regardless of ethnic affiliations. Among other things, MSAAD’s contribution to aid is education and the organisation has already experienced fine results from their civic education programmes. What is vital is to assist people gaining insight and a political understanding of the world around them in order for them to have influence on their own lives and to take responsibility. This is sought accomplished through a centred attention on the themes of anticorruption, rights of land, fair trade, local democracy and conflict management. An especially important target group in MSAAD’s work is young people as they are the future and thus hold a prospective possibility of influencing the social agenda henceforward.

However, our examination in this project primarily concentrates on conflict management and peace-building, as we will look into how these strategies play together with the conflict taking place in Kenya, and investigate specifically on the conflict management and peace-building within MSAAD.

### 3.2. Conflict Management Strategies in MSAAD

As expounded earlier, ethnicity is a concept full of complexity. Equally is the concept of conflict as it most often is a consequence of mixed causes and motives. Also the definition of conflict may vary, thus it is important to stress that in this connection, conflict is meant destructive and violent – both physical and psychological, for instance political violence.

Conflicts often stem from some social and/or political change, and are thus unavoidable. It disperses societies, divides people and creates fear. Therefore, as a priority of MSAAD’s work in these situations, it is crucial to try to retain and

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5 [http://ms.dk/sw104394.asp](http://ms.dk/sw104394.asp)
6 [http://ms.dk/graphics/Ms.dk/Dokumenter/Fokusomr%E5der/ConflictManagement.pdf](http://ms.dk/graphics/Ms.dk/Dokumenter/Fokusomr%E5der/ConflictManagement.pdf)
“strengthen the position of civil society and local capacities for peace” by helping the people deal with the problems that bring about the conflict[^7]. MSAAD’s most important working tools are engagement and the knowledge realized from past experience[^8], an approach corresponding very well with the method used in their strategies of managing conflicts. This method is non-theoretical but uses the ‘Do No Harm’ methodology which is mere experience-based, meaning that it is based on the facts collected from aid workers and other partners involved in the various programmes. So even though every conflict differs from one and another, the many analyses and reports make it possible to envision the common trends and place them within a wider context. Thereby, it is easier to put forward improved ways of conducting aid so that it will ‘Do No Harm’[^9]. The initiator Mary B. Anderson emphasises that aid is never neutral or impartial, given that “when international assistance is given in the context of a violent conflict, it becomes a part of that context and thus also of the conflict”[^10]. Consequently, as a part of a conflict, aid can either exacerbate or abate the tension, or do both but the still increasing facts collected and analysed makes it easier to predict and to avoid the negative effects in aid. According to Anderson it is the failures, thus the experience which makes aid better[^11].

Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke improved their strategies in 2008 after they became a part of Action Aid International with whom they established new thematic conflict management programs. The centres of attention in MSAAD’s recent framework are poverty, corruption and democracy, since, in matters of conflict,
these three themes seem to be very much interlinked. The framework consists of six points which also illustrates MSAAD’s visions and mission in Kenya. It is noteworthy to mention that conflict management is an overall theme within MSAAD, whereas MS Kenya works to a greater extent with both conflict management and peace-building as a theme. In the following we will provide a thorough account of the concept of ethnicity and an overview of the situation in Kenya, in order to link these factors to the strategies of MSAAD.

12 http://ms.dk/graphics/Ms.dk/Dokumenter/Fokusomr%E5der/ConflictManagement.pdf
4. Ethnicity

Terms like ‘ethnicity’, ‘ethnic groups’ and ‘ethnic conflicts’ have been frequently used in common English language, both in the worldwide press, in political programmes, in casual conversations and within the social sciences\textsuperscript{13}. Ethnicity emerges and turns out to be relevant through everyday interactions, social situations and encounters between people. The importance of understanding the concept of ethnicity becomes highly relevant in present time, as it is closely linked to globalization and the growing interconnectedness between and within nations, and recognized as an important part of the general sociological assumptions and political discourses\textsuperscript{14}. Through the twentieth century, different approaches in understanding ethnicity as a concept have been discussed by researchers and theorists within the field of sociology and anthropology, and so different viewpoints and definitions among anthropologists and social scientists have been developed. Within this chapter, an explanation of the dominant features concerning the concept of ethnicity will be outlined.

4.1. From Tribe to Ethnic Group

The general anthropological terminology used when classifying social units or groups of people began to change during the 1950s and 1960s as social scientists and anthropologists revised the notion of different communities and concept of tribalism in the post-colonial Africa\textsuperscript{15}. In the late 1970s the social anthropologist Ronald Cohen pronounced that ethnicity had ultimately replaced tribalism, as researches working within the field of social anthropology stressed the

\textsuperscript{13} Eriksen, 2002: 1

\textsuperscript{14} Fenton, 2003: 1

\textsuperscript{15} Lentz, 1995: 304
importance of using the more accurate term ‘ethnic group’ instead of ‘tribe’\textsuperscript{16}. The problematic when characterizing human beings as belonging to tribes, was grounded in the distinction introduced between the people being studied and the people studying, thereby creating a qualitative distinction between modern and traditional or primitive societies\textsuperscript{17}.

“The word tribe is generally used descriptively to mean a community of people who belong to the same ethnic group. However, it also carries with it a sense of those who are primitive and representative of groups from an earlier evolutionary stage of existence, specifically, not as fully developed and civilized as “me”.”\textsuperscript{18}

When using the term ethnic group, the qualitative distinction vanishes, since all humans each belong to an ethnic group or hold an ethnicity. Therefore, the concept of ethnicity was recognized within social anthropology as a way to build the gap between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between ‘moderns’ and ‘tribes’ and between Western and non-Western societies\textsuperscript{19}.

As the term ‘ethnic group’ is acknowledged accurate in present time, and is most commonly used in political and academic discourses it is remarkable that the term ‘tribes’ and tribalism is still widely used among journalists and in societies when for example describing ethnic conflicts\textsuperscript{20}.

\section*{4.2. Ethnicity as a Concept}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16}Eriksen, 2002: 16
\item \textsuperscript{17}Eriksen, 2002: 10-11
\item \textsuperscript{18}Sobania, 2003: xiv
\item \textsuperscript{19}Jenkins, 2001: 16-17
\item \textsuperscript{20}Fenton, 2003: 1
\end{itemize}
Ethnicity springs from the ancient Greek *ethnos*, which originally referred to a range of situations in which a collective of humans lived and acted together, and which is typically translated today as ‘people’ or ‘nation’\(^{21}\). Ever since, ethnicity has been commonly connected to how people are organized in groups according to cultural differences, national borders and the structuring of the modern world\(^{22}\).

A general distinction between sociology and anthropology and their way of exploring the concept of ethnicity, is explained by Richard Jenkins in his book *Rethinking Ethnicity*, where he discusses the dominant thoughts that have explained ethnicity\(^{23}\).

An early and influential sociological explanation to the concept of ethnicity and ethnic groups can be found in Max Weber’s *Economy and Society*’ from 1922. In his view, an ethnic group is based on the belief shared by its members that are of common descent, and ‘race’ can create an ethnic group when it is perceived as having a common trait, and distinguishes the members from other obviously different groups. A significant part of Weber’s argument is:

“…*ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. On the other hand, it is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity.*”\(^{24}\)

\(^{21}\) Jenkins, 2001: 9

\(^{22}\) Fenton, 2003: 2

\(^{23}\) Jenkins, 2001: 3-4

\(^{24}\) Jenkins, 2001: 10
The next significant sociological contribution to the general understanding of ethnicity came about in 1948, outlined in a short paper by the sociologist Everett Hughes. His argument is centred on the notion that.

“...ethnic cultural differences are a function of ‘group-ness’, the existence of a group is not a reflection of cultural difference... Ethnic groups imply ethnic relations, and ethnic relations involve at least two collective parties, they are not unilateral.”

The ethnic relations and identifications are in Hughes’ point of view dependent on the outs as well as the ins. Therefore, a minority group cannot be studied without also studying the relation to the majority. Hughes was highly inspired by the work of Weber, and together their work is considered the early sociological emergence of what has later been identified as Barth’s social constructionist model of ethnicity, in the notion that they both claim that ethnic identification arises out of the interaction between groups.

The notion of ethnicity emerged in the widespread use of anthropology in the 1960s, and is linked to the long-term shift in the usage of terms as ‘race’ and ‘culture’, and the conceptualization when describing cultures generally changed from ‘tribe’ to ‘ethnic group’. In social anthropological theory, different definitions explaining ethnicity emerged, and the most general notion of ethnicity as ‘the social organization’ of culture difference’ was originally proposed by Fredrik Barth in his influential work ‘Ethnic Groups and Boundaries’ from 1969. According to Jenkins, Barth explains the concept of ethnicity as being first and foremost a matter of politics, decision-making and goal-orientation. Barth grounded his theoretical arguments on social processes, and his work has

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25 Jenkins, 2001: 11
26 Jenkins, 2001: 11
27 Jenkins, 2001: 12
been the most influential in the current anthropological understanding of ethnicity\textsuperscript{28}.

Jenkins explains that although the influential work in sociological literature from Weber and Hughes, and the later basic model of ethnicity, identified with the work of Barth, ethnicity and its potential has never been fully explored or understood\textsuperscript{29}. He states, that the anthropological understanding of ethnicity requires rethinking, and that conflict and contradiction has only recently found a central place in the anthropological world-view. Anthropology uses ‘methodological holism’, thereby studying all dimensions of a social situation or a group’s way of life, in the belief that they are all potentially interconnected\textsuperscript{30}. Thereby the focus has often been on “symbolism, ritual and religion, kinship and the family, morality, custom and law, micro-politics, and ethnic and communal identity”\textsuperscript{31}. This derives from the study of direct experience with life, as it uses a holistic emphasis of understanding local meanings, for example culture, using data about everyday life which is gathered via participant observation. Where sociology seems to be bigger and less sectarian than social anthropology, the border between the two disciplines has gradually become blurred. According to Jenkins, it is not easy to distinguish between social anthropology and sociology, as their methods have begun to converge during the twentieth century and thus the communication gap has opened up between them\textsuperscript{32}.

As mentioned, Jenkins’ way of understanding and explaining the notion of ethnicity is rooted in earlier sociological literature from influential scholars as

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Jenkins, 2001: 13
\item Jenkins, 2001: 3
\item Jenkins, 2001: 5
\item Jenkins, 2001: 5
\item Jenkins, 2001: 7
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Weber and Hughes, and Jenkins develops the work of Fredrik Barth which is most commonly identified with the ‘basic social model of ethnicity’\textsuperscript{33}. This will be further elaborated on in the following chapters.

\section*{4.3. Dominant Theories Concerning Ethnicity}

As stated above, Fredrik Barth and Richard Jenkins are two of the most influential theorists regarding ethnicity, therefore we will in the following aim at explicating the thoughts of the two.

\subsection*{4.3.1. Fredrik Barth}

Fredrik Barth, influenced by Weber and Hughes, is thought of as one of the most dominant social anthropologists when seeking to understand the concept of ethnicity. Fredrik Barth differs from other and earlier social anthropologists in his view on ethnicity, as his focal investigation point concerns not only the ethnic groups, but more specifically the boundaries between them\textsuperscript{34}. In his book ‘\textit{Ethnic Groups and Boundaries}’, Barth portrays the typical and ideal definition of an ethnic group among social anthropologists. This definition entails the following characteristics, namely that an ethnic group is:

\begin{quote}
\textit{largely biologically self-perpetuating, it shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms, it makes up a field of communication and interaction and it has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{33} Jenkins, 2001: 13  
\textsuperscript{34} Barth, 1969: 9
by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.”\(^{35}\).

The abovementioned definition is in contrast to Barth’s opinion on how to examine ethnic groups, as this definition emphasizes shared common culture to be a crucial factor in defining ethnic groups.

Barth argues that this should not be a primary characteristic; it should rather be a result of a possible investigation, since it would bring about a prejudged perspective\(^ {36}\).

He has a clear conception of how this would result in cultural analysis rather than an analysis of ethnic organization, because this definition takes its point of departure in what he regards as ‘cultural stuff’ such as; “language, religion, customs and laws, tradition, material culture, cuisine etc.”\(^{37}\), instead of emphasizing boundaries of identification and the differences between ethnic groups. Barth finds these boundaries of great importance, since they are produced and reproduced through social processes.

