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CREATING PEACEFUL, FAIR AND NON-VIOLENT ELECTIONS

LESSONS LEARNED FROM LOCAL LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN NAKURU AND BARINGO COUNTIES, KENYA 2021-2022

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IMPACT ASSESSMENTS AND EVALUATIONS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACLED - Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project

ASAL - Arid and Semi-Arid Area

CBOs- Community-Based Organizations

CIPEV - Commission of Inquiry into Post-Elections Violence

CPCs - Community Policing Committees

CSOs - Civil Society Organisations

DIGNITY - Danish Institute Against Torture

FBOs - Faith Based Organisations

ICC - International Criminal Court

IEBC - Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

IUVP - Intersectoral Urban Violence Prevention

KANU - Kenya African National Union

KNCHR - Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

MCA - Member of County Assembly

MIDRIFT - Midrift Human Rights Network

NARC - National Alliance Rainbow Coalition

NGOs - Non-Governmental Organisations

NCIC - National Cohesion and Integration Commission

ORPP - Office of the Registrar of Political Parties

PBLD - Place-Based Leadership Development

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study assesses the impact of the Role of the MIDRIFT - DIGNITY Partnership Program on Securing Peaceful Elections, focusing on Nakuru and Baringo Counties, Kenya. It unpacks lessons learned and prospects for replicability. The report also analyses the Place-Based Leadership Development (PBLD) programme, which forms part of the broader Intersectoral Urban Violence Prevention (IUVP) programme. The programme is conceived as a strength-based trust-building and relationship building programme. It develops collaboratives of local leaders able and willing to work together across relevant urban sectors to prevent violence and create safe communities.

The MIDRIFT - DIGNITY Partnership initiated collaboration on violence prevention in 2014 in Nakuru and Naivasha on account of their history as hotspots for election violence. In the run-up to the 2022 elections, they extended the focus to Baringo County to reduce the risk of violence by putting in place peace-building initiatives at local levels.

MIDRIFT implemented rapid interventions involving various actors, mobilising the necessary resources, and bringing together state and non-state actors to ensure safety and security before, during and after the 2022 general elections. It deployed five strategies: 1) Place-Based Leadership Development (PBLD) Interventions; 2) Political development activities on political education; 3) Multisectoral coordination on election preparedness; 4) Engaging the media on political and urban violence prevention; and 5) Role of backbone organisation in trust and relationship building.

As this report later discusses, the PBLD interventions since 2016 have created a pool of 400 critical leaders working around violence prevention. Most of the cohorts are from Nakuru County but the impact of the few trained in Baringo is starting to be felt. 412 leaders were also reached through the Political leadership Development for Political Education. The leaders were taken through modules of the PBLD programme, which is customized and contextualised to prevent elections-related violence in Baringo, Njoro, Naivasha, Nakuru Town East, and Nakuru Town West. These areas have been hotspots of election and political violence in the country since 1992. PBLD was delivered through training modules that allowed participants to draw from their lived experiences, reflect on their positions, and apply skills to situations. The modules also provided an opportunity for participants to assess themselves and to make recommendations on what they need to do to address problems in their communities.

The PBLD beneficiaries were engaged in different activities towards preventing violence. For example, PBLD leaders in Nakuru Town East, using a local Mosque as a safe space for dialogue, brought together 400 alleged youths gang members to dialogue on organized crime and the need for peace before, during and after the 2022 general elections. The leaders also encouraged the youth to join the government's empowerment programme *Kazi Mtaani* initiative with 270 youths out of the 400 youths absorbed into the programme. In Njoro Sub-County the leaders reached youths through sporting activities. They also facilitated dialogue sessions on political violence prevention between the youth and security agencies. Over 200 youths and *boda boda* operators pledged to maintain peace and agreed not to be used by political leaders to cause violence.

For the first time since 1992, no single incident of violence was experienced in Mau Narok, Mauche and Kihingo wards within Njoro Sub-County. This is largely attributed to the activities of the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY violence prevention project. Key among these was organising cultural shows and exhibitions to create awareness of different cultures, holding public *barazas*[1] with local administration and targeting youth through sporting activities. These activities involved youth from across all communities and places.

MIDRIFT and partners in the community-led meetings encouraged all actors to use dialogue to resolve conflicts among themselves rather than resorting to violence or incitement. They also sensitized citizens to elect leaders who will promote and champion peace in the area, respect one another and commit to act as peace ambassadors. This commitment positively impacted the mitigation of violence after the general elections.

Arising from previous experiences, peaceful elections largely depend on the state of preparedness by all stakeholders in providing a conducive environment. In February 2022, the Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Interior and Citizen Services directed all 47 county commissioners to establish county and sub-county multisectoral coordination and collaboration forums on election preparedness. The forums brought together stakeholders to prepare for elections and prevent election violence. In March 2022, members of the Nakuru multisectoral forum elected MIDRIFT as a co-chair of the forum with the County Commissioner as the chair of the forum. The forum is significant since it brings together various stakeholders (both state and non-state) and embraces an intersectoral approach, which MIDRIFT has championed for many years.

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1   *Baraza* is a term for public meeting.

MIDRIFT used the multi-sectoral forum to lobby for the operationalisation of the *Nakuru County Peace Building and Conflict Management Act*. The County Violence Prevention Policy has been anchored into this law. The Act establishes the Nakuru Safety and Security Secretariat with spending priorities from Nakuru County Government. The DIGNITY-MIDRIFT partnership considers MIDRIFT to be the short-medium term *backbone organisation*, while the secretariat is planned to become the long-term sustainable *backbone organisation* navigating all violence prevention and peace efforts in Nakuru County. MIDRIFT also amplified the intersectoral conversations during the Nakuru County Safety and Security Secretariat meetings and recommended strong conflict mitigation mechanisms for preventing electoral violence.

The PBLD leaders were integrated into the Nakuru Sub-County Forums for Njoro, Nakuru Town East and West and Naivasha Sub-Counties. The forums encouraged the stakeholders to embrace the principle of collective action for collective impact at the sub-county level. In September 2022, the Nakuru and Baringo County multisectoral forums were transformed into County multisectoral coordination and collaboration forums for peace and security. This is a permanent and sustainable mechanism for intersectoral Security and Peace Building in the County and Sub-Counties.

To most of the respondents, MIDRIFT played a facilitative role, engaging all stakeholders and communities on their rights and the need to prevent violence from occurring. They had a lot of engagements at the community level, and also supported the coordination of stakeholders at the County and Sub-County levels. Thus, the organisation was the fulcrum of the activities, ensuring they were successful.

The inclusion of women to sit at the same table with men in local security committees and discuss how to secure their sub-counties was instrumental to change. The project challenged roles and cultural norms that disempower women. Eventually, Nakuru became the first county in Kenya to elect 15 women to various positions during the August polls - the highest in the country. In Baringo, three women MCAs were elected.

These numbers are significant. Across the country, seven female governors were elected, up from three in 2017 while eight women were elected as deputy governors, and three female Senators. 115 women became elected Members of County Assembly, and 30 as Members of Parliament (up from 23 in 2017)[2]. Nakuru became one of two counties with three women at the top leadership, setting a never-seen-before trend.[3] Nakuru also has the highest number of female MPs with four of the 11 constituencies electing women as Members of the National Assembly.[4] Eight women were also elected as Members of the County Assembly out of 55 wards, an improvement from four in the previous assembly.