Such processes set up the boundaries, for instance when members of one group interact with a member from another group, but maintains his group’s identity. This maintenance clarifies a group’s membership and exclusion of others\(^ {38}\). Additionally, boundaries are maintained in the social relations, where individuals interact and experience similarities and differences. Thus; “ethnic distinctions are the foundations on which social systems are built”\(^ {39}\).

\(^{35}\) Barth, 1969: 11  
\(^{36}\) Barth, 1969: 12  
\(^{37}\) Jenkins, 2001: 107  
\(^{38}\) Barth, 1969: 15  
\(^{39}\) Barth, 1969: 15
Barth touches upon how cultural differentiation can lead to ‘us’ and ‘them’ and the differences between these two are what constitute an ethnic group, as: “the production and reproduction of difference vis-à-vis external others is what create the image of similarity internally, vis-à-vis each other”.40

The differences of ethnic groups can be complimentary to each other, resulting in interdependence. This inter-ethnic contact may result in a general acceptance of different ethnic groups being a part of each other’s everyday life. Furthermore, Barth talks about cultural ecology saying that different forms of interdependence may arise from this in the encounter between two or more ethnic groups.

The consequences of this encounter can lead to three different forms, that is, if it takes place in a stable situation. One option can be that the groups discover how they can supplement each other by engaging different niches, and thereby the competition between them will be lowered as well as their interdependence. Another form, namely the division of territories, would on the other hand lead to greater competition for resources between groups, also involving political articulation. This form would very likely also result in a limited interdependence. A third form would be an encounter where groups supply each other with the same resources, even though they are in fact occupying shared resources. This form would increase the interdependence.41

However, Barth also highlights that there is a fourth and fairly common form, likely to take place in an unstable situation. This form can take place between groups competing within the niche. This situation can cause that one group tries to either remove an opposite group, or tries to adjust the other group, and thereby

40 Jenkins, 2001: 12
41 Barth, 1969: 19
develops a strong interdependence. Thus, to Barth “Ethnicity is a matter of politics, decision making and goal-orientation”.

Conclusively, Barth thinks that it is in the encounter with another group or person that one becomes aware of one’s ethnic character. Thus, ethnic characterizations are socially constructed.

Social Constructionism can be defined as how people construct themselves and each other during interaction. Social constructionism can be spilt up in two, namely; micro and macro social constructionism. Micro social constructionists refer to themselves as discursive psychologists and they are primarily operating with social construction taking place in everyday discourses. The latter, however, concentrates on the macro-linguistic and social structures in framing our social and psychological life. The primary focus of macro social constructionism is on constructive power, and how this affects language, however macro social constructionism argues that this constructive power of language is linked to and has emerged from “material or social structures, social relations and institutionalized practices”. This question of power entails that macro social constructionists are especially interested in analyzing inequality, such as gender relations and ethnicity. Jenkins and Barth both hold a macro social constructionist point of view while examining ethnicity.

42 Barth, 1969: 20
43 Jenkins, 2001: 12
44 Burr, 2003: 21
45 Burr, 2003: 21
46 Burr, 2003: 20
47 Burr, 2003: 22
48 Burr, 2003: 22
4.3.2. Richard Jenkins

Social anthropologist, Richard Jenkins, has interpreted Fredrik Barth’s thoughts on ethnicity, referring to this as being the basic social constructionist and social anthropological model of ethnicity and he has summarized his findings as follows:

- Ethnicity is about cultural differentiation – although, to reiterate the main theme of Social Identity (Jenkins 1996), identity is always a dialectic between similarity and difference;

- Ethnicity is centrally concerned with culture – shared meaning – but it is also rooted in, and to a considerable extent the outcome of, social interaction;

- Ethnicity is no more fixed or unchanging than the culture of which it is a component or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced;

- Ethnicity as a social identity is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification.”

According to Jenkins’ research which relies on the abovementioned model, a theory defining ethnicity in itself can hardly be outlined. He explains that ethnicity is not something fixed that people ‘have’ or belong to. Instead, ethnicity is a complexity which people experience, use, learn and implement in their daily lives, and at the same time they subconsciously construct an ongoing sense of themselves together with an understanding of the people surrounding them. Once again it becomes clear that Jenkins holds a social constructionists view.

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49 Jenkins, 2001: 13-14

50 Jenkins, 2001: 14
towards ethnicity. Capturing the concept of ethnicity, the context under which the ethnicity is unfolded is significant, since ethnicity is complex and connected to theories of modernity, concerning all aspects of the modern social world, as it is closely related to culture, individual and social aspects herein. Jenkins emphasizes Barth’s thoughts about the interconnection between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and expands this idea by elucidating social groups and social categories in “the actual social world”.

In continuation of what Jenkins considers the Barthian social constructionist view of ethnicity, he touches upon the differences and similarities one can acknowledge in the meeting with others, as he points out how this also closely links group identification and social categorization, since “similarity entails difference, and inclusion entails exclusion, and processually, with respect to individual as well as collective identities”.

Jenkins believes that the identification of a social group is defined by the individuals within the group; on the contrary social categorization is defined and identified by individuals outside. Additionally, Jenkins stresses that all groups can be considered as being socially constructed, however, an absolute definition is not always found.

When speaking of differences and similarities, Jenkins moreover states how ethnicity on the one hand could be a source of solidarity or on the other hand a source of conflict.

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51 Fenton, 2003: 179-180
52 Jenkins, 2001: 55
53 Jenkins, 2001: 23
54 Jenkins, 2001: 55
4.4. Ethnic Conflicts

Since World War II researchers and anthropologists have realized the importance of understanding ethnic conflicts as an important factor in defining the nature of wars and tensions within societies. Ethnic differences and tensions among groups have often been found to divide people or be a source of violent conflicts or even genocide, both within and between nations\(^55\). Furthermore, politics is seen centred around aspects of ethnicity, sometimes creating tensions or challenging the cohesion of a country\(^56\).

The nature of an ethnic conflict is most often characterized as being a conflict emerging when the primary confrontation is based on ethnic distinctions and contradictive goals between groups\(^57\). Therefore, many aspects have to be taken into consideration when understanding the conflict, since it can be centred in cultural, social, political and/or economic interests, where local dynamics create the conflict. Often these conflicting interests between groups can be rooted in the lack of stability in a country, caused by poverty, struggle over resources, land, power or politics, making it difficult to tell to what extent the conflict is purely ethnic\(^58\). The competition for limited values is often found to be what drives people to see themselves as members of certain ethnic groups, whose interests conflict with those of other ethnic groups, and the organisation of groups of people will often be along ethnic lines rather than of other social lines\(^59\). Additionally, ethnic groups have often been organized politically, with an indication to the possible cooperation between groups. Ethnicity-based politics

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\(^{55}\) Brown, 1993: 3-4

\(^{56}\) Horowitz, 1985: 7-9

\(^{57}\) Wolff, 2006: 2

\(^{58}\) Wolff, 2006: 6

\(^{59}\) Horowitz, 1985: 15
are not classified as being a source of conflict in itself, as it can be a tool within an institutionalized democracy and constitute legislative voting procedures. Nevertheless, political agendas have often been incompatible whereas struggle for power can be an important factor both for leaders and followers in ethnic conflicts. This is due to the fact that cooperation and negotiation is often put aside because of the pursuit of power from both groups.

It is often a difficult process to solve an ethnic conflict, since it is dependent on the concrete situation, where many frustrating issues play a role in the possible solutions. The parties in an ethnic conflict are likely to be entrapped in a vicious cycle, since resolutions often are compromising on the groups’ interests making it difficult to create a sustainable peace agreement, and frustrations thereby continuously leads to violent escalations. In domestic ethnic conflicts, international aid and assistance can be regarded necessary in order to sustain peace between ethnic groups.

Most academic debates on ethnic conflicts concentrate on two main factors: understanding the causes of the ethnic conflict and creating theories or strategies on conflict reduction. Understanding ethnic conflicts and their causes and dynamics can equip the international society and organisations to deal with them in order to create strategic solutions within conflict-management and peace-building.

These theoretical approaches with the purpose of solving ethnic conflicts and build peace can be difficult to implement on a universal basis, as they have to reach out to the many aspects in the conflict, and there is no simple way to make

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60 Wolff, 2006: 3-5
61 Wolff, 2006: 7
62 Horowitz, 1985: xiii
63 Wolff, 2006: 135-136
them succeed. Ethnic conflicts and peace-building strategies have often been highly discussed and implemented in political agendas and in organizations working in conflict areas. In an up-coming chapter concerning the ‘MS-Kenya Country Programme Strategy (CPS) 2008-2012’ we will look into how MSAAD seeks to solve the KPEC, by using peace-building and conflict management in the attempt to build and create sustainable local democracy in Kenya⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 2-4
5. Kenya

Until recently Kenya has been viewed as being one of the most developed and democratic countries in Africa. With a flourishing economy, political campaigns focusing on social issues and a more and more democratically minded population, the presidential election of 2007 was forecasted to be a successful milestone in Kenyan history. However, things did not go as experts predicted and what was supposed to be a success became a catastrophe. This chapter aims at providing the reader with a detailed overview of the factors and circumstances regarding the KPEC.

5.1. Ethnic Kenya

In Kenya, the population stands at nearly 30 million people spread all over the country, consisting of at least 42 different ethnic groups settled in 8 provinces. The majority of the Kenyans live in rural areas in the countryside, where ethnic groups live divided into villages or towns, sharing the same language and where they preferably marry someone from the same group. In the larger cities these ethnic groups are more mixed together, and here the ethnic division is not as dominant.

The largest ethnic groups are the Kikuyu, with a population percentage of the Kenyan people of about 24 per cent, the Luhya with about 15 per cent, the Luo consisting of about 12 per cent, the Kalenjin with around 12 per cent, and the Kamba with approximately 11 per cent. Although there are several additional

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66 Waki-report, 2008: 30

67 Sobania, 2003: 2-3
ethnic groups, these will not be listed due to the fact that these are much smaller communities. 

5.1.1. Kikuyu and Lou

The two dominant ethnic groups in Kenya are the groups called Kikuyu and Luo. The Kikuyu people make out the largest ethnic group in Kenya and politically they are affiliated with Mwai Kibaki, whereas the Luo people support the opposition leader, Raila Odinga. Hence, these two ethnic groups are the most relevant to look at in connection to the Kenyan Post Election Crisis. In the following, a brief description of the two groups’ origins will be given.

Since 80 per cent of Kenya’s labour force lies within the field of agriculture, it is also within this area that the largest ethnic groups have their roots. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the agricultural Kikuyu people inhabited the central highlands near Mount Kenya, and by the 19th century the group had expanded to the peripheral surroundings of Rift Valley and of what is today called Nairobi. Over time, due to encounters with other ethnic groups, the Kikuyu people organized a political system where status grew along with age and wealth. During the British colonial rule of Kenya, the Kikuyu were among the first people to experience the consequences of this. The British colonisers took over a lot of land owned by Kikuyu, which made the Kikuyu people establish and join organisations fighting for independence and freedom.

After 1490, the first agricultural Luo people settled near the lake shores of Kenya. By 1730, Luo was a widespread population group in Kenya. Along with the increasing number of Luo, a political system was developed. Like the

68 http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udenrigspolitik/Landefakta/LandefaktaAfrika/Kenya.htm

69 Maxon et al., 2000: 131
Kikuyu, the Luo people became involved in protest organisations during the British colonial rule, and the two groups were the two greatest in supporting the Kenya African National Union (KANU), a nationalist party\(^{70}\).

5.2. Political Kenya

In the following chapter, a historical account of the political development in Kenya will be given, in order to offer a clear understanding of how Kenya has previously been ruled and in order to provide an overview of which ethnic groups are affiliated with the respective parties.

In 1944, when Kenya was still under the administration of the British colonial powers, a group was formed with the objective to campaign for and eventually gain independence. This group, the Kenyan African Union (KAU), was later headed by Jomo Kenyatta in 1946. During the struggle for independence and the objection against the white settlers, Kenyatta led the Mau Mau rebellion against the British settlers. Later in 1961 he became head of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU), the former KAU, which in 1963 won the general election and thus resulted in the independence of Kenya with Jomo Kenyatta as the first president of the nation. Oginga Odinga was elected vice president\(^{71}\).