The electoral achievements of women must be understood against the background of the harsh environment facing female politicians during elections. Their political campaigns are curtailed by discriminatory practices and patriarchal culture. Violence against women politicians and the lack of substantial campaign financing deters women from politics. Male opponents employ gendered rhetoric to intimidate women from vying and pushing those who campaign to drop out.[5]

The election of many women in Nakuru County is thus important in countering gender biases regarding the right of Kenyan women to participate in politics and decision-making. The election of women also serves to close gender gaps in leadership which is key to achieving Sustainable Development Goal 5 on gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. The election of the eight MCAs will save the exchequer a substantial amount of money by partially fulfilling the constitutional one-third gender rule in the assembly that previously had 78 members. The new assembly has 76 members, including the Speaker who is *ex officio*. The previous assembly had four elected women MCAs and 19 nominated ones, who were all women. But the number of women nominated MCAs has now been reduced to 16.[6]

MIDRIFT worked closely with different media outlets, including online, to eliminate hate speech, ethnic incitement, and misinformation. This was done using bloggers, media and media personalities, musicians, analysts and commentators. Through several political development and political education forums, political party leaders were sensitised on the dividends of peaceful elections. MIDRIFT also organized peace concerts and rallies where political parties and politicians were invited to commit and sign peace accords. Further, the political education activities helped to encourage youth to register as voters. The education empowered the youth to be responsible for the change that they wanted.

2   Kireki, V. (2022a, August 24). "Kenya Elections Bring New Wave of Female Leaders to the Fore." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/aug/24/kenya-elections-bring-new-wave-of-female-leaders-to-the-fore

3   The other county is Machakos, led by Governor Wavinya Ndeti and Senator Agnes Kavindu.

4   Mwende, S. (2022, August 12). "First for Nakuru County as Women Sweep Eight Elective Positions." *The Star*. https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2022-08-12-first-for-nakuru-county-as-women-sweep-eight-elective-positions/

5   Ahmed, A. Elfversson, E. and Höglund, K. (2022, December 20). "The Struggle for Gender-equal Representation: The 2022 Election in Kenya." Blogal Studies. https://www.blogalstudies.com/post/the-struggle-for-gender-equal-representation-the-2022-election-in-kenya

6   Mureithi, F. (2022, September 15). "Women MCAS Cut Male Dominance in Nakuru Assembly as Speaker Race Heats up." *Nation*. https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/nakuru/women-mcas-cut-male-dominance-in-nakuru-assembly-as-speaker-race-heats-up-3949556

In summary, the MIDRIFT - DIGNITY Partnership Programme has led to the development of a stakeholder-driven policy to inform violence prevention in Nakuru County. It has also facilitated stakeholders to create the basic conditions for collective action. Key leaders from the PBLD have emerged and influenced various actions on violence prevention. All stakeholders in Nakuru and Baringo agree on the need for collective action among different sectors in violence prevention. The intersectoral approach to violence prevention enhanced the ability of the IUVP programme to address the linkages among all forms of violence, including criminal violence, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence, and political or ethnic violence. The approach can therefore be applied in other counties in the country facing similar challenges.

Nevertheless, there are areas for improvement. Localizing the ideas and examples of the project better is important. The use of Kiswahili manuals should be more deliberate. Further, the cohorts requested extra time to cover the modules. Further, there is a need to enrol more women aspirants into the PBLD. In terms of outreach, there is a strong argument in favour of involving schools as partners. This will ensure that young men and women are nurtured early enough before they are ensnared into the violence industry.

Continuing with the community engagement initiatives beyond the elections is vital. It is commendable that the multi-sectoral forums have been repurposed in Baringo and Nakuru. The main success of the MIDRIFT - DIGNITY Programme is its investments in the PBLD and the convening of multi-sectoral networks to build a peaceful environment. The positive results from these collaborations hold promise to outlast the spectrum of the project had MIDRIFT and DIGNITY undertaken the actions on their own.

1. INTRODUCTION

Kenya's long history of elections-related violence is well documented. Since the first multiparty elections of 1992, elections have been marred by violence characterized as 'ethnic' and 'political'.[7] The Rift Valley region, in particular, has remained the epicentre of that violence. In 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2013 the area experienced widespread violence that killed hundreds of people, destroyed property, and poisoned ethnic relations in the multi-ethnic region. While 2007 remains the most violent election period for the country and the region, subsequent general elections have experienced some incidents of violence. For instance, in the 2013 elections, political rivalry and ethnic conflicts led to incidents of violence in the Tiaty constituency in Baringo County, leaving several people dead and many others displaced. In the 2017 elections, both Nakuru and Baringo counties experienced low-level violence linked to political and ethnic rivalries. In Kuresoi and Molo areas of Nakuru, violence broke out between supporters of different political parties and members of different ethnic communities.

Reports by official agencies, non-governmental organizations, and independent researchers have all concluded that elections-related violence is usually triggered by politicians but is driven by long-standing and unresolved grievances, prejudices and failure to manage diversity. The reports of the Akiwumi Commission (Judicial Commission) of Inquiry into Tribal Clashes (1999) and the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Elections Violence (CIPEV) that investigated the 2007-2008 post-elections violence provided a comprehensive analysis of the risks and drivers of violence in Rift Valley and other parts of the country and recommended a wide range of measures to prevent reoccurrence of the violence in future elections.[8]

The Akiwumi and CIPEV reports and reports by agencies such as the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights have highlighted the role of political and community leaders in fomenting or preventing violence. Leadership is a critical determinant of whether societies descend into violence or whether conflicts are resolved peacefully. Conflict prevention and peace-building literature underscore the role of leaders as key in interrupting cycles of violence and conflict. Kenya's national peace-building mechanisms and architecture reflect this understanding by placing a key premium on engagements with diverse leaders at local and national levels.

Transformative leadership that can prevent and disrupt cycles of violence is most urgently needed at local levels in places like the Rift Valley. MIDRIFT and DIGNITY's investment in preparing local leaders to be influential actors in preventing violence during the 2022 elections aptly fits within this understanding of how violence is triggered, prevented and disrupted. The MIDRIFT-DIGNITY IUVP 2021-2022 programme aimed to change the local leaders' mindsets and strengthen their capacities to build collaborations and partnerships. In that programme, MIDRIFT was the anchor organization supporting the implementation of this initiative to promote safe and secure communities during the 2022 elections in Baringo and Nakuru.

This report assesses the impact of the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY IUVP 2021-2022 programme on creating election preparedness and free, fair, and peaceful elections in Kenya in 2022. The study will also assess the programme's results and the appropriateness and effectiveness of programme activities and provide recommendations and a framework for future programming. MIDRIFT undertook the project in Nakuru and Baringo counties, which are the focus of the study.

The study has three general objectives:

a   To evaluate the effectiveness and the appropriateness of programme activities

b   To catalogue the impact and results

c   To provide a basis for decision making in future programming.

It answers two questions:

1   What was the role and impact of the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY IUVP 2021-2022 programme on creating election preparedness and free, fair, and peaceful elections in Kenya in 2022, with a primary focus on Nakuru and Baringo Counties?

2   How can the applied project design and approach be repackaged for future replicability and scale-up in other counties in Kenya and other African contexts struggling with election violence?

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7   See for instance, Republic of Kenya, *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the Ethnic Clashes in Western and Other Parts of Kenya* (1992); *Human Rights Watch, Divide and Rule: State Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya* (1993); *Republic of Kenya, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-election Violence* (2009); *Republic of Kenya, Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya* (1999).

8   Republic of Kenya, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-election Violence (2009); Republic of Kenya, *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya (1999).*

The report has also identified three other areas of study interest: Innovations, leadership development programs, and the role of backbone organization and relationship building. The study examines the innovations in the design and implementation infrastructure of the project and how these contributed to the impact. It looks at how the beneficiaries applied the programme's capacity, skills and knowledge to contribute to success and the extent to which the collaborative infrastructure used for the programme intervention played a decisive role in shaping the outcomes. Lastly, it assesses the role played by MIDRIFT as the fulcrum on which these interventions rested.

2. METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study used a combination of a review of documents/literature, key informants' interviews and focus group discussion for data collection. The choice of these approaches was guided by an understanding that these methods were most appropriate for the collection of data that would allow for analysis of the process, results of individual and collective change, and social impact. From the outset, it was clear that assessment of impact at the community level would be a challenge given the modest scale of the project as well as the lack of baseline data on community views and security conditions prior to implementation.

a   Review of Literature

The study team reviewed and synthesized all relevant programme-related information on the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY IUVP 2021-2022 programme to develop a more comprehensive understanding. The study team also reviewed appropriate policy and academic literature recently produced on violence and elections in Kenya (Kania, J., Hanleybrown, F., Juster, J. S., (2014)[9], World Bank (2011)[10], Robin H. (2014)[11], Worral and Kjaerulf (2018[12], 2019[13])). An initial review of documents was essential in developing the research design and also guided the development of data collection tools. The data collection tools were validated by MIDRIFT staff in a one-day workshop held in Nakuru on 7 March 2023.

The literature review continued even after the field data collection. The analysis from the desk review was instrumental in interpreting and qualifying the information obtained from the key informant interviews.

Programme-Related Documents Reviewed
• Place-Based Leadership Development: Preventing Violence and Creating Safer Communities Initial evaluation of Co-Facilitator Development Programme (July 2021–March 2022)
• Evaluation of Pilot Facilitator Development Programme
• Project documents and proposals such as Concept notes on Political leadership Development for Prevention of Election Violence; DIGNITY MIDRIFT and IUVP 2022 Prioritized Activities
• Nakuru and Baringo County Policies and laws
• Evidence-based guides and manuals such as PBLD Co-facilitator development programme design and delivery guide; PBLD Facilitator's Guide
• PBLD Evaluation and impact study
• Activity and Outcome reports
• Reports on capacity-building initiatives

b   Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

The study benefits from the insights of 62 key informants drawn from a cross-section of sectors who had an intimate understanding of the PBLD project. The respondents were identified through purposive and snowballing processes. Adequate attention was accorded to gender and other special interest groups like persons with disability and ethnic and religious minorities.

9   Kania, J., Hanleybrown, F., Juster, J. S., (2014). "Essential Mindset Shifts for Collective Impact (SSIR)." Stanford Social Innovation Review: Informing and Inspiring Leaders of Social Change. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/essential_mindset_shifts_for_collective_impact

10   World Bank Group. (2011). *Violence in the City: Understanding and Supporting Community Responses to Urban Violence.* World Bank. https://documents.world-bank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/524341468331181450/violence-in-the-city-understanding-and-supporting-community-respons-es-to-urban-violence

11   Robin, H. (2014) "'Place-based Leadership', Leading the Inclusive City: Place-based Innovation for a Bounded Planet." Bristol. Online edn, Policy Press Scholar-ship Online, https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781447304975.003.0005,

12   Worrall R, Kjaerulf F. "Building Collaborative Capability between Law Enforcement and Civil Society Leaders to Prevent Urban Violence." *Int J Public Health*. 2018 Nov;63(8):969-976.

13   Worrall, R., & Kjaerulf, F. (2019). "Transforming Minds, People and Places: Leadership Coalition Building as Catalyst for Intersectoral Collaboratives in Urban Violence Prevention." *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 47*, 282–292.

Focus group discussions	Key informants
PBLD beneficiaries	County Commissioners
Co-facilitators	Deputy County Commissioners
MIDRIFT staff (Coordinator; Programme staff involved in the design and implementation of the programme)	Nakuru County Government representative
	Religious leader
	Former Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission Returning Officer
	National Police Service Officers
	Women leader

All collected data were transcribed and collated for analysis. This included convergence-divergence analysis, comparisons and theme analysis. Moreover, the consultants triangulated all the data from key informant interviews, FGDs and documentary evidence.

3. CONTEXT OF ELECTION VIOLENCE IN NAKURU AND BARINGO COUNTIES

Since independence, Kenya has had a very tumultuous road to democratization. The electioneering periods have, over the years, been characterised by ethnic and politically motivated violence. The first multi-party elections in 1992 marked the onset of this recurring problem in Kenya's political landscape. The violence has often resulted in the loss of life, destruction of properties, and displacement of people and has had considerable ramifications on the country's social fabric and economic sectors. The main drivers of election violence have been grievances over political dominance by some ethnic communities, competition for access to state patronage, disputes over election results, historical land injustices, unequal distribution of resources and failures by key governance institutions, among others.

The Rift Valley region of Kenya has borne the harshest brunt of these cycles of election violence. This section aims to provide a contextual background for election violence in Nakuru and Baringo counties. These two counties, where the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY project was implemented, have a long history of ethnic and political violence during election periods.

NAKURU COUNTY

Nakuru County, formerly Nakuru District, is a multi-ethnic county with a population of 2,162,202[14] and has 11 Sub-counties: Kuresoi South, Kuresoi North, Molo, Njoro, Rongai, Subukia, Bahati, Nakuru Town West, Nakuru Town East, Gilgil and Naivasha. The ethnic communities within the county include the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luo and Maasai, among others, with the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities being the two largest ethnic groups in the region. These communities have historically coexisted in the area. Still, the mixed ethnic makeup makes it vulnerable to election-related flare-ups and tensions, especially with issues such as land, politics and resources.[15]

The first multi-party elections in 1992 were marred by violence in Nakuru, which displaced thousands of people. Those elections were preceded by widespread ethnic violence targeting the non-Kalenjin communities in the region who were seen as members of the opposition to then President Daniel Arap Moi, a Kalenjin who had ruled the country under a single party system since 1979. The violence largely targeted the Kikuyu community with a large community in the County. Land grievances in Nakuru County, especially in Molo, Njoro, Ndefo, and Mauche, have framed most inter-ethnic conflicts. The so-called 'non-natives' (non-Kalenjin communities) who bought land and settled in these areas have often been the targets and victims of violent attacks and displacement by the 'natives' who view them as outsiders.[16]

During the 1991-92 violence, KANU leaders, mainly from the Kalenjin and their followers, demanded the removal of all other ethnic groups from the land they considered theirs historically. They also demanded that the 'outsiders', especially the Kikuyu, return to their 'ancestral land' in the Mount Kenya region.[17] Molo and Olenguruone divisions (part of the Molo district then) and Enoosopukia near the borders of Naivasha and Narok were the most affected.

The 1997 elections were yet again plagued by politically motivated ethnic violence in several areas of Nakuru County that was almost a replica of the 1992 violence. Supporters of the ruling party KANU targeted individuals from ethnic groups perceived to be opposition supporters. Notably, there were allegations of involvement from high-ranking government officials in the violence.[18]

The 2002 elections were widely regarded as the most transparent, free, and fair in Kenya's history. A coalition of opposition parties led by Mwai Kibaki under the banner of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) won over KANU's Uhuru Kenyatta. Although there were some indications of possible election violence, the country remained relatively peaceful during this period. However, within a short time, NARC was rocked with wrangles, with a section of politicians from President Kibaki's Mount Kenya region sidelining their coalition partners. These divisions assumed an ethnic dimension and set the stage for the 2008 post-election violence.

14   Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). (2019). *2019 Kenya population and Housing Census.*

15   International Crisis Group. (2017). *Kenya's Rift Valley: Old Wounds,Devolution's New Anxieties.* Africa Report N°248.

16   Ibid.

17   UNHCR. (2008). *Report from OHCHR Fact-finding Mission to Kenya, 6-28 February 2008.*

18   Bureau of Democracy, H. R. (1998). *Kenya Report on Human Rights Practices for 1997.*

In 2007, the announcement of President Kibaki as the winner of the presidential contest against his former ally Raila Odinga sparked off Kenya's most violent election violence. Raila Odinga and his supporters disputed the results and accused the Kibaki Administration and the Electoral Commission of rigging the elections. In Nakuru, members of the Kikuyu and Kisii communities, perceived to be associated with the PNU party and President Kibaki were targeted for attacks.[19] The most affected areas were Njoro, Molo, and Rongai constituencies. Others were the informal settlements within Nakuru municipality, including Kaptembwo, Kwa Rhodha and Langa.[20] Retaliatory attacks were reported in Naivasha town, where gangs attacked the Luo, Luhya, and Kalenjin communities, displacing them from their homes.[21] The violence stopped following international mediation led by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan but left the County and the region even more deeply scarred.

Going into the 2013 election, the peace actors in Nakuru signed a County Peace Accord on August 19, 2012, which aimed at tackling the root causes of ethnic conflict and violence. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) oversaw the accord, which followed a 16-month-long peace initiative. The agreement formally acknowledged the past violence and hatred between communities, and leaders pledged to prevent the reoccurrence of violence.[22]

The 2013 election and President Kibaki's peaceful transfer of power marked a positive deviation from the 2007 violence that had followed the declaration of presidential results. The political alliance between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin elites in 2013 significantly prevented elections-related violence. Uhuru Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, and his running mate William Ruto, a Kalenjin, had been on the opposing sides during the 2007 post-elections violence and had both been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for crimes against humanity related to the 2007-2008 post-election violence. Additionally, the fact that both leaders had faced charges at the ICC may have dissuaded any politician who contemplated using violence to gain or maintain political power.[23] In 2017, Human Rights Watch reported that there were instances of intimidation and threats against members of some ethnic groups in Naivasha, leading to some fleeing the area in fear.[24]

During the political party nomination exercise in 2022, some cases of election-related violence were reported in various parts of Nakuru.[25] The Orange Democratic Movement party had to delay its party primaries to protect the lives of members and officials due to threats received by presiding officers and clerks from some individuals.[26] The Jubilee party also encountered a chaotic incident at its Nakuru headquarters following a dispute between its aspirants and officials.[27]

The rise in criminal gang activities during the 2022 election season was a key contributing factor to the elections-related violence. These gangs primarily comprised of young people from informal settlements of Bondeni, Kivumbini, Flamingo, and Kisulisuli estates in the Nakuru Town East sub-county.[28] Like in past elections, politicians are said to have exploited the economic vulnerability of the young people to mobilise and finance them to perpetrate electoral violence. They would, in turn, provide services such as candidate protection, zoning their perceived strongholds, and intimidation of voters to precipitate displacement.[29]

BARINGO COUNTY

Baringo County is located in the Rift Valley region of Kenya, with an estimated population of 853.515. The county is divided into the following sub-counties: Baringo South, Mogotio, Eldama Ravine, Baringo Central, Baringo North and Tiaty. Baringo is predominantly inhabited by the Tugens (a Kalenjin subtribe) and other ethnic minorities such as the Pokot and Ilchamus, Endorois, Nubians, Kikuyus and Turkanas.[30]

19   Center for strategic International studies. (2009, August 11). *Post-election Violence in Kenya and its Aftermath.* Retrieved March 30, 2023, from Center for strategic International studies.

20   Khaoya, W. L. (2018). "Youth Violence and Engagement in Conflicts Management in Kaptembwo Estate." *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science.*

21   Rice, X. (2008, January 28). "Death Toll Nears 800 as Post-election Violence Spirals out of Control in Kenya." Retrieved March 30, 2023, from *The Guardian*: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jan/28/kenya.international

22   Nderitu, A. W. (2014). From the Nakuru County Peace Accord (2010-2012) to Lasting Peace. Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

23   Mutahi, P., & Ruteere, M. (2019). "Violence, Security and the Policing of Kenya's 2017 Elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies.*

24   Human Rights Watch. (2017, July 3). *Intimidation Reports as Voting Nears.* Retrieved April 1, 2023, from Human Right watch: https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/07/03/kenya-intimidation-reports-voting-nears

25   Gathura, J. (2022, June 27). *Promoting Peaceful and Secure Elections In Nakuru County.* Retrieved April 1, 2023, from MIDRIFT HURINET: https://MIDRIFTMID-RIFThurinet.org/promoting-peaceful-and-secure-elections-in-nakuru-county/

26   Munyua, J., & Oruta, B. (2022, April 1). "ODM Postpones Nominations in Nakuru amid Violence Fears." Retrieved March 31, 2023, from *The Star*: https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2022-04-01-odm-postpones-nominations-in-nakuru-amid-violence-fears/

27   Ndonga, B., & Munyua, J. (2022, March 7). "Kicks and Blows at Nakuru Jubilee Offices as Aspirants Fight over Nomination." Retrieved April 1, 2023, from The Star: https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2022-03-07-kicks-and-blows-at-nakuru-jubilee-offices-as-aspirants-fight-over-nomination/

28   Focus Group Interviews in Nakuru, 8-10 March 2023.

29   Mwangi, D. J., & Muniu, D. (2022). *The Prevalence of Gangs in Nakuru County: Contributory Factors.* The Global Center for Policy and Strategy.

30   Baringo County Government. (2023). *Baringo County Government.* Retrieved March 30, 2023, from Baringo County Government: https://www.baringo.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1749&Itemid=122

As an Arid and Semi-Arid Area (ASAL), Baringo County experiences intense competition for natural resources like wetlands, forests, water, and pasture due to their scarcity. Environmental stressors in this semi-arid region significantly contribute to conflicts, as one administrator in Baringo County noted:

Because of climate change and drought, the people are mostly on the move. Sometimes they move into Baringo North and Baringo South, and sometimes neighbouring communities like Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, and Samburu. When they go, that is when we have a lot of incursions, and you know, raids and counter raids leading to killings and animal theft.[31]

Due to the ethnic diversity of the county, conflicts over resources often become politicised particularly during the elections period with local politicians allegedly instigating and financing attacks. In addition to extending control over resources to the exclusion of rival communities, these attacks are sometimes also aimed at displacing those perceived as supporters of political rivals.

In 2007, the pattern of violence in Baringo County mirrored the violence witnessed in the rest of the country. The CIPEV Report notes that Baringo politicians incited their supporters to remove all *madoadoa*[32] from the Rift Valley and to vote for the opposition to remove President Kibaki from power and members of the Kikuyu community from the Rift Valley. The report further stated that the local administration in Koibatek was not politically neutral and fair during the campaign period.[33]

Increased drought conditions and the availability of illegal weapons among the Tugen, Ilchamus and Pokot have increased the severity of banditry attacks in the county. The cycle of the arms race between the communities is also said to be financed by local politicians. Already in 2009, there were newspaper reports that a former MP in Baringo had long been using his position on an influential committee in Parliament to procure for guns and ammunition for the Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) in his constituency.[34] However, it was reported that many of those guns had been given to his civilian supporters.

In the 2013 elections, clashes between the Tugen and Pokot communities resulted in the displacement of approximately 1,000 families in Baringo. The residents attributed the intensified conflict to political manoeuvring in the lead-up to the general elections. Eager to gain popularity, some politicians incited communities to claim more grazing land, which exacerbated the situation.[35]

In 2017, Human Rights Watch reported cases of forced displacement due to ongoing violence that had the potential of keeping thousands of people from voting in the August national elections. Some Baringo politicians were keen to incite ethnic divisions to secure their re-election. The competition for resources had been transformed into a fierce political contest of us versus them, fuelled by ethnocentric rhetoric. In August 2017, Human Rights Watch reported that ongoing inter-communal violence linked to water and pasture conflicts in Baringo had generated widespread insecurity and forced displacement of persons that could potentially keep them from voting in the national elections. The organisation further called on the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission to ensure that polling centres were accessible and secure in safe areas so voting can go on without a hitch.[36] ACLED's report, published after the 2022 elections, highlighted the spikes in violence against civilians during the election period, with Baringo County experiencing at least 25 reported fatalities.[37] The final monitoring report of the 2022 elections by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR)[38] also captures the impact of violence in hindering citizens' democratic rights to vote.

31   Interview with County Commissioner, Baringo, March 8, 2023.

32   Kiswahili for blemish or spot, used since early 1990s to designate unwanted individuals or groups.

33   Republic of Kenya (2008). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-election Violence*, (Nairobi), p. 21.