Under the rule of President Kenyatta, the opposition was subjected to violence and political harassment. It was forbidden to object to the leading party\(^{72}\), and during Kenyatta’s time in office, the Kikuyu group developed economically and gained political influence\(^{73}\).

\(^{70}\) Maxon et al., 2000: 154-155
\(^{71}\) Sobania, 2003: 26-28
\(^{72}\) Waki-report, 2008: 24
\(^{73}\) Klugman et al., 1999: 27
In 1966, vice president Oginga Odinga left KANU and founded a rival party called Kenya People’s Union (KPU). Along with the resignation from KANU by Odinga, KANU lost a lot of Luo support\(^74\). A year later, Daniel arap Moi was appointed vice president in his place. The KPU did not last long, because in 1969, when a respected member of government, Tom Mboya, was assassinated, members of KANU suspected members of the opposition party, KPU, to be responsible for the murder. Hence, Odinga was put in jail and the KPU was banned. This was the reason why only KANU candidates participated in the next election\(^75\) and Kenyatta was re-elected.

A couple of years later, in 1978, Jomo Kenyatta died in office\(^76\) and although the opposition fought to prevent this, the former vice president Daniel arap Moi succeeded Kenyatta and became president of Kenya and KANU. Moi was neither part of the Luo or Kikuyu groups\(^77\). During Moi’s presidency, the oppression of the opposition continued\(^78\).

Over the following years the opposition grew, and when the National Assembly in 1982 declared Kenya a one-party state, an unsuccessful coup led by the Kikuyus against Moi followed. He continued his form of government as president of Kenya, but excluded the Kikuyu group from influential positions in his government\(^79\). Slowly the criticism from the international community directed at him and Kenya increased, due to the continuing repression of the opposition groups as well as cases of human rights abuse. When Oginga Odinga and other members of the opposition in 1991 formed the party called Forum for the

\(^{74}\) Maxon et al., 2000: 155

\(^{75}\) Sobania, 2003: 28

\(^{76}\) Sobania, 2003: 29

\(^{77}\) Klugman et al., 1999: 28

\(^{78}\) Waki-report, 2008: 24-28

\(^{79}\) Klugman et al., 1999: 28
Restoration of Democracy (FORD), and the government immediately banned it again, the international community interfered. This resulted in a national agreement giving Kenya a multiparty political system, with KANU and FORD as the two parties within the government\textsuperscript{80}.

Over the next decade, elections took place in both 1992 and 1997, and both with the outcome of Moi as ongoing president. In these years violence became an institutionalized part of politics in Kenya. The government hired gangs to threaten the members of the opposition and their families\textsuperscript{81}.

However, Kenya’s first coalition government was put in place when President Moi appointed Raila Odinga, son of Oginga Odinga, as energy minister in 2001. A year later Mwai Kibaki, leader of the opposition party National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), was elected president. He won over Daniel arap Moi’s successor and late Jomo Kenyatta’s son, Uhuru Kenyatta\textsuperscript{82}.

In 2002, late NGO reports were made public, which gave an account of the types of governmental violence and corruption having been used during the late 1900s. However, no action was taken in regards to punishment, which made victims of crime and violence join Mafioso gangs in the slums of Nairobi. A prominent gang was Mungiki, which is still large today\textsuperscript{83}. The escalation of gangs continued even though they were banned by the government which ultimately lost legitimacy due to this continuation of the violence. The violent behavior became a means of survival to both the police, officials and security forces because the laws against gangs and their brutality were ignored. The public opinion was that all decisions by the government were made on the basis of President Kibaki’s...

\textsuperscript{80} Sobania, 2003: xx
\textsuperscript{81} Waki-report, 2008: 26-27
\textsuperscript{82} Waki-report, 2008: 28-30
\textsuperscript{83} See section 6.2. in the project
own opinions, which lead to the common perception that the only way to solve one’s own problems was to vote for a presidential candidate from one’s own ethnic group\textsuperscript{84}.

During the election of 2007 the government was still seen as lacking integrity and autonomy due to both the continuation of violence, but also the decreasing trust in the multi-power democracy. The leading parties in the 2007 election were Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU), with Raila Odinga as the leader of ODM and Mwai Kibaki as the elected president from PNU\textsuperscript{85}.

**5.2.1. The Political System**

There are about 60 political parties registered in Kenya, but less than 10 of these are represented in Parliament. Reasons for this development can be; that few of the parties are active in between election periods, that several of the parties only have offices in the communities where they are supported by their own ethnic groups, that many of the parties are constituted from personality reasons rather than ideological ones, and that alliances between parties shift repeatedly. The parties in Kenya are not institutionalised in the same way as we know it in the Western world, but rather they are used by economically powerful individuals to gain power of the state. Throughout the period after Kenya’s independence, the political life was dominated more by peoples’ ethnic background than by political agendas\textsuperscript{86}.

\textsuperscript{84} Waki-report, 2008: 27-30

\textsuperscript{85} \url{http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udenrigspolitik/Landefakta/LandefaktaAfrika/Kenya.htm}

\textsuperscript{86} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 11-12
In the following, a short account of the key issues of The Orange Democratic Movement and The Party of National Unity, the two parties from the election of 2007, will be given.

The ODM, lead by Raila Odinga, advocates a democratic society with the words ‘Maisha Bora’\(^\text{87}\), a contract promising the Kenyan people that voting for ODM will imply that the country leaders will perform as servants of the people. The ODM aims at a just Kenya based on inclusiveness; every person should participate in society and have the same economic, social and democratic rights. The marginalised, poor and vulnerable people of Kenya shall be protected and given power and through industrialization, ODM aims at turning Kenya into a prosperous and modernized country\(^\text{88}\).

The PNU was formed in August 2007 by a collaboration of several already existing parties. The leader, Mwai Kibaki, was the only personal member to join the party; the rest came from already existing ones, such as FORD-KENYA, KANU and NARC-KENYA. The PNU advocates that Kenya be a country where justice and security reaches out to everyone, regardless of class, origin or religion, and that the human rights are upheld at all times. The PNU also support the idea of both freedom of press and freedom of worship, as well as they want to secure Kenya as a prosperous and equal country with liberty for all\(^\text{89}\).

From these chapters concerning political Kenya, it becomes evident how ethnic dimensions have had a great impact on politics in Kenya.

\(^{87}\) ‘Maisha Bora’ means ‘Good Life’ in Swahili
\(^{89}\) [http://www.kenyavotes.org/node/93](http://www.kenyavotes.org/node/93)
5.3. The Kenyan Post Election Crisis 2007 (KPEC)

In order for us to analyze and discuss MS’s strategies and the aforementioned political and ethnic factors playing a role in the Kenyan Post Election Crisis, we find it necessary to give an account of the crisis.

5.3.1. Overview of the Election Crisis

During his time as president, Daniel arap Moi had a very strict policy concerning media, civil society and freedom of speech. However, Kibaki lightened the rules and Kenya little by little became a nation with a brighter future than ever before, being a country which the outside world knew for its “peace, prosperity and its potential for development”.90 Because of this tendency towards increasing democracy, people’s awareness of their rights grew, so when the chairman of the election commission, Samuel Kiuvitu, on January 2nd 2008 stated that he doubted the justice of the result of the election, namely that Kibaki won, a wave of anger spread throughout the country, especially among the ethnic groups related to the Odinga and ODM91. The Kikuyu group, which is the group Kibaki is associated with, was mainly exposed to the first violent outbursts92. An example of this took place in the province of Rift Valley when the ODM supporters, namely Luo, felt that their victory had been taken from them via the election fraud, they started fighting to get the PNU supporters out of their region. This ended in retaliation from the Kikuyu group and so the clashes began. According to the Waki-report, which provides a detailed inquiry into the post-election violence, a market town in the Rift Valley province called Naivasha Town started receiving internally

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90 Waki-report, 2008: 13
91 Pedersen, 2008, Kristeligt Dagblad
92 Kaarsholm, 2008: Information
displaced persons (IDP) from the Kikuyu group in the aftermath of the announcement of the election result. These IDPs came from other parts of Rift Valley and the number increased to 22,000 Kikuyu IDPs, who had been ‘abandoned’ from many other parts of the country. However, this was only the beginning and a vicious cycle between the different ethnic groups had started. In Naivasha, as a response to many incidents of violence, revenge attacks on non-Kikuyus took place between the 27\textsuperscript{th} and 30\textsuperscript{th} of January 2008\textsuperscript{93}.

Jendayi Frazer, president of the African Union and president of Ghana, John Kufuor, both came to Kenya in the beginning of January; with the intention to solve the conflict in a peaceful manner. Nevertheless, they did not succeed in finding a solution to the still increasing turmoil and violence in Kenya. Kufuor contacted his colleague Kofi Annan and asked him to take part in a solution\textsuperscript{94}.

The international society also interfered and started to announce threats towards Kenya, saying that they would boycott trade and supplementary benefits to the government if they did not, as fast as possible, come up with a peaceful solution to the rising crisis\textsuperscript{95}.

During the conflict more than 1,500 people lost their lives and around 300,000 had to flee from their homes\textsuperscript{96}. The disappointment and anger which many of the opposition supporters had shown, derived not only from political affairs, but the long history of social and ethnic marginalization also had an impact, and it was soon evident that it was not only a political conflict but that it had a deep draught. Kikuyus and Lous, who used to live side by side as neighbors, suddenly became each others’ enemies and the following violence has resulted in a still more

\textsuperscript{93} Waki-report, 2008: 117
\textsuperscript{94} A) Pedersen, 2008, MS. B) Appendix 3
\textsuperscript{95} Pedersen, 2008, MS
\textsuperscript{96} Løbner, 2008, Complete Information
ethnic divided Kenya. Morten Heise, who works for a Kenyan Organization called Peace Net settled in Nairobi, explains how “gangs”, would stop busses and throw out the persons who did not belong to their ethnic group\(^97\).

On February 28\(^{th}\) 2008 Kofi Annan succeeded in finding a peaceful solution. He suggested a “Power-sharing Deal” which entailed the following points, namely that:

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“A new two-party coalition government was to be set up.
- Cabinet posts were to be divided equally between parties.
- Raila Odinga should take new post of prime minister, which can only be dismissed by National Assembly.
- Two new deputy PMs were to be appointed, one from each member of coalition.”\(^98\)
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The parties successfully divided the ministerial offices, and the riots decreased for a while. However, the damages are great and it will take a long time to reestablish Kenya and get back on the track leading to a more peaceful country. Some of the quarrels which KPEC has breathed new life into go way back and is still out of political reach\(^99\). On the contrary, the politicians still cannot find a shared political course, a problem which frustrates the Kenyan population\(^100\).

\(^{97}\) Pedersen, 2008, MS  
\(^{98}\) [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7273605.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7273605.stm)  
\(^{99}\) Kaarsholm, 2008, Information  
\(^{100}\) Appendix 4
5.4. Kenya in the Wake of the KPEC

According to the Danish ministry of foreign affairs, the safety has improved after Kofi Annan’s mediation in 2008\textsuperscript{101} and in several areas people have returned to their regular lives.\textsuperscript{102} However the condition in Kenya today is still critical and the situation utmost fragile as it can be easily deteriorated. Especially tense are the districts Upper Eastern Province and Nairobi slums alongside areas within Rift Valley. Rift Valley comprises towns like Eldoret, Nakuru and Naivasha of which all are highly affected by the crisis\textsuperscript{103}.

“Among ordinary Kenyans the ethnic disputes have been neither settled nor reconciled, as is the case at the political level. (...) They are even more badly off today than before the election and suffer from the economical recession”\textsuperscript{104}.