34   Gisesa, N., & Achuka, V. (2019, December 4). "How Guns, Hate and Politics Fuel Conflict in Northern Kenya." Retrieved March 30, 2023, from *Nation*: https://na-tion.africa/kenya/nation-prime/how-guns-hate-and-politics-fuel-conflict-in-northern-kenya-229164

35   *The New Humanitarian*. (2013, February 18). "Rising insecurity in northern Kenya." Retrieved April 2, 2023, from Reliefweb: https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/rising-insecurity-northern-kenya

36   Human Rights Watch. (2017, July 11). "Kenya: Rift Valley Violence Threatens Voting." Retrieved March, 2023, from Relief web: https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/kenya-rift-valley-violence-threatens-voting

37   https://acleddata.com/2022/08/09/kenyas-political-violence-landscape-in-the-lead-up-to-the-2022-elections/

38   KNCHR. (2022, September 26). Remarks by the Chairperson of the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, Roseline Odede. Retrieved April 2, 2023, from Kenya National Commision on Human Right: https://www.knchr.org/Articles/ArtMID/2432/ArticleID/1146/Press-Release-Chairpersons-Remarks-Launch-of-the-Final-Elections-Monitoring-Report-of-2022-Kenyan-Elections

4. PBLD PROGRAMME BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

The PBLD for IUVP was introduced in 2016 following the 18 months pilot of the IUVP in Nakuru and Naivasha municipalities. The PBLD was designed as a logical complement to the IUVP as it aimed to facilitate cooperation between various agencies and sectors where the programme was implemented. As pointed out by Worrall and Kjaerulf:

> IUVP is founded on inter-sectoral approaches such as 'public health', 'human rights based', and 'human security' approaches [hence] intersectoral... and territorial-based approaches to violence prevention in urban areas (IUVP) ... are, by their very nature, focused on place and coalition building.[39]

The introduction of PBLD to IUVP provides the opportunity to address 'tensions across sectors *in a safe space* up front'.[40] The PBLD for IUVP thus 'helps leaders in violence prevention to deal with clashes of mindsets and intersectoral tensions and embedded conflicts'.[41] They conclude that PBLD for IUVP was implemented as fundamentally focused on...

> ...creating coalitions of intersectoral leaders as agents of change – strong local sector leaders (as opposed to victim/survivor groups), while also working on creating citizen agency for change (using civic education and violence-data fact-based dialogue).[42]

PBLD was aimed at developing leaders within specific communities who would be key actors in understanding violence and, in partnership with others, developing mechanisms for its prevention. PBLD for IUVP is to be understood as an approach with two interlinked dimensions. The first is about the 'Transformation of Self', and the second is about the 'Transformation of Place'. In the first dimension, interventions are aimed at building the capacities of beneficiaries to better understand conflict and its roots, understand their own power and how to relate with those with power and authority, assess and bring sensitivity to particular contexts and individuals and improve decision-making abilities.

The second dimension of 'Transformation of Place' works on supporting mechanisms for increased communication and engagement between the community and state security actors, promoting intersectoral cooperation and broadening the channels of communication and relationship-building within the community.

As the 2022 elections approached, MIDRIFT and DIGNITY decided to prioritize interventions that would prepare leaders and partner communities to play a leading role in preventing elections-related violence. This elections-focused project was based on the lessons that had emerged from the programme's work that local leaders and local actors were the critical actors in violence prevention. As per the key project document, this phase of the PBLD would take the emergent 'Nakuru model for violence prevention' to the next stage of local action with the addition of Baringo County.

The project dubbed *Pamoja Tuimarishe Uhusiano; Tuangamize Uhalifu*, (Collective Action for Violence Prevention) was designed around five strategic objectives:

- S01: Scale-Up Place-Based Leadership Development
- SO2: Set up Infrastructure Supporting Policy Implementation
- SO3: Strengthen Inter-Sectoral Partnerships in Violence Prevention
- SO4: Starting up IUVP in Kabarnet and Marigat in Baringo County
- SO5: Organisational Development of MIDRIFT

The project intended to achieve five outcomes:

1   Enhanced number and quality of local leaders with leadership skills to work collectively for collective impact on violence prevention in Nakuru County

2   Enhanced infrastructure supporting the implementation of Nakuru County Violence Prevention Policy to improve community safety and security

3   Enhanced capabilities of both individuals and institutions to work collectively towards common goals on violence prevention in Nakuru County

4   Basic conditions for collective action in urban violence prevention established in Baringo

5   Enhanced capacity of MIDRIFT as a backbone organisation

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39   ibid
40   ibid
41   Ibid: 284.
42   Ibid

5. MAIN FINDINGS

5.1 THE MULTI-SECTORAL COORDINATION AND COLLABORATION FORUM

The **IUVP** programme in Nakuru and Baringo Counties sought to strengthen inter-sectoral partnerships in violence prevention. This objective sought to enhance the capabilities of individuals and institutions to work collectively towards common goals on violence prevention. The intended outcome is to ensure that people across all sectors are taking more responsibility for action and reporting. The objective is part of the creation of collective action for collective impact within the framework of IUVP. For its success, the project envisaged the involvement of committed partners to drive the process and contribute to implementation. MIDRIFT was to develop relationships between actors if partnerships and networks were not in place.

Within this purview, MIDRIFT started a conversation with the Nakuru County Commissioner on the need for a coordination forum to discuss collaborative efforts to address election tensions and violence ahead of the 2022 elections. The coordination forums spearheaded by Nakuru County safety and security secretariat brought on board the County security intelligence committee members, IEBC officials, political party officials, Peace committees, Community policing members, Business community, Civil society organizations, Faith based organizations, Youth and Women leaders to unpack security threats and affirm commitments to peace and cohesion before, during and after the 2022 elections. The forums also aimed to strengthen the early warning systems and coordination of information sharing to respond to identified peace and security threats. According to interviews with MIDRIFT staff, they utilized these platforms to lobby and advocate for a more formal and structured engagement from the Ministry of Interior and coordination of the National Government by advising the county commissioner to escalate the request to the national level.[43] These efforts bore fruits when in February 2022, the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government issued a circular directing each county to form a Multi-Sectoral Consultative Forum on Election Preparedness to ensure delivery of free, fair and peaceful elections.

The goal of the Forum was to ensure that the elections were successful and peaceful. It emphasised the promotion and enhancement of regular consultations, coordination in preparation for the General Elections, facilitation of sustained information sharing among the relevant stakeholders, undertaking of public education campaigns initiatives, identification of elections security-related threats and risks and generation of recommendations to mitigate the threats and risks.

The Multi-Sectoral Forum includes representatives of different sectors such as the IEBC, security and intelligence sector, the NGOs, County Government officers, media personnel, inter-faith groups, civil servants, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), public transport sector (*matatus*[44], *tuktuk*[45] *and boda boda*[46] operators), youths and other relevant stakeholders in peace promotion. Politicians mostly target Matatus, Tuktuk and *boda boda* operators to carry out mobilisation of people during the campaigns. They turn to them, mostly the *boda boda* operators, when they want young people to carry out violence, and hence it was important to bring them on board in the forum. The formation of the Multi-Sectoral Forum is an appreciation that security is complex and needs to be addressed from various angles. As one MIDRIFT official noted, 'that is why we talk of intersectoral meaning various sectors coming together. We are talking about collective action and interventions.'[47]

Peace concert in Nakuru: Creating platforms for stakeholders to commit to peace and social cohesion before, during and after the 2022 General Elections – photo taken by MIDRIFT HURINET

43   Focus Group Discussion with MIDRIFT staff

44   *Matatus* are private public transport vehicles.

45   *Tuktuk* are 3-wheeler public transport vehicles.

46   *Boda boda* are motorcycle taxis.

47   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff, 7 March 2023

Nakuru County Commissioner addressing stakeholders at the Peace concert in Nakuru – photo taken by MIDRIFT HURINET

The County Commissioner chaired the Nakuru Multi-Sectoral Forum, with the MIDRIFT Executive Director as the Co-Chair. In Baringo, MIDRIFT was involved in initially setting up the Multi-Sectoral Forum but opted to leave the co-leadership to Baringo Peace Action Consortium, a local organization. This leadership in Nakuru and Baringo Counties shows the crucial role that MIDRIFT plays in violence prevention and in promoting a conducive environment for peace at the grassroots level. The multi-sectoral forum was also cascaded to all the Nakuru and Baringo Counties Sub-Counties and chaired by the Deputy County Commissioner.