Politically the situation is just as tense. The long-standing conflicts regarding corruption, territory, resources, along with themes of poverty and not least matters of constitution are continuing. The collaboration between President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga is precarious and their two parties have continual problems coming to unanimous agreements in nearly all contexts.\textsuperscript{105} Only recently Kibaki has been accused of making decisions exclusive of Odinga\textsuperscript{106} while Odinga and his party have taken vigorous exception to the political drama by refusing to collaborate with the Cabinet\textsuperscript{107}. It seems that power relations and hence also money and fringe benefits are considerable factors within the political conflict and the situation brings only little trust among the

\textsuperscript{101} http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Borgerservice/FoerRejsen/Rejsevejledninger/RejsevejledningKenya
\textsuperscript{102} Appendix 2
\textsuperscript{103} http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7213211.stm
\textsuperscript{104} http://ms.dk/sw104394.asp
\textsuperscript{105} http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D988634&channel=p1&program=kenya&date=&length=08%3A15&&participant=yes
\textsuperscript{106} http://scdalsgaard.wordpress.com/2009/04/13/kenya-daily-nation-dont-lead-us-back-to-war/-
\textsuperscript{107} http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1024563.stm
Kenyan population who are clearly frustrated of the ineffectual politicians\textsuperscript{108}. Scandals with cases concerning corruption among politicians are constantly revealed but the system of justice is just as ineffectual, and consequently no one is being put accountable for the election fraud and for integrating the violence that followed\textsuperscript{109}. Kenya has a history which takes place within all political parties in the country. Most Kenyans wish to put an end to it, which was also the campaign pledge that previously led Kibaki to election victory in 2002. Nevertheless the situation today has aggravated after the crisis. Important, in relation to the election in 2007, is thus that the majority did not vote for Odinga because he was better or more reliable but rather they voted against Kibaki and the people behind him, namely the Mafioso gang Mungiki\textsuperscript{110}. Hence, the fraud inconsistent with democratic principles was the last straw in the fight against corruption which most Kenyans declare to be one of the largest problems for instance the elite misusing their power without consequences\textsuperscript{111}. Various commissions have been formed and reports with reforms have been worked out, for instance the Waki report. However, there is a standstill at the political level and nothing has happened yet, seeing that the politicians are not really policy oriented. Rather than focusing on long-term amendments and implementing new reforms, they spend a great deal of time discussing minor issues\textsuperscript{112} such as the

\textsuperscript{108} http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D988634&channel=p1&program=kenya&date=&length=08%3A15&

\textsuperscript{109} http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D963472&channel=p1&program=p1%20morgen%202.%20time&date=&length=51%3A08&

\textsuperscript{110} https://bscw.ruc.dk/bscw/bscw.cgi/d25564125/film_politisk_tv_20-%20Baggrund%20og%20dokumentar%20Udenrigsmagasinet.mht

\textsuperscript{111} http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D988634&channel=p1&program=kenya&date=&length=08%3A15&

\textsuperscript{112} Appendix 1
order of business\textsuperscript{113}. These are all significant issues lacking behind on the political agenda, however not the only ones.

Every day new districts appear representing just one ethnic group. These are assigned by the government which only makes the reconciliation process more demanding as the many districts are complicated to unite under one common policy\textsuperscript{114} and the ongoing conflict is also considered to stem from the division of land\textsuperscript{115}. Today, some Kenyans have returned to their homes but hundreds of thousands are still stuck in refugee camps unable to return. This has, among other things, led to both increased poverty and unemployment for a great number of Kenyans as many had to leave their farms and fields, too. Hence they did not profit from the yield or have the chance to re-cultivate their pieces of land\textsuperscript{116}. The circumstances have led to further agitation and a worsening in crime and violence in most parts of the country although townships or slum areas like in Nairobi are more exposed\textsuperscript{117}. This takes place in line with the Kenyan population increasing which fortifies the fight for resources and only retains the dispute.

The violent and at times armed confrontations reflect the discontent, and organizations within the country insist on new election\textsuperscript{118} while others warn

\textsuperscript{113}\url{http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D988634&channel=p1&program=kenya&date=&length=08%3A15&participant=yes}
\textsuperscript{114} Appendix 1
\textsuperscript{115} \url{http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7213211.stm}
\textsuperscript{116} \url{http://ms.dk/sw107382.asp}
\textsuperscript{117} \url{http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Borgerservice/FoerRejsen/Rejsevejledninger/RejsevejledningKenya}
\textsuperscript{118} \url{http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D963472&channel=p1&program=p1%20morgen%202.%20time&date=&length=51%3A08&}
against it as it might only exacerbate the condition. Kofi Annan is now sent for again\(^\text{119}\) which only confirms how aid is needed in Kenya.

\(^{119}\) http://scdalsgaard.wordpress.com/2009/04/13/kenya-daily-nation-dont-lead-us-back-to-war/-
6. Analysing Kenya in Relation to Ethnicity

We will proceed to conduct an analysis based on the aforementioned explanations of the concept of ethnicity, which we seek to link with the findings from the Kenya chapter\textsuperscript{120}. In order to understand the role of ethnicity in Kenya, and thereby examine whether and to what extent the conflict is of ethnic character, we will now proceed to draw on our chapter concerning ethnicity. In general an ethnic conflict can be categorized as being a conflict emerging when the primary confrontation is based on ethnic distinctions and contradictions between groups. According to Barth, ethnicity is a matter of goal-orientation. We argue that Kikuyu and Luo, in relation to political right, had an equal interest before the KPEC, namely democracy, whereas after the crisis their goal orientation has changed and each ethnic group now strive even more for power both in society and politics, especially in relation to selecting their respective leaders as president in office.

This highly indicates that the conflict in Kenya between the Kikuyu and Luo, since it is based on contradictory goals, is of ethnic character. This is especially seen in the light of the fact that the members of different ethnic groups have been living side by side rather peacefully for many years, and that the KPEC has created a greater consciousness regarding their own ethnic characters, since the crisis sparked the sense of feeling it necessary to strive for the membership of an ethnic and hence a political group. This has led to a strengthened realization of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ between the ethnic groups. This realization becomes obvious as Kenya is now more ethnically divided than before.

Additionally, the interaction between Kikuyu and Luo during the crisis both produced and reproduced the differences between the two, and it moreover

\textsuperscript{120} See section 5 of the project
strengthened the image of similarity internally. This is also a clarification of both Barth’s and Jenkins’ statements of how changes arise from social interaction rather than ‘cultural stuff’.

Additionally, the struggle for resources furthermore sparked the ethnic conflict, and can be categorized as an example of Barth’s fourth form, because the competition for resources took place in the same niche, namely agriculture. When the wave of anger spread throughout the country, the conflict escalated, and the violent outburst was specifically directed at members of the opposite ethnic groups. This is a clear example of how ethnicity can be a source of conflict, rather than solidarity, at least between the groups. On the other hand, within both groups we argue that the sense of solidarity can be strengthened, since a conflict like this sparks the sense of ‘us’ versus ‘them’, and thereby the way one identifies with one’s own group increases. Furthermore, this is also an example of how social groups organize and re-organize as a response to social interactions, and furthermore that ethnicity is an ongoing process.

Nevertheless, we cannot claim that the conflict is purely ethnic, since especially politics also has a significant position in determining the conflict. This underlines what Barth emphasized, namely that “ethnicity is a matter of politics, decision-making and goal-orientation.”121 In the following we will draw upon the convergence of ethnicity and politics.

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121 Jenkins, 2001: 12
6.1. Political Ethnicity

Social Anthropologist, David Parkin, argued in 1974, that despite common anthropological and sociological understandings of ethnicity, it can be explained rather simply, namely: “Ethnicity=a) the articulation of cultural distinctiveness in b) situations of political conflict or competition”\textsuperscript{122}. Already in 1974 Parkin mentioned how ethnic cleavages and competition have become crucial to political conflicts in many African cities. Furthermore, he emphasizes that kinship, viewed as a network, could function as an important means for articulating political messages between members of an ethnic group, thus keeping it only to the specific group and thereby holding it from other ethnic groups\textsuperscript{123}. Additionally, Parkin stresses that community of custom is a proficient method for politicians to maintain support from their associated ethnic group. So, according to Parkin ethnicity and politics are certainly interlinked, subsequently we aim at elucidating this interrelation in Kenya.

6.2. Political Ethnicity in Kenya

Allotment of resources, goods and services in Kenya has given rise to inequality of land, which has entailed an ethnic fundament for politicians in order to compete. This leads to problems and difficulties when it comes to establishing peace- and nation-building as well as a unified Kenya\textsuperscript{124}. An example of the inequality of resources and goods distribution were witnessed when former president Moi, rewarded his supporters, mainly the Kalenjins, giving them political offices and jobs within the military. This separation caused frustration.

\textsuperscript{122} Cohen, 1974: 119
\textsuperscript{123} Cohen, 1974: 120
\textsuperscript{124} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 13
and tensions among other ethnic groups, who were supporting Moi’s opponents, they categorized all the rewarded people as being incompetent. Moreover, it has been reported that politicians close to the government with Moi in presidency, organized and hired gangs, primarily in the Rift Valley, who were supposed to intimidate people of possible opponent support, mainly Kikuyu and Lou. This is a lucid example of how politics and ethnicity become more and more interconnected in Kenya.

The inequality and history of marginalization of different ethnic groups have also entailed tensions in Kenya. Additionally, the increase of democracy in Kenya has moreover led to an aggravation of these ethnic tensions, since the public has become more and more aware of their rights and in addition their influence on politics.

The election crisis, first viewed as being political, soon gained an ethnic dimension, and according to the Waki-report, the use of violence among politicians has grown, and it has become fundamental for ethnic groups that the president in office is associated with that same ethnic group, since this will guarantee them access to state resources and goods. Furthermore, proliferation of poverty among youth in Kenya have become a great problem in the wake of the crisis resulting in an enlarged amount of young people joining organized gangs, who are often working together with politicians and security forces. These groups are referred to as ‘shadow governments’, operating primarily in the slums,

125 Waki-report, 2008: 25
126 Waki-report, 2008: 25-26
127 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 13
128 Waki-report, 2008: 115
129 Waki-report, 2008: 23
however they have started to spread out the country, a tendency clearly seen in KPEC\textsuperscript{130}.

Mungiki is one of the most dominant organized gangs or ‘shadow governments’ in Kenya. It is assumed that Mungiki is rooted in the Mau Maus, who were the warriors of the Kikuyu-group. The Mau Maus led the war of independence against the colonial empire. The members of the gang today are mainly young Kikuyu men and are primarily found in the Kibera slum in Nairobi\textsuperscript{131}. The gang emerged up through the 1980s and sprung from “a cultural cum religious cult in the Kikuyu inhabited parts of Rift Valley”\textsuperscript{132}, however they rather rapidly became a great part of politics. Mungiki and other gangs were accepted and used as extra state violence by politicians\textsuperscript{133}. This is also the case in the KPEC where politicians and businessmen, according to the National Security Intelligence Service, were suspected of financing and organizing these ‘shadow governments’. A former member of parliament of the Kikuyu community was, for instance, among these suspects\textsuperscript{134}. Today, more than a year after the election, Mungiki is still a dominant feature in Kenya both ethnically and politically, even more accurately it is a dominant politico-ethnic organization.

As stated earlier, within an ethnic conflict foreign aid is often needed. This is also the case in Kenya, seeing as Kofi Annan came and mediated the conflict. Another example of foreign aid is the one provided by MSAAD, which will be elucidated in the following chapters. Firstly, however we will provide a general explanation of what conflict management and peace-building entails.

\textsuperscript{130} Waki-report, 2008: 23
\textsuperscript{131} \url{http://dengodehistorie.um.dk/da/menu/Kenya/Quiz/MungikiErEnMafiabande.htm}
\textsuperscript{132} Waki-report, 2008: 27
\textsuperscript{133} Waki-report, 2008: 27
\textsuperscript{134} Waki-report, 2008: 124
7. Conflict Management and Peace-building

There are several different definitions and ways to explain conflict management. Generally it can be described as both a concept and a method to identify, handle and minimize conflict in a fair and well-organized matter between different parts in a conflict. Furthermore, conflict management is the “limitation, mitigation and/or containment of a conflict without not necessarily solving it”\textsuperscript{135}. Another definition is that conflict management should change the conduct of interaction in moving from destructive to constructive.

The term conflict prevention is very much related to conflict management and peace-building efforts. It is a way to prevent and solve disagreements before they turn into violent conflicts:

“What must be avoided is the deterioration of a normal conflictual situation into crisis or violent conflict. It is not a matter of preventing conflicts, which are inherent in human relations, but of managing them, so they do not degenerate into political violence or major humanitarian disasters with extremely high human and economic costs”\textsuperscript{136}.

Finally, conflict management works together with conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is a range of methods and activities aiming at solving a given conflict and to reach a common agreement between the different parties. Methods used are amongst others mediation and negotiation.