Outcomes of the Multi-Sectoral Forum

As articulated by the respondents, the most significant impact of the Multi-Sectoral Forum is in the promotion and enhanced collaboration among the stakeholders. Most of those interviewed pointed out that they were able to share information on what each of them was working on, which helped avoid working in silos. As one respondent in Naivasha noted:

> it provided stakeholders with an opportunity to assess the security situation and the threats to peace and security from where they sit.[48]

Another CSO actor in Baringo observed that the Forum was the first time he was able to share ideas with security actors on what needs to be done to address the threats to peace and security.[49] An IEBC official also noted how the Forum helped the electoral body better and closely coordinate with others, making their work easier.[50]

Due to the enhanced collaborations, the stakeholders could speak with one purpose - preventing violence. The multi-stakeholder approach also enabled actors to complement each other and fill the gaps in areas with shortfalls. For instance, a County Administrator from Baringo narrated how they planned to conduct a peace caravan, but they did not have adequate funds to cover the major towns as planned. However, the *boda boda* association volunteered to lead the roadshow in Kabarnet town and the County administrators used the occasion to spread peace messages. Such collaboration could not have happened if the forum was not active and bringing together most stakeholders.

Since it had all the security actors, the Multi-Sectoral Forum provided members with quick and easy access to them for information sharing. As a respondent in Nakuru noted:

> Sometimes you may want to talk with the County Commander or County Commissioner on some particular things, and you do not have that opportunity. But there you have all the eleven DCCs, sometimes we would have the county police commander. So, it gave us an opportunity to share things; ordinarily it will take us long to get results.[51]

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48   Key informant interview with CSO actor in Naivasha, 9 March 2023

49   Key informant interview with CSO actor in Baringo, 8 March 2023

50   Key informant interview with former IEBC returning officer, Naivasha, 9 March 2023

51   Key Informant interview with CSO leader, 8 March 2023

According to one respondent, this access to security officials was critical in addressing insecurity in Bondeni informal settlement in Njoro:

> In Njoro, there were threats, and some members of the Kikuyu community were beginning to move out of an area called Lusiru in Njoro. Yet in that area the Bondeni Police Post had been constructed, but officers had not been posted. So, during that multi-sectoral forum, I remember we shared the community concerns and called for police officers to be deployed. Within two weeks, police officers were deployed.[52]

According to respondents, the Multi-Sectoral Forum helped build trust among the stakeholders, especially with the police and IEBC. In every election, the IEBC and police face a credibility and trust crisis. This crisis stems to the region's past history of violence in which the neutrality of the police has always been questioned. Official and independent investigations into electoral violence since 1992 have all confirmed that the police have not conducted themselves fairly and professionally during elections. In the past, low trust in the elections management body has also been a driver of election violence.

As with the IEBC, it is credibility and neutrality that the police needed to work on going to the 2022 general elections. As one respondent in Njoro pointed out:

> Most of the stakeholders never used to sit even with the DCC or town police or sub-county police officer or County commander...now you have a platform even for the motorcycle riders to question the police commander on what they are doing.

Another respondent in Naivasha stated that the forums became an important platform for IEBC officials to answer questions on election preparedness. The Multi-Sectoral Forum helped create conditions where these institutions were scrutinized, building trust among the stakeholders, which positively impacted on peace on the ground. A former IEBC official based in Naivasha who officiated the 2022 elections concluded that as a result:

> This time, people knew the IEBC was conducting a very good election because they could understand the process. They trusted us to deliver a clean election.[53]

Inter community Peace Forum in Baringo County facilitated by MIDRIFT in partnership with Tiaty Sub County Security Agencies - Photo taken by MIDRIFT HURINET

52   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff, 7 March 2023

53   Key informant interview with former IEBC returning officer, Naivasha, 9 March 2023

Stakeholders through the Multi-Sectoral Forum had an avenue for 'uncomfortable debates' regarding violence in Nakuru and Baringo counties. According to the respondents, these debates were about the causes of violence, alleged facilitators and what needs to be done to prevent loss of life and destruction of property. For instance, in the Njoro Sub-County multi-sectoral forum, political leaders were called out for inciting communities against each other.[54] In Naivasha, the sub-county forum engaged stakeholders to understand why some people were leaving the area ahead of the elections:

> This time we had that conversation, are people running away from Naivasha? Somebody asked, 'could it be that they registered as voters in their home counties or are they insecure?' Those hard questions were asked, and we were able to get answers and have facts on the table so that we do not create the illusion that Naivasha is in danger, people are running away, yet they are going to vote.[55]

The 'uncomfortable debates' were possible because all players in the forum shared the agenda of enhancing collaboration and coordination for early warning and response. There was political will among the government officials to honestly cooperate with residents on security matters. Further, the community level of innovation of holding meetings where the people are easily accessible facilitated the open discussions. For example, some of the forums were held under trees in Baringo County, while the Nakuru East DCC met residents in Kivumbini grounds, where members of the *Confirm* gang are based. These engagements enabled leaders and residents to listen to the community, understand their problems and jointly develop solutions.

The Forum's Future
Due to the impact of the Multi-Sectoral Forum, stakeholders have started thinking of repurposing it for the future. In Baringo, they have evaluated what worked well and/or did not, so that they build up on the successes. In Naivasha and Njoro, they are having similar conversations. The multi-sectoral forum can serve different purposes depending on the location's needs. For instance, in Njoro and Baringo, it could be used to continuously engage in inter-ethnic peace meetings and initiatives. In Nakuru East and West, there is potential to continue working with forum stakeholders on the issue of criminal gangs and crime generally. In these two areas, it has already succeeded in getting some youth in Bondeni to surrender 400 knives and be peace ambassadors. This success can be built upon.

Nevertheless, the ability of the multi-sectoral forum to implement its mandate depends on the availability of funding, which MIDRIFT-DIGNITY almost entirely underwrites. The National government has not directly supported the overall team except in covering costs related to the County Commissioner and Deputies to enable them to attend meetings. This presents existential risks in the long term if there is no support from MIDRIFT-DIGNITY. The multi-stakeholder forum, therefore, needs to formulate a plan that builds on the substantial social capital of its extensive strategic networks and the goodwill of residents. It should recognise and engage the power of networks and coalitions in ways that pool resources and create pathways through which diverse stakeholders can apply their comparative advantages. The strategy should encompass financial aspects and consolidate the already positive steps towards the process and sustainability of results. All these plans should be complete with a business plan, execution plan and requisite human resource inputs for implementation and monitoring.

It is notable that the *Nakuru County Peace Building and Conflict Management Act* establishes the Nakuru Safety and Security Secretariat as the backbone for coordinating all violence prevention and peace efforts in the County. The county government should fund the secretariat as the long-term sustainable solution for anchoring violence prevention and peace efforts. The DIGNITY-MIDRIFT programme is developing organically, and the sustainability version of the multisectoral forums can be anchored in the Secretariat. For instance, funding for the multisectoral forums can be channelled through the Secretariat as part of the operationalisation of the *Nakuru County Peace Building and Conflict Management Act.*

5.2 PLACE-BASED LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT FOR INTERSECTORAL URBAN VIOLENCE PREVENTION

The overall objective of the intervention is to 'Develop Political Leadership of Elections Stakeholders for the Prevention of 2022 Elections Violence in Nakuru and Baringo Counties'. Place-based leadership means those exercising decision-making power strive to improve the quality of life of communities living in a particular place.[56] The PBLD course brings together people who live and work within *a place* to explore challenging issues, learn new skills and help build relationships that can benefit their community. The course aims to develop participants' leadership skills and promote collaboration and partnership among those participating. It allows people time to deeply understand the key challenges impacting the area and identify and try possible solutions.