All in all these three concepts and methods are used interlinked and at different times and levels during the prevention, management and solving of a conflict, but nonetheless often overlap and affect each other. There are many different views on how best to prevent, solve and manage a conflict. Furthermore, diverse


\textsuperscript{136} Grandvoinnet & Schneider, 1998: 12
conflicts demand different handling in relation to planning the practical interventions and implications taking place. The form of action will also highly depend on the stakeholder and other parties intervening in the conflict situation.

The term ‘peace-building’ became very popular after 1992, when the United Nations Secretary General at the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, proclaimed his ‘Agenda for Peace’. Peace-building has become an important aspect of international involvement in conflict as well as post conflict conditions, adopted by many different actors, such as non-governmental organizations (NGO), governmental institutions, civil society organizations (CSO) and more. It is used to describe the activities and procedures taking place when wanting to resolve conflicts and create sustainable peace in human society. In order to secure peace, the main goal of peace-building is to help societies solve conflicts without the use of violence, which includes many different approaches and levels to the creation of “peaceful relationships and governance modes and structures”\(^{137}\). Moreover, it is asserted that peace-building entails a long-term commitment to a process including many different layers of work, and in order to maintain a sustainable compromise between different parties, both a relational and structural change has to take place\(^{138}\).

In relation to the previous strategies within conflict management and peace-building, MS Kenya is, according to the ‘MS Kenya Country Programme Strategy 2008-2012’ (CPS), in a plausible position to focus on and work with conflict management and peace-building, since they have experience in this field, and can therefore draw upon previous practices and achievements. They are


member of the National Steering Committee (NSC), a committee established by the Kenyan government in 2001, which aims at coordinating different approaches and initiatives from different communities in Kenya in order to develop national peace policies through conflict management and peace-building\textsuperscript{139}.

In the further chapters we will elucidate how MSAAD responds to this crisis, what strategies they have when wanting to rebuild the structure and peace in Kenya and to what extent they take the issue of ethnicity into account.

\textsuperscript{139} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 4
8. MSAAD in Kenya

Having analysed the KPEC using the assumptions concerning ethnicity, it can be concluded that both politics and more importantly ethnicity play a significant role in the crisis. Moreover it has become evident how interrelated these aspects are in Kenya. In order for us to discuss to what extent MSAAD are aware of this importance, while planning their strategies regarding peace-building and conflict-management in Kenya, it is necessary to first give an account of these strategies.

MSAAD has been working in Kenya since 1968 with financial and technical support which has been even more needed since the outset of the crisis in 2007-2008. The general focus within the organisation is conflict management and peace-building, as well as fighting corruption and developing and supporting local democracy.

8.1. Past Experiences within MS Kenya

Within this chapter, we elucidate how MS Kenya learns from previous experiences with earlier work and how some significant elements in their previous strategies have developed into the current program. To understand the CPS, it makes sense to consider the past experiences of relevance, since these have developed accordingly with the work of MSAAD. An overview of the most significant changes will therefore follow.

The present work of MS includes themes, strategies and methods. The thematic areas highlight the topics which MS works on in the currently program, namely; building local democracy, anti-corruption, peace-building & conflict management\textsuperscript{140}.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{140} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 16}
MS Kenya’s work and strategies in Kenya have changed considerably since its inception in 1968. To begin with technical assistance provided by Danish volunteers, today called development workers, was the main assistance offered to government institutions in Kenya. Since 1993 the emphasis gradually shifted and MSAAD worked more often with grassroots-based partners. In 2008, the partnership continued to play a central role in MSAAD’s strategies, and the overall focus of their work is now driven by themes. The choice of themes has been developed within the MS Democracy Focus, a framework that seeks to implement some key policies that regard democracy as a key strategic method for reducing poverty. Furthermore, building local democracy is the fundament for MSAAD’s approaches. In relation to this, the MSAAD program has listed some points based on their analysis that explains the development needs in relation to the actual opportunities. An important feature within this can be found in the need for the ‘civil society self-structuring and engagement in different policy and reform processes enhanced’ where the opportunity is, that there is democratic space as civil society can engage with government through the Governance, Justice, Law and Order Sector. Additionally, CSOs can be more democratized and inclusive towards grassroots organizations, if the two-way information flows are strengthened, and as MSAAD has previously worked on minimum governance standards and facilitated grassroots governance, they continue to use an approach that encourages citizens to participate actively in building democracy.

141 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 15
142 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 17
143 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 17-18
144 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 18
145 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 18
It is remarkable that the number and role of development workers has changed; from being about 80 volunteers in 1968, whereas today, there are only 15. They are still significant in building local capacities, and promote positive cooperation, but their skills have developed enormously. From initially being volunteers without any required expertise, they are today development experts with expanded knowledge about human rights, good governance and peace-building. This new role of development workers is regarded as increasingly important in MSAAD’s present strategies, in relation to building and sustaining strategic alliances in Kenya.

The experiences within the themes from the ‘2002-2006 MS Kenya Country Policy Strategy’ led to a deeper understanding of the cultural and political aspects of poverty. The themes included for example aspects of human rights, good governance and democratization and community empowerment. Effective results of this came to show, as more than 30,000 people were trained on human rights and good governance directly from MSAAD partners, and all partners adopted the Minimum Standards for Good Governance Practices in MS Kenya Partnerships. Additionally, these standards are now being initiated to grassroots governance so that the number of accountable grassroots institutions can be increased on community level.

MS Kenya has never before been directly involved in anti-corruption; the emphasis has instead been on educating good governance to prevent corruption. The MS Kenya Country Program Strategy 2008-2012 is the first to

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146 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 16
147 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 16
148 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 16
149 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 16
promote ‘zero tolerance for corruption in individuals (citizens), in the institutions that represent citizens and in the nation at large’\textsuperscript{150}.

MS Kenya seeks further geographically as their strategy develops to reach further out on the national level, as one of their new strategic choices is to focus on activities in two Nairobi slums as well as in rural districts.

It can generally be said that MSAAD has moved towards a multi-pronged approach, highly advocating for democratic citizen-driven development, emerging on both the grassroots level and the national level. MSAAD has come to work with selected partners from both levels, creating alliances between organizations and government to promote and sustain policy change, by providing information and communication to all partners\textsuperscript{151}. Thereby, information is strengthened between all levels, leading to that ‘the demands of citizens and that national policies reflect the concerns of empowered citizens’\textsuperscript{152}.

Conclusively, the CPS has developed with a special emphasis on the sustainability of the linkages between levels, in order to secure that interaction between them will continue beyond MSAAD’s strategies.

\textbf{8.2. MS-Kenya Country Programme Strategy 2008-2012}

The CPS has been developed in order to establish strategies for the reconstruction of the country. It contains strategies which are meant to be implemented throughout the five years after the post-election crisis from 2007/08 and is developed within the framework of MS Democracy Focus. The MS Democracy Focus values democracy and views this as a main strategy for the reduction of

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{150} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 16
\item\textsuperscript{151} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 19
\item\textsuperscript{152} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 19
\end{itemize}
poverty. The main goals of the programme are thus similarly emphasized as reducing poverty and building a new development. In the programme, three main themes are listed as the most important outsets of how to go about achieving these goals. These themes, building local democracy, anti-corruption and conflict management & peace-building are weighed heavily upon, with 80 per cent of the economic resources set aside for the implementation of them. The last 20 per cent of the resources are budgeted for additional initiatives with the goal of building a dynamic civil society, especially with the focus on women and youth.\footnote{MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 2-3} As previously mentioned, this project will mainly focus on conflict management & peace-building, due to the fact that these strategies are not only concerned with political issues, but may also contain elements of ethnicity. Additionally, the themes of building local democracy and anti-corruption to a greater extent involve the question of what gave way to the conflict in the first place, whereas conflict management and peace-building is a theme mainly focusing on how to solve the given conflict.\footnote{MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 35}

8.2.1. Approaches and Strategies within MS-Kenya

Within the aforementioned theme of conflict management and peace-building, MS Kenya’s approaches and strategies are focused only on three districts of the Upper Eastern Province, namely Laikipia, Marsabit and Isiolo. MS Kenya has previously worked in this area, and thus has experience with these districts. The districts are among the poorest in Kenya with 79 per cent of the population living below the poverty line. MS Kenya’s approach to this Upper Eastern Province area is firstly to transform the conflicts into peace. A conflict is seen as
transformed when all parties in the conflict are active participants in a peace-building process and when the outcome is sustainable. MS Kenya intends to reach this goal by changing the attitudes, behaviors and relationships of the parties involved in the conflict and by establishing and strengthening local democratic institutions which can help deal with peace-building. Interventions planned by MS Kenya will focus on preventing, managing and resolving these conflicts. The main target in MS Kenya interventions are women and youth, because they belong to the groups being greatly exposed to violence, inequality and poverty during conflicts

Another strategy is to make women and youth become agents in the process of conflict management and peace-building. Previous experience within MSAAD has shown that this section of the population have a great possibility of reaching out to their partners, children and equals. The women have shown a great influence in bringing communities together, and the youth are often active participants in a conflict. Thus, by reaching out to them, MS Kenya seeks to transform them into agents promoting a peace-building agenda

On a higher level, MS Kenya interventions will not only focus on the individual participants of the conflict, but also on the communities involved. By establishing the aforementioned local democratic institutions, a strategy is to create and increase tolerance and respect between the communities, instead of the stereotypical view which has been recorded as existing. An example of a local democratic forum is the way in which MS Kenya intends to conduct a public hearing where citizens can receive information about the Peace Policy and its development, as well as contribute to this. If the communities have a common forum where they can express opinions and views in a democratic way, it then

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155 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 34-40
156 MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 34-35
becomes possible to establish communication and respect between the parties through such a forum. Another advantage with creating democratic institutions is the possibility of encouraging members of the different communities to participate in political discussions, enlightening them with the knowledge of their rights, and giving them the power to include themselves in developmental processes of finding solutions to their own problems, which will help themselves and Kenya in general\textsuperscript{157}.

A method used throughout the process of conflict management and peace-building is monitoring these processes and then analyzing the data outcome. The monitoring will take place in the areas in conflict and will focus on the democratic management of the conflicts and how the conflict management and peace-building developments are being conducted and met. By a critical analysis of the monitoring data, the outcome can be used to discover patterns which can be used in the further programming of strategies. This will also be helpful in seeing which strategies work and which do not, and using this experience in other districts\textsuperscript{158}.

Altogether, MS Kenya works within the theme of conflict management and peace-building with a system that both seeks to predict and respond to conflicts that arise, and to establish tolerance and respect in order to prevent violence and conflicts in the first place\textsuperscript{159}.

The goals within the theme of conflict management and peace-building to be reached by the year of 2012 are several. The overall goal is to improve the social stability and the economy of the districts. This will be achieved by the abovementioned strategies and approaches. A more specific objective is to have

\textsuperscript{157} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 34-40
\textsuperscript{158} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 34-40
\textsuperscript{159} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 40
women and youth make up at least 30 per cent of the included citizens in the peace-building structures. Another is to limit the violent clashes of pastoralist groups, which often occur due to poverty and the battle for land and livestock. In order for this to happen, another objective is to decrease the number of livestock being killed. Finally, a specific objective is to improve the civil perception of security by 20 per cent. This generally means that MS Kenya seeks to improve the security by reducing the risk of violent conflicts, as well as make the citizens in the target districts become aware of the reduction of violence and the increase in security\footnote{MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 37}.

The partners cooperating with MS Kenya are numerous. Within the theme of conflict management and peace-building, several types of CSOs with specialty in peace-building are involved. One is called Peace Net, which is an umbrella network consisting of many organizations working together to establish a shared understanding of peace and to create a common voice for the people. Other types of CSOs in the cooperation are faith-based organizations working for conflict management and peace-building. Yet others are international NGOs and others again are District Peace Committees (DPC) working for the state and the civil society, focusing mainly on bringing stakeholders together to work on improving peace and security\footnote{MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 34}.

Conclusively, MS Kenya will, in cooperation with several other organizations, work towards a country in peace, both on a local and a national level. This will be done by teaching and building skills within communication, such as how to negotiate, to mediate and to network. Additionally, peace monitoring and the development of policies will be used to reach the objectives and the Do No Harm
approach will be taken into use in regards to MS Kenya’s previous experiences with working in the target districts\textsuperscript{162}.

Seeing as the CPS was developed and approved finally in October 2007, the KPEC has not been taken into consideration throughout the production of the CPS. In it, it is mentioned that a risk is the assumption held within MS Kenya that the country will be relatively stable and at peace after the elections in December 2007. This was unfortunately not the case, which meant that changes to the CPS had to be made on some parts, and that MS Kenya had to take a new situation into perspective. For this they published a realignment strategy which was available April 7\textsuperscript{th} 2009.

8.3. Realignment Strategy for MS-Kenya Country Programme Strategy

In March and July 2008, partners and stakeholders of MS Kenya discussed and established a realignment strategy (MS Kenya RSDP) for the CPS, due to the election crisis which took place after the presidential election in the end of 2007. It was decided to establish and reorient approaches and strategies supplementing the CPS\textsuperscript{163}. Again, it is important to keep in mind that in this project, we will only focus on the theme of conflict management and peace-building.

The first challenge within the CPS was that prior to the post-election crisis, the most intense conflict areas were the ones in the Upper Eastern Province, and the CPS had therefore mainly focused on the three districts; Marsabit, Laikipia and Isiolo. After the election, serious conflicts broke out in the area called Rift Valley, the West Region and in the slums of Nairobi, where, according to the MS

\textsuperscript{162} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 34

\textsuperscript{163} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 1-2
Kenya Realignment Strategy Discussion Paper (MS Kenya RSDP), the conflicts had originated due to ethnic hatred and political diversity\textsuperscript{164}.

Although the coalition government solution, which Kofi Annan helped get up, curbed the active violence, the tension remains and a lot of mistrust and even hatred has surfaced since the election. The political dialogue of resolution was mainly focused on a national level, and the communities were once again left out. According to the MS Kenya RSDP, new tensions about land ownership and resources have come about, which is also what the CPS mentioned as a typical key issue for the beginning of a conflict\textsuperscript{165}. According to the MS Kenya RSDP, these socio-cultural and political aspects of the post-election crisis were not new reasons for conflict, but they had been hidden since the independence of Kenya. Mainly the politicians are in the RSDP accused for renaming these underlying issues as hostility between the different ethnic groups. Therefore, it is stressed in the new realignment strategy that these underlying issues must be dealt with\textsuperscript{166}.

It became a key issue to analyse the conflict, and keep in mind that no change in society comes about without conflict, and then to develop systems for the prevention of conflict processes to escalate into further violence and crisis. Therefore, MS Kenya set out to apply the Do No Harm framework to a conflict management system which is to be used in all future work with the main themes mentioned in the CPS. In order for MS Kenya’s strategies to remain relevant, the realignment paper suggests that MS Kenya broadens its scope both geographically and thematically. Geographically in the sense that cooperation with new partners working with the theme of conflict management and peace-

\textsuperscript{164} See section 5.3. of the project
\textsuperscript{165} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 1
\textsuperscript{166} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 3
building in other areas of Kenya, and thematically by, as mentioned, dealing with underlying issues causing the conflict, such as social inequality and poverty\textsuperscript{167}.

The first and foremost important issue regarding the realignment of the CPS on a local level, was to take into consideration that the target districts, Laikipia, Marsabit and Isiolo had, during the electoral campaigns, been split up by the government, so that Laikipia and Marsabit became three new districts, and Isiolo was split into two. This of course gave way to the necessity of MS Kenya reconstructing some of their strategies within these districts. In order to stick to the strategies established in the CPS, MS Kenya will seek to find and cooperate with already existing organizations within the districts working with conflict management and peace-building. In this new cooperation MS Kenya will attempt to establish and develop new District Peace Committees (DPC), and reorganize the already existing DPCs to cover the new, smaller districts. MS Kenya intends to stay in the already pointed out area, which reduces their geographical span of work. The aim is to form well-functioning and effective DPCs in different areas which will then, according to MS Kenya RSDP, influence other neighbouring districts in a good way. Also, a strategy is to link already existing partners working with conflict management and peace-building in other local areas, e.g. Rift Valley, to other organizations working for the improvement of living conditions and income. Still having women and youth as target population groups, MS Kenya also plans to support local authorities teaching new peace curricula in schools\textsuperscript{168}.

On a national level, it is similarly relevant to address the underlying socio-cultural, economic and political issues – the root causes of the conflict, and work on the destruction of these. Again, as mentioned in the CPS, MS Kenya will

\textsuperscript{167} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 3
\textsuperscript{168} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 4
conduct peace monitoring, both on a national and a local level, in order to keep an eye on the completion of the strategies and to see how these are received, mainly by the civil communities. Collected data from monitoring systems is sought to be communicated to other areas, in order for partners there to learn and gain further experience. Finally, MS Kenya will work towards the legal financial support of existing DPCs in order for them to develop the National Peace Policy\textsuperscript{169}.

The implementation of the new realigned and reoriented strategies began in the beginning of 2009\textsuperscript{170}. According to Adan Kabelo, working at MS Kenya, there has just be signed a partnership agreement with a very strong actor in the region, namely Centre for Conflict resolution – Kenya. There have been started different activities in the urban slum of Nakuru municipality, targeting youth and women, with the intention to \textit{“foster unity across ethnic groups through sports, talks, trainings, engaging them in meaningful income opportunities and changing of attitude”}\textsuperscript{171}. Additionally, the aim is to create an inter-cultural dialogue and address the conflict issues, by bringing people together through for example, music festivals, peace caravans and more\textsuperscript{172}.

Throughout the project, a thorough explanation of the concept of the ethnicity, the situation in Kenya and of the humanitarian aid organisation MSAAD and their strategies has been given. Subsequently, these different chapters will now be discussed in order to provide a well considered answer to the research question.

\textsuperscript{169} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 3
\textsuperscript{170} MS Kenya RSDP, 2009: 5
\textsuperscript{171} Appendix 2
\textsuperscript{172} Appendix 1
9. Discussion

As found and explained throughout the analysis, we argue that the Kenyan Post Election Crisis cannot be characterized as a completely ethnic conflict, since the political aspect also plays a central role. Moreover, according to these findings, ethnicity is a concept which arises in every process of social interaction, also independent of politics. On the contrary, especially since the democracy is very young, politics in Kenya are rooted in ethnic foundations, since ethnic divisions have permeated the population for several centuries.

The state of the country has been described throughout the project as being unstable with increased ethnic divisions, the frequent establishment of new districts and the number of people dislocated from their original homes. We argue that the crisis sparked the sense of ethnicity, especially since it happened in what Barth would define as an unstable situation.

The tensions among people have increased and the differences have become clearer in the struggle for resources. The new democracy was evidently difficult to maintain. As seen during the KPEC the social organisation of people was along ethnic lines, rather than political ones. Arguably, this was because people were more aware of their ethnic affiliation than their ideological one, since the politics of Kenya have to a great extent been influenced by ethnicity rather than ideology.

Having reached these conclusions, it now becomes important to investigate to what extent MSAAD is aware of this way of viewing ethnicity when planning their peace-building and conflict management strategies concerning the aftermath of the KPEC.
Throughout the project it has become clear that MSAAD are aware of both the political and ethnic aspects of the crisis. By evaluating the form of government which has been prominent in Kenya since their independence, we have found that the politics in the country are to a great extent based on ethnicity. This is seen when, for instance, the ‘shadow governments’ are recruited and organized by politicians, in order to frighten people from other ethnic groups to vote for the president associated with, for instance Luo. Thus, we can conclude that the two concepts; namely politics and ethnicity, are greatly interconnected in a situation like the one in Kenya and can therefore not be separated. This is a great challenge to MSAAD, since they do not take a political stand. As it has already been clarified in the project, MS Kenya communicates between the government, the population and other partner organizations in the country. Hence it becomes relevant to pose the question of whether MSAAD are actually able to conduct sufficient work when mainly functioning as a communicator.

MS Kenya primarily focuses on the part of the population which has to a great extent been exposed to the crisis, for instance by developing projects with the aim of enlightening specific target groups about their human and democratic rights. An example of this is the peace caravans which MS Kenya has established, as part of their peace-building and conflict management strategies, in order to reach the youth as a target group and encourage them to communicate MS Kenya’s visions and strategies of peace and democracy, thereby making the youth peace mediators. A specific aim regarding this is mentioned in the project:

“What is vital is to assist people gaining insight and a political understanding of the world around them in order for them to have influence on their own lives and to take responsibility”\(^{173}\).

\(^{173}\) Section 3.1. of the project
This aim is constructive towards enlightening the target groups of women and youth, as well as encouraging them to decompose prejudice. Additionally, MS Kenya draws upon their previous experiences and therefore chooses these specific target groups because they argue that women and youth are competent in bringing their communities together. By keeping in mind that MS Kenya’s strategies are meant to be implemented and be effective on a long-term basis, it explains the choice of target groups. Arguably, when relying on previous experiences, MS Kenya might risk disregarding the actual contemporary situation.

On the other hand, a possible risk within these strategies could entail that when MS Kenya uses these target groups as a way of conveying the values of democracy and human rights, they might underestimate the historical background and the ethnic affiliations which it has brought along. We argue that a backside of the medal, concerning these peace mediators among the youth, could be that, since politics and ethnicity are so interlinked, the young people who become aware of these political rights might misuse or misunderstand these rights and end up in politico-ethnic gangs such as Mungiki. As mentioned earlier in the project, the former corruption regimes made sure to give preferential treatment to certain parts of the population to such an extent that it has become a common perception that the only way to achieve acknowledgement and perhaps even wealth, is to make sure that the government allocating these features are associated with the same ethnic group as oneself. By disregarding this factor, MSAAD might risk focusing to a greater extent on communicating and mediating rather than on the ethnic division which has recently been reconstructed during the KPEC.
In the CPS, it is stated that MSAAD, when using the methodology of ‘Do No Harm’, mainly draw upon their previous experiences of their work in developing countries. This non-theoretical method can however be criticized, because when relying on analysis of monitored data, it can be argued, that perhaps MSAAD could be able to formulate more sufficient strategies, if the organization would use a method of convergence of theory and experience. When relying on collected data and the discovering of patterns within conflict management and peace-building, the danger with this strategy is that it will most likely generate some fixed assumptions concerning people and their social organization, in opposition to the thoughts of ethnicity, where human beings organize according to interaction in the current situation taking place. Knowledge based on experience can be useful in order to predict how people function and organize themselves within a society at a certain time and place, but if theoretical notions on ethnicity and how people interact accordingly were given more consideration as well, their strategies might have concerned conflicts especially in relation to ethnicity. Having the KPEC in mind, this is very relevant considering its ethnic multiplicity.

At the same time, it is a known fact that the election of 2007 was only the third presidential election in a democratic Kenya, so this new form of government was still fragile. As Jenkins has argued, ethnicity can be a source of both solidarity and conflict. We find it remarkable that a humanitarian aid organization like MSAAD does not take these aspects into greater consideration until after the crisis. In the section of the CPS entitled ‘Assumptions and risks’, the following quote states that:
“This approach also assumes that there is relative stability in Kenya after the 2007 elections and at the national level there is sustained political will for the process of developing the peace policy”\textsuperscript{174}.

One objective within MSAAD seeks to change the attitude of the parties involved in order to eradicate the prejudicial and stereotypical view which, according to MSAAD, the communities hold against each other. Jenkins stresses the fact that ethnic division is a result of what goes on in the process of social interaction, where people categorize others in groups different from their own. This obviously entails that prejudice and the construction of a stereotypical view plays a role in this categorization. MS Kenya’s implementation of their strategies is intended to function beyond their intervention. Conversely, when MS Kenya is a third party seeking to change the attitudes of the different groups involved, this would, according to Barth’s theory, require people in MS Kenya to partake in these social interactions. We argue that by MS Kenya’s involvement on such an individual level, they might be able to change the different stereotypical views which perhaps are present, on a short-term basis. However, this may not be a strategy sustainable for eradicating these views when MS Kenya resign from their work in the country. This also elucidates that MSAAD might not have gone carefully enough into the ethnic aspects when planning peace-building and conflict management strategies, also due to the ethnic affiliations which are deeply rooted in Kenya.