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54   Key informant interview with CSO leader, 9 March 2023

55   Key informant interview with CSO leader, Naivasha, 9 March 2023

56   Robin, H. (2014) "'Place-based Leadership', Leading the Inclusive City: Place-based Innovation for a Bounded Planet" Bristol. Online edn, Policy Press Scholarship Online, Retrieved February 7, 2023, from https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781447304975.003.0005,

Working in groups and learning from each other's experience and knowledge, the course helps participants to:

- Understand leadership in the context of working in urban communities impacted by disadvantage and criminality

- Develop and enhance their leadership approach and skills

- Learn new problem-solving skills to enable change

- Reflect on their leadership journey through one-to-one coaching support

- Learn how to collaborate and work with other organisations to create new approaches to challenging issues

The programme works to create collective impact conditions and has developed more than 400 leaders from multiple sectors since its inception in 2016. In the second half of 2021, the MIDRIFT HURINET-DIGNITY partnership implemented a tailored project component entitled 'Political Leadership Development for Prevention of 2022 Election Violence'. In parallel with this, from October 2021 and during 2022, a DIGNITY PBLD specialist consultant delivered a Co-Facilitator Development Programme for 2 cohorts of leaders and MIDRIFT HURINET staff delivered Leadership Development Programmes for 6 cohorts of leaders, all with special focus on preventing election violence and countering political incitement and gang involvement. This saw 146 leaders graduating with certificates.

MIDRIFT HURINET staff Moses Chavene facilitating a place-based leadership development workshop in Nakuru.

Table 1: Local Leaders Graduated with Certificates 2022

Graduation date	Place/ Municipality	No. of Cohorts	Male Leaders	Female Leaders	Total No. of Leaders
Co-facilitator Development Programme for Preventing Violence & Creating Safe Communities (6 modules)					
11.10.22 Sub-total Co-facilitators	Njoro, Baringo & Nakuru	2 cohorts	17	22	39
Place-Based Leadership Development Programme for Preventing Violence & Creating Safe Communities (10 modules)					
12.10.22	Njoro	2 cohorts	26	12	38
13.10.22	Nakuru	2 cohorts	21	17	38
14.10.22	Naivasha	2 cohorts	20	11	31
Sub-total PBLD leaders			67	40	107
Total - Facilitators & P-BLD			84	62	146

As of April 2022, MIDRIFT staff and some of the 146 capacity-built local leaders had actively participated and shaped conversations in the 'Multi-sectoral Coordination and Collaboration Forums for Electoral Preparedness' of the 2022 elections. Further, 45 community health volunteers received training on psychological first aid to be used in case of election-related violence.

According to the MIDRIFT staff, the selection of the cohort members starts with an analysis of the actors and their place of work. The project staff gather information on what these actors do, their capabilities and capacities, and how they can leverage their strengths in working with others. For example, the team collected data and undertook an analysis of actors in the Nakuru West and Nakuru East constituencies as well as in Baringo, Naivasha and Njoro.

Most of the respondents are aware that they were chosen as cohorts due to their leadership roles. On their part, they were motivated to participate in the PBLD to improve their skills. As one respondent observed, 'I wanted also to gain skills and more knowledge to learn something new. I also had an opportunity to network because it brought different stakeholders in the classroom'.[57] In Baringo, a cohort noted that, 'if you are a leader and still on earth, you cannot tire of learning, and you cannot also assume that you know too much. When you get an opportunity, you go add some skills.'[58]

The cohorts appreciated the leadership lessons, noting that they were relevant to their experiences and their work. The content was, to a large extent, contextualised to their local settings, and the examples and materials were said to be rich and suitable for adult learning. A Baringo female cohort reflected on her involvement in the PBLD thus:

> I found the PBLD intense. Most of the concepts are deep, but the delivery was very effective in the sense that there were a lot of practicals, and this really helped me internalise the materials.[59]

In Naivasha, a respondent stated that they had games, made pyramids and did power mapping analysis, which helped him remember most of the concepts for a long time. MIDRIFT provided the cohorts with the development slides, manuals and guidebooks at the end of the sessions, which they kept for refreshing their minds and further reading. Some of the cohorts in Baringo, Nakuru and Njoro have continued using these materials to train and improve the skills of their counterparts.

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57   Focus Group interview with Nakuru East cohorts, 8 March 2023

58   Focus Group interview with Baringo cohorts, 8 March 2023

59   Focus Group interviews with Baringo cohorts, 8 March 2023

Most respondents have gained the requisite competencies and confidence in their work. Some cohort members attribute their growth in confidence to the knowledge and skills they have gained through the leadership programme. One of the co-facilitators in the Njoro interviews was an Assistant Chief. However, he had not yet become a government official when he joined the programme. He noted that the skills he got were partly instrumental for him in passing the interview for the Assistant Chief position.[60] Another illustration of the programme's impact on individual beneficiaries was made by one of the Naivasha cohort members who observed:

> I went from being a PBLD student to becoming a PBLD facilitator. I am so thankful for the moment because I am coordinating over one hundred organisations, CSOs, FBOs and NGOs. It is because of the capacities that were built and the impact that I got from the PBLD facilitation and our leadership development.[61]

In Baringo, a participant mentioned how the PBLD helped improve his time management skills, and that now he is punctual, a practice that was inculcated in the programme.[62] Yet another respondent noted that they had passed the skills to others within their CSO networks, so even if they were to leave Naivasha, they were confident of having other leaders taking over.[63]

Through advocacy and communication interventions, some PBLD cohorts say their profiles are now more visible and recognised in the public domain. As one of the cohort leaders stated:

> You hear some leaders asking for your opinion on issues. They know that there are other followers behind me and our voice matters. So, I can say that our presence as PBLD facilitators is key in many of the decisions being made in our sub-county.[64]

Others have seen the emergence of new opportunities through which they are formally invited to participate. One of the cohorts was elected as a union leader, and she became vocal and started articulating issues after completing the PBLD course. She works on a flower farm in Naivasha and had been engaging the residents before the elections on issues of peace. She became a union leader due to her violence prevention initiatives and now advocates for the rights of all workers. Using the skills gained from the PBLD, she is ensuring change for both the individual and the wider place.

Furthermore, techniques used in the PBLD help the leaders to be more responsible in making the right choices. Internalising these processes instils a sense of ownership in the individual as a *first responder* when the breach of the peace is threatened. The most cited strategy was moving from the 'zone of comfortable debate' (ZOD) to the 'zone of uncomfortable debate' (ZOUD). Through this technique, PBLD leaders realised that, at times, they have to sit and listen to even to those discussions that were not favourable to them, including why there is violence every election year. For instance, in Nakuru town, Njoro and Naivasha, the PBLD cohorts approached the political aspirants and talked to them about violence prevention. In Naivasha, they facilitated signing of a peace agreement between the aspirants and the community.[65] Another example is the conversion of one social media influencer in Nakuru who turned his blogs and website to sharing peace messages instead of division.[66]

The PBLD has built capacity in the youth on many issues, giving birth to community leaders who are change agents. Some of the young men in the PBLD narrated how they have engaged children in schools on the issue of drugs. They teach them to become better leaders that will drive the community. Other cohorts have reached out to gang members in Kivumbini and Bondeni, and some have reformed from criminality.[67]

The choice to integrate the leadership programme into the IUVP is consistent with what needs to be done to achieve the intended results. It has changed individual perspectives on leadership and improved community networking. Preventing violence is complex, requiring a multidimensional approach to mitigate it comprehensively. The strategic choices of focusing on better leadership are valid and relevant in contributing towards a favourable peaceful ecosystem in Nakuru and Baringo. The PBLD holds the potential to contribute to lasting change as the attained competencies will be at the disposal of beneficiaries, their organisations and communities. Beneficiaries will continue applying the skills post the project implementation.