MSAAD states that ethnic tensions have been present since the independence of Kenya. This statement shows that MSAAD must have taken the concept of ethnicity into consideration when planning their strategies. However, are they actually able to foresee a prospective conflict revolving around ethnicity? We

\textsuperscript{174} MS-Kenya CPS, 2007: 41
argue that, since ethnicity is defined in the process of social interaction, the outcome of this cannot be known in advance. Therefore it is more or less impossible to implement aspects from this interaction in a strategy.
10. Conclusion

Conclusively, when seeking to answer the question of research in this project, we will draw upon the several different notions discussed above. When examining Kenya, we have found that ethnicity is a complex concept, strongly interrelated with politics. Moreover, it seems that MSAAD have taken ethnic affiliations into consideration when planning their conflict management and peace-building strategies. However, these do not reflect how ethnicity and politics are interrelated. Only, when looking at this from a theoretical point of view, it is in the social encounter with other people that one’s own ethnicity is defined. It is difficult for a third party to influence the parties actually participating in the encounter, in the direction of developing sympathy regardless of ethnic affiliation. Thus, for MSAAD as a third party in the conflict of the KPEC it is a difficult task to resolve the conflict between Kikuyu and Luo, since the ethnic conflict arises in the interaction between these two. Hence, it is necessary to participate actively in such an interaction in order to influence the outcome of this process. Therefore, MSAAD have not been able to construct a completely clear definition of the groups in conflict for which they have planned strategies. This stands in the way of appointing the various strategies within MS Kenya as entirely well-founded.
11. Formalities

11.1 Danish Summary

Dette projekt søger at belyse MS Action Aid Denmark’s arbejde i Kenya under og efter krisen der opstod i kølvandet på præsidentvalget i 2007-2008, mere specifikt organisationens strategiplanlægning omhandlende peace-building og conflict management. Hovedformålet med dette projekt er at undersøge hvorvidt MSAAD i de ovennævnte strategier tager højde for etnicitetsbegrebet. I projektet er begrebet etnicitet blevet udforsket og tager udgangspunkt i den social antropologiske teoretiker Fredrik Barth, ydermere er teoretikeren Richard Jenkins også implementeret. Med disse tilgange til begrebet er en analyse blevet lavet, hvori vi analyserer hvorledes etnicitet er en dominerende faktor i krisen. Diskussionen bygger på de konklusioner vi har draget fra analysen, og stiller sig kritisk overfor MSAAD’s strategiplanlægning. MSAAD har ikke været i stand til at konstruere en fuldstændig klar definition af grupperne i konflikt, hvilket medfører at deres conflict management og peace-building strategier ikke kan være fuldstændig bæredygtige i forhold til vores teoretiske tilgang til etnicitet. Til slut kan det konkluderes at fordi folks etnicitet bliver skabt i en social interaktion, kan man som en udenforstående tredje part ikke i et stort nok omfang påvirke udfaldet af denne interaktion. Selvom MSAAD har taget højde for etnicitet i deres strategiplanlægning, vil disse overvejelser ikke være tilstrækkelige i forhold til at løse konflikten mellem etniske grupper eftersom etnicitet og politik er stærkt uadskillelige.
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11.3. Appendices

11.3.1. Appendix 1:
The following is written notes from a presentation conducted by MS Kenya Country Director Jesper E. Lauridsen at MSAAD’s platform in Copenhagen, on May 19th 2009.

The aim of the presentation was to give a qualified description of the current situation in Kenya and the work of MS Kenya in present time.

Name of the presentation: Kenya: Towards democracy and reform?

Post election Violence -1300 killed – half of million people displaced. There was a standstill situation 3 month in 2008 – dangerous to move around in the country.

Return back to their homes – according to governments people have returned. Not the truth. You see many refugee camps all around Kenya.

Election was as a trigger – many unresolved issues in the Kenyan societies – among others ethnicity

March 2008 – Peace agreement – major reforms – shared power between Kibaki and Odinga.

In comparison to Zimbabwe…everyone is in power

The politicians are not really policy oriented – next election 2012. The politicians discuss minor issues. There is a standstill at the political level.

There were 4 tasks for MS Kenya to do at the climax of the crisis:

1. Democracy and reforms. Dialogue and reconciliation. Immediate action on how to stop the violence
2. How to address the humanitarian crisis
3. How to promote peace and establish truth justice commission
4. How to overcome the political crisis

Long term/agenda 4: 10 major issues, supposed to be addressed already. Constitutional reform to a referendum, decentralization, judiciary undergo a change, police undergo a political reform (especially do to the KPEC, were not responding well to the KPEC), institutional reform of civil service.

- Anti corruption act, observers for corruption – make sure they are just. Whistle blower pretention –
- Freedom of information, parliament – nothing has been done yet.
- Land reform – how is land being allocated, poverty, inequality and regional balances, issues of youth unemployment, manipulated by the police, conflict management – capacity – District Peace Committees.
- Civil education, many do not know how to manage or solve conflict, provide them some tools to handle this
- Trust/justice commission: Go 40 years back to all these issues that have not been addressed. A bit unrealistic
- A process that should be done at national and local level
- Transparency – budget allocation: People have the right to be informed
- Public financial management. Money sent from government to municipalities
- Accountability: decentralization policy which needs to be further implemented. Empower districts. Every day a new district appears – with only one ethnic group, tribe, clan – given by the government

**Waki report**: A national culprit of the violence – the youth however, did not organize themselves. National tribunal (domstol) should be in Kenya

Ethnic attacks – politicians and business very much involved

List of perpetrators – should be given to Kofi Annan

Kriegler: ODM did win the election
Kenya local government sector reform: Accountability, transparency, decentralization policy, want to empower the districts, training the politicians, counsels

MS Kenya soon to be MS Kenya Action Aid Denmark

Action Aid International: Originally a charity organization.

Reason for affiliation with Action Aid: bigger voice at the international level

MS Kenya – has its own board and assembly

2008: Exploration process was conducted – minimum criteria by MSAAD to be affiliated – bigger voice at the international level.

By January 2010: MS Kenya will be affiliated with Action Aid Kenya

Change management committee: Governance, staff, and more.

Where do you move to? Action Aid Kenya department

13 staff members – 1 Dane, the rest Kenyans

1993: development worker program, people for change programmes -advisors:

Inspirators: Sharing experiences

Global citizen volunteers – other projects, nursery, orphanage

16 partners – MS Kenya – 2008-2012

2007: Adopted a democracy focus: Poverty

Land rights, trade justice-two points of MS Policy that has not been included in the Kenya programme

Media used for advocacy campaigns

Anti corruption: Sms interface – how to address anti corruption.
Civic education – many people not aware that they are doing corruption or being corrupted by others.

Change agents: Go to government – how is the money being spent, accountability promoted

Conflict management and peace building:

Used to focus on pastoralist groups

Politically motivated

Geographically change:

**RIFT VALLEY** – a hot spot! Center for conflict resolution working there, political violence. Kalenjin vs. Kikuyu always at the core of problems

Capacity building of DPC – conflict something happening in the North. Try to find local solutions to local problems.

Inter cultural dialogue – bringing people together, how to address the conflict issues, demystify prejudice, music festivals, peace clubs, and innovative technology

Peace structure is very weak

New peace policy for Kenya – NSC

Obstacles:

It brings different tribes, groups together – districts comprising one clan, one tribe – DCP – becoming war committee

Ethnic:

Land issue : Kalenji and Kikuyu

Nation building of Kenya

Multi party – ethnicity and politics

Positive affect:
Rift Valley: Different groups living together now, senseless to kill each other

We have to rebuild our society as a community

Kikuyu – areas

Kisumu
11.3.2. Appendix 2:

The following is an e-mail correspondence between us and Adan Kabelo from MS Kenya on Tuesday the 19th of May 2009.

**What is the current situation in Kenya, more specifically Nairobi and Rift Valley? - Mainly regarding division of ethnic groups (primarily Kikuyu and Lou). And which groups are primarily living in these areas?**

Kenya is currently peaceful. People have gone back to their traditional business in most places. There is no fear traveling anywhere even Kikuyus and Luo and Kalenjin can visit each others towns. Rift Valley was the hotspot for the post election violence last year. Rift Valley is inhabited mainly by the Kalenjin community (where former president Moi comes from). There are also Kikuyus in the lower part of Rift Valley. However, the Kikuyus are business people and agriculturalist so they are found all over Kenya. While the Kalenjin mainly supported ODM (Raila Odinga (Luo)) was the presidential candidate) together with their neighbors in Nyanza (Luo) and western (Luhyia) provinces, the kikuyus supporting the competing political party of PNU (Mwai Kibaki (Kikuyu)) was the presidential candidate). When ODM supporters felt their victory was stolen, they fought the PNU supporters to leave their region. This caused retaliation from the kikuyus and so the clashes broke out. Since the coalition government was formed as a compromise for peace, the leaders have been preaching peace and violence stopped. However, there are still mistrust and suspicion between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin. Many internally displaced persons have not yet returned home because of fear. Last week, 14 people who were burnt in a church were buried but the leaders from ODM snubbed the burial and only the Kikuyu led by Kibaki attended. This demonstrated that people have not forgiven each other. Furthermore, the political leaders continuous...
disagreement at the national level have tended to fuel the mistrust. Unless the leaders who instigated the violence from all parties are punished, it's possible that they will repeat this at any other opportunity. Impunity by political class is what Kenyans are demanding to be addressed urgently. More than ever before, Kenyans are looking at each other as tribes and not citizens of one country. Kenya has 42 recorded tribes and it therefore means partition of the country into 42 regions. This is a recipe for chaos and something must happen to increase cohesion rather than division. So far the government has formed institutions such as Truth justice and reconciliation, National Cohesion commission, new electoral commission but no action yet felt on the ground. Numerous reports have also been done by commissions who investigated the post election violence. I have attached on such report above. The other report is called WAKI report which you can get it on this website www.eastandard.net newspaper.

To what extent are MSAAD's strategies concerning Conflict Management and Peace-Building being implemented in Kenya (Rift Valley), have you seen any results yet?

MS Kenya strategy paper 2008 - 2012 was developed before the post election crisis. After the crisis, MSAAD developed a realignment paper to focus on the rift valley. We have just signed a partnership agreement with a strong actors in the region called Centre for Conflict resolution - Kenya (CCR-K). Our activities are starting this year to target youth and women in the urban slum of Nakuru municipality. The youth here are believed to have been major actors in the chaos and we intend to foster unity across ethnic groups through sports, talks, trainings, engaging them in meaningful income opportunities and changing of attitude.
Immediately after the clashes, MSAAD mobilized funds from the Danish public to help in mediation, negotiation and reconciliation building among the communities in the rift valley. Youth caravan was organized where youth from all groups traveled together and stopped in all the centres/towns to perform theatre, organize talks and talk about the issues between the groups to enhance dialogue. We now see youth who are ready to become agents of peace.

*What obstacles have you met (if any) when wanting to implement the strategies?*

One of the obstacles has to do with finding heterogeneous groups to work with as most groups are basically of one ethnic group. We thought CCR provided a good organization and professional too. Suspicion and mistrust is still high and so it will take time for people to accept each other. The political leaders have not been demonstrating practical need for peace and whenever they disagree, they make it an ethnic issue and build up more tension within the community.