60   Key Informant interview with co-facilitator, Njoro, 10 March 2023

61   Focus Group interview with PBLD cohorts, Naivasha, 9 March 2023

62   Focus Group interview with PBLD cohorts, Baringo, 8 March 2023

63   Focus Group interview with PBLD cohorts, Naivasha, 9 March 2023

64   Focus Group interview with PBLD cohorts, Naivasha, 9 March 2023

65   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 10 March 2023

66   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 10 March 2023

67   Focus Group interviews in Nakuru East and West, 8/9 March 2023

As with any other programme, there are challenges and areas for improvement for consideration by MIDRIFT and DIGNITY. Across Baringo and Nakuru counties, respondents argued that the time and days allocated for rolling out the leadership programme need to be increased. They needed more days to internalise the concepts and the practicals since some modules were extensive and had many activities. Others noted that they had forgotten what they had been taught once they returned from the one-month break. Hence, they take time to refresh and longer to catch up with the rest of the team. It might be worthwhile to consider using the existing WhatsApp groups to keep the cohorts busy during the break so that they do not forget the lessons. Another way is to provide them with revision exercises to keep them engaged with the content.

While the PBLD has reached many people, there were suggestions of getting more politicians, aspirants and/or those who failed in the last election to the programme. These political leaders are influential in society in speaking about violence prevention. Others said the priority should be on women aspirants.

Respondents in both counties recommended that the pool of civil servants be increased, or there be specific cohorts for government officials. This will prevent feelings of 'knowledge and skills drain' once the public officials are transferred since the trained pool of officers will be significant. The MIDRIFT staff and most respondents noted that the transfers of civil servants had hampered the programme since some leave in the middle of the programme or just after graduation. Thus, they do not use the skills in 'their place' as the programme envisaged. Nevertheless, it can also be argued that the transfers can be seen as an advantage because the civil servants are exporting that knowledge elsewhere if they continue applying the skills. It is commendable that MIDRIFT and DIGNITY are exploring how to institutionalise the PBLD through the Kenya School of Government. If successful, this is a sure way of integrating better leadership skills into many civil servants nationally. Other avenues that can be considered are Universities, Colleges and Police Academies.

5.3 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

The MIDRIFT-DIGNITY project was designed and **rolled out 11** PBLD modules[68] to develop local leaders who actively invoke the youth to reclaim participation in electoral and governance issues. The modules also touched on preventing and mitigating violence and the leaders are expected to be Peace Ambassadors in their various areas of influence. While the triggers of the conflicts in the country are multi-dimensional, they have always reflected an underlying leadership problem. Thus, the modules on leadership and good governance, management of election outcomes and disputes served to nurture and support leaders who desire to serve others better and not attain more power.

On Political Development Activities on Political Education, MIDRIFT HURINET reached 412 leaders divided into the following categories.

Table 2: Number of leaders reached through political education

National Police Service: Senior Police officers	15
Senior Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Officials	16
Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs)	150
Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)	75
Youth leaders	122
Media Editors	27
Political Party leaders	7
Total	**412**

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68   Modules were on political parties; leadership and good governance; electoral cycle; electoral laws, election offences; stakeholders in the electoral process; election campaigns; security; early warning; management of election outcomes, disputes, violence and security.

The *Political Development Activities on Political Education* intervention rely on the belief that providing people with information can change their attitudes and that those attitudes can shape new social-political behaviours. According to interviews with MIDRIFT staff members, three hypotheses led to this initiative.[69] One is that people living in communities with election education activities are less likely to participate in electoral violence because they are aware of violence mitigation measures. The other is citizens have learnt about non-violent alternatives to resolving perceivably intractable disagreements. Lastly, they have become more resistant to disinformation from actors encouraging violence through peace messaging to change social norms.

MIDRIFT opened deep conversations and sensitised political party leaders on patriotic leadership to encourage them to adopt a leadership style that transcends self-interest.[70] Through several political development and political education forums, MIDRIFT engaged IEBC, Political Parties, NCIC, The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), Faith Based Organizations, Youth organizations, the National Police Service, the Deputy County Commissioners and community election gatekeepers.

Political Education in Naivasha aimed at achieving free, fair and peaceful 2022 elections - Photo taken by MIDRIFT HURINET

As a result of these political development activities, the leadership capacities of the stakeholders were developed. The project also sensitised the political parties on the dangers of divisive and selfish politics and the use of violence to acquire power. Further, consensus was reached on strategies and work plans to disrupt election-related conflicts. Citizen's empowerment through political education on their role in free, fair, credible and peaceful elections was undertaken, culminating into trust building hence coordination, collaboration and synergy among stakeholders unlike before when they were working in silos.

In addition, politicians and heads of political parties in Nakuru and Baringo were invited to political debates hosted by MIDRIFT with *a* 'theme of issue-based campaigns devoid of hate speeches, ethnic hate & polarization and violence.' Local and national media aired the debates, where the politicians talked to their supporters about the dividends of peaceful elections. MIDRIFT also organized peace concerts and rallies where political parties and politicians were invited to commit and sign peace accords. A MIDRIFT staff member noted:

> Looking at the politicians we engaged in the project, they had theme-based campaigns focusing on issues such as the economy. There was little focus on issues that divided people along ethnic grounds.[71]

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69   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

70   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

71   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

As the country prepared for the 2022 general elections, voter apathy was evident in the low voter registration turnout, particularly among youth. For MIDRIFT, this called for robust political, civic and voter education to awaken the citizenry's conscience on the need to participate in elections, as this remains the only way to determine their leaders. Participating in elections also provides sufficient grounds to hold leaders accountable. Further, the youth needed to participate in political spaces since this was the only way to be nominated in the party lists. To do this, 'they need that consciousness. That for them to be in those lists, they need to be politically active, they need to engage with the processes and the actors.'[72]

In this regard, MIDRIFT held fora in Njoro, Naivasha, Nakuru West and East, urging the citizens to engage for a free, fair, credible and peaceful 2022 election. They sought to establish the actual status of the voter registration exercise and catalyse citizen participation so that they actively reclaim their space in the electoral process.[73] The forums targeted community leaders drawn from diverse sectors and duty-bearers who would understand the information to relay to the larger community. The duty bearers included the office of the Deputy County Commissioner, Police Officer, Area Chief and Constituency Elections Coordinator (Returning Officer). The political development approach was through PBLD modules 3&4 and 6&7 and civic education focusing on campaigns, code of Conduct, Elections Offences and Election Violence, causes, signs and prevention of violence. The forum had an open session where participants could share contexts of political violence manifestations in their community and possible approaches and mitigations. Participants were mobilised through phone calls and text messages. Follow-ups were also made.

It emerged that the voter registration exercise among the youth is slow because most are engaged during the day in businesses and other economic activities. Others who wanted to change their voting stations were referred to the IEBC constituency office, which was far. This added time and costs to them, and they opted to keep off the exercise. Some noted disillusionment with the ruling class due to unmet political promises, leading to underdevelopment, high cost of living and unemployment. These are the issues most affecting the youth, and they felt there was no political goodwill to address them. Others were still reeling from the effects of the 2008 post-election violence and did not want to participate in any elections. In Njoro, the government's failure to adequately fund the IEBC resulted in low awareness of the voter registration exercise.

From the forums, MIDRIFT committed to engaging the youth and other groups towards creating a critical mass of informed citizens who participate meaningfully in public affairs. As one of the staff noted, 'It was clear that there was lack of proper sensitisation on the importance of voter registration and the implications of not being able to vote.'[74] Also, the organisation purposed to target young voters since they are the ones used by politicians to cause violence.

MIDRIFT's intervention in political education had several successes. The youths in Njoro, Nakuru West and East and Naivasha committed to mobilising their communities and peers to register as voters. These efforts bore fruits – in Njoro, there was increased voter registration among the youth.[75] An election official in Naivasha also noted, 'We saw an increase in the youth's involvement in election matters. According to the statistics, the numbers of youth this time increased compared to the previous elections.'[76]

In Njoro, teams of local leaders were formed to spearhead political education in the community, mobilising and encouraging youths and residents to come out and register. The IEBC had targeted to register approximately 8,027 new voters by 2nd November 2021. By the time MIDRIFT did its first forum, the IEBC had only registered 2534 new voters, but