*All in all how do you consider the situation in general? (brief)*

The situation is calm for now but just waits any trigger to reactivate the chaos. More systematic and grassroots oriented building of trust and confidence needs to be undertaken and leaders should demonstrate this through their action.
11.3.3. Appendix 3:

The following is a transcript (1) from DR, P1 on April 17th, 2009.

http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D988634&channel=p1&program=kenya&date=&length=08%3A15&&participant=yes

Det er ikke mere end et år siden der flød blod i Kenyas gader og Louer og Kiyukuer og andre etniske grupper gik løs på hinanden efter at have set valgsvindel for åben skærm da den gamle præsident Kibaki stjal valget foran Raila Odinga. Tidligere general sekretær for FN Kofi Annan var mægler i den politiske konflikt og formåede og skabe et kompromis mellem de to herrer, et kompromis der nu er ved at falde sammen. Konsulent Rika Dash samler op på udviklingen i Kenya:

Vi husker alle billeder af volden efter valget i Kenya sidste år, valget som blev transmitteret direkte på nationaltv viste tydelige uoverensstemmelser men alligevel udråbte Kibaki sig til sejrherre over modstanderen Raila Odinga og på blot få timer stod Kenya i flammer. Den afrikanske union fordømte volden og likeledes gjorde resten af verden, men det var ikke nok til at få folkets afsindige, politiske og etniske vrede til at dæmpe sig og så var det at Ghanas tidligere præsident John Kofur som på det tidspunkt var formand for den Afrikansk union ringede til sin gode ven Kofi Annan og bad ham komme Kenya til undsætning. Kofi Annan understregende overfor de to herrer, Kibaki og Odinga, som end ikke kunne se hinanden i øjnene af bare vrede at han krævede et samarbejde og ikke havde tænkt sig at forlade forhandlingsbordet for end at en løsning var på plads. Kofi Annan har fornyelig i et langt interview med organisationen Humanitarian Dialouge udtalt at der under de voldsomme omstændigheder ikke var energi til
eller stemning for at foreslå et genvalg, hans mål var at skabe et hurtigt kompromis. Først og fremmest for at sætte en stopper for volden og dernæst for at Kenya kunne bevæge sig fremad som en samlet nation. Forhandlinger med Odinga og Kibaki foregik over 5 lange uger og samtidig med blussede volden udenfor lokalerne. Kofi Annan fortæller at hans tålmodighed blev sat på en svær prøve med de to herrer som bevidst trak forhandlinger i langdrag mens de stædigt udfoldede deres magtkamp, men omsider blev de to opponenter enige om at dele magten i koalitions regering med Kibakis PNU parti og Odingas ODM parti. Kibaki beholdte sin selverhvervede stilling som præsident mens Odinga fik en nyoprettet stilling som premierer minister. Et af de vigtige punkter i magtdeling var at præsident Kibaki ikke kunne afsætte Raila Odinga fra sit embede men at kun parlamentet ville kunne træffe sådan en beslutning.

Et år er der gået siden Kenyas krise og man spørger sig selv om de to herrer har kunnet enes og om de har formået at skabe samling i det kenyanske parlament og hos det kenyanske folk og om de har lagt en fælles kurs for Kenya politiske fremtid. Et af de mest presserende emner som alle politikere inklusiv Kibaki og Odinga var enige om hurtigt skulle løses for at kunne lægge konflikten bag sig var at opklare de voldelige opgør af politisk og etnisk karakter som fulgte i kølvandet på valget. Flere anklager går blandt andet på at politiet var direkte ansvarlig for drabene på civile. Både Kibaki og Odinga lovede at nedsætte en særlig kommission for at undersøge og forfølge anklagerne. Men at valgopgøret endnu deler vandene i Kenya står klart, for de to kenyanske ledere har i løbet af det sidste års tid ikke formået at opnå det to tredjedels flertal i parlamentet der er nødvendigt for at kunne nedsætte denne særlige kommission. Da man nu har overskredet flere tidsfrister kører spekulationerne på hvorvidt for den internationale straffedomstol at sætte ind i Kenya for at holde de skyldige til ansvar. I samme åndedrag har Raila Odinga og Mwai Kibaki heller ikke kunnet
få parlamentet til at blive enige om at afdække årsagerne til selve uoverensstemmelserne i valgresultatet og de to parter er også stærkt splittede når de drejer sig om politiske reformer og kursen for den videre magtdeling. Selv det at blive enige om en mødedagorden volder dem store problemer. Det er store som små ting der splitter dem ad, for en uge siden skrev avisen The Daily Nation at et længe planlagt seminar om magtdelingsdetaljerne som skulle afholdes på en dyr safari lodge, ja nærmest gik i opløsning fordi ODM og PNU repræsentanter blev uenige om hvem der skulle tildeles de fine værelser på lodgen, disse konstante kontroverser om magtkampe har udviklet sig til et dagligt cirkus og økonomiske og politiske eksperter udtrykker stærke forbehold om den egentlige effekt af Kenyas koalitionsregering for om end den stadig er intakt er den meget skrøbelig og har ikke formået at få noget frahånden. Koalitionsregeringen skal efter aftale holde indtil 2012 hvor der så skal afholdes valg i Kenya. Spørgsmålet er naturligvis om den med de fortsatte interne stridigheder holder tiden ud. Mange kenyanere tvivler, eksperter og medier spår at et nyt valg sandsynligvis vil medfører fornyet vold fordi der stadig mange åbne og meget dybe sår i det kenyanske samfund der ikke er blevet plejet og derfor ikke er begyndt at hele. Forventningen til landets ledelse ligger altså nu på et lille sted. Flere kenyanere føler sig ladt i stikken og er skuffede over manglen på resultater og fremgang, andre mener syrligt at det var hvad man kunne forvente med en sådan politisk lappeløsning. Kynismen synes udbredt og måske mere udtalt end før, de fleste kenyanere fornemmer heller ikke at ledelsen varetager deres interesser og de emner som bekymrer dem mest i det daglige, nemlig arbejdsløshed, finanskrise, korruption, vold og velfærd. De kenyanske politikere har vist sig at have mere travlt med emner som magt, lønforhøjelse og frynsegoder. En kenyansk minister tjener i gennemsnit 10.000 - 15.000 dollars om måneden og dertil kommer fri bolig, biler, medlemsskaber til dyre klubber, møder på dyre
safari lodges og andre goder. Og med en års løn på godt 600.000 dollars tjener præsident Kibaki stadig mere end sin kollega i USA. Det kenyske folk har altså længe været vidne til at det for politikerne mest af alt handler om at skrabe mest muligt til sig. Her har Raila Odinga ikke vist sig fra en særligt fornyende side, i den kenyske dags presse har man i den senere tid kunne følge Odingas kamp med at vice præmiere ministeren har krævet at få det samme i løn som ham. I det tilfælde at vice præmiere ministeren måtte få det, vil Odinga kræve det samme i løn som præsidenten. Og det er lige præcis den slags snæversynede diskussioner som slukker håbet hos den kenyske befolkning. I et land hvor gennemsnittet tjener 400 dollars om måneden føles ledernes grådighed og kamp om dyre hotelværelser som en absurditet og håbet om at tacklet de dybe splittelser i samfundet svinder så yderligere ind når lederne så ikke engang formår at mødes og blive enige om landets politiske kurs. I onsdags meddelte Raila Odinga så at han og hans ODM parti i demonstration over den seneste tids cirkus vil boykotte samarbejdet med kabinettet og nu må befolkningen så se hvilke konsekvenser det får. Under sin mægling af konflikten lagde Kofi Annan meget vægt på at Kenyas eneste redning var en politisk koalition, et tæt politisk samarbejde. Han gjorde det klart at Raila Odinga og Mwai Kibaki har ansvaret for at samle nationen, men samlingen lader stadig vente på sig og mange kenyanere tvivler stærkt på om det overhovedet kommer til at ske.
11.3.4. Appendix 4:

The following is a transcript from DR, P1 on the March 24th, 2009.

http://netradio.dr.dk/content.asp?mode=archive&asx=http%3A//www.dr.dk/forms/published/playlistgen.aspx%3Fqid%3D963472&channel=p1&program=p1%20morgen%202.%20time&date=&length=51%3A08&

I Kenya lider flere millioner af sult og tusinder er stadig forvist til flygtningelejre efter den uro og vold der plagede landet sidste år (…)


De politiske stridigheder er blusset op igen og truer nu med at splitte den skrøbelige koalition samtidig er flere 1000 kenyanerne stadig forflyttet fra deres hjem og bor i slum-lignende lejre.

Margret Mbui er en af dem i Naivashi Nord for Nairobi: Indtil nu har vi fået mad fra kirkerne og andre organisationer, men der er mindre og mindre mad og nu må vi klare os selv, men de få penge min mand tjener er ikke nok til hele familien. Regeringen gør ikke noget, de har glemt os.”

Patrick Muteri var en succesfuld farmer fra Eldoret, han havde hus, land og adskillige dyr og kvæg. Han er fra præsident Kibakis kikuyu stamme og da de værste uroligheder i Kenyas nyere historie brød ud og Kibaki blev beskyldt for at
have stjålet valget fra oppositionsleder Raila Odinga blev Patrick Muteri og andre kikuyuere de første syndebukke. I en kirke i Eldoret hvor Kalenjin stammen dominere blev mere en 30 personer spærret inde og brændt ihjel som hævnaktion. Det blev en krig nabo mod nabo og mange års dybe sociale og etniske sår blev skåret vidt åbne. I dag har Patrick Muteri mistet alt og bor stadig et år efter under kummerlige forhold i en lejr udenfor Eldoret. Han har mistet tilliden til regeringen men er dog tilgivende: ”I tiden kort efter angrebene var jeg meget bitter og hævnerrig, det var folk fra Kalenjin stammen der jagede os fra vores hus og det var også dem der bankede mig, nu er det blevet noget bedre, vi har talt med nogle af dem og jeg har tilgivet dem, men regeringen har vi ikke hørt noget fra.

Mange her i Kenya er dybt fortvivlede og frustrerede over deres politikere, jeg står her ved en af de mange avis boder i hovedstaden Nairobi og her kan man dagligt læse om politiker efter politiker der er impliceret i korruptions-skandaler og forbavsende lidt er der om hvordan politikerne vil håndtere Kenyas dybe og uforløste problemer. Og hvis man spørger folk her i Kenya, siger de fleste at det største problem er frihed for straf.

Kenya er ved at blive ædt op af en kultur hvor politikere og magteliten går ustraffede, hvad end de gør, ikke mindst i forbindelse med deres direkte eller indirekte involvering i de blodige uroligheder sidste år. Ved en demonstration til støtte for en ung mand der blev skudt forleden af myndighederne er vreden stadig tydelig, ikke kun mod politiet der skød, men også mod regeringen og dens manglende vilje til at handle.

Kenya har en kæmpe ungdomsbefolkning, men arbejdsløsheden i blandt dem er enorm og nu er det en tikkende bombe under samfundet. ”Denne regeringen er en total fiasko, jeg forventer ikke de fortsætter meget længere, de gør ikke andet end at stjæle fra os.” Fredsmægleren Kofi Annan har presset på for at få en lokal domstol sat op der skal undersøge sidste års uroligheder, men selv det kan politikerne ikke blive enige om. Kirkeorganisationer i Kenya har i denne uge startet en underskriftindsamling og kræver handling nu. Trods det er det ikke alle der deler samme frustration, France Sioku fra Kenyas menneskerettigheds organisation mener dog stadig der er håb for Kenya ”vi er vedet afgørende øjeblik, hvor vi som kenyanere har mulighed for at sige at med eller uden
politikere vil vi sørge for at vi kommer tilbage på rette spor. Det her er vores land og vi vil have det tilbage. ”

Risikoen er stor for at Kenya endnu engang bryder ud i kaos hvis ikke regeringen tager sig sammen og indfører de yderst vigtige reformer, men skulle de formå det ville det ikke kun være et historisk vendepunkt for Kenya men også for resten af Afrika.

Dette fortalte Thomas Amter fra Kenya
11.3.5. Appendix 5:

The following is written notes from first part of a documentary from the Danish TV station DK4 on February 13th, 2008.


Interview med Kristian Slot, koordinator på emnerne jordrettigheder og konflikter for MSAAD – tidligere udviklingsarbejder.

Kenya

Volden har etniske undertoner, men er ikke hele forklaringen.

- Kenyas befolkning vokser kraftigt, men jorden bliver ikke mere – ergo skærpes kampen om resurserne.
- Fordelingen af jord i dag er at en elite på 5 % har for meget jord, mod 60 % der lever for 1 dollar om dagen uden adgang til det det kræver at opretholde sig selv...
- Den Kenyanske befolkning vil af med korruption hvilket var Kibakis varetegn og vej til sejr i 2002 – nu værre end hvad det var før under Moi.
- Korruption foregår i det politiske lag i Kenya – inden for alle partier. Ingen har rent mel i posen. Smag for magt!
- Kenya et oplyst folk, følger med, læser meget avis og kan gennemskue ting.
- Kenyanerne vil have noget nyt. Af med den siddende fordi han ikke indfriele løfterne til trods for at Odinga ikke er bedre.
- Det positive: Hvad foregår der egentlig: befolkning der rejser sig mod magthaverne i protest.
- På sigt er krisen muligvis positiv for Kenya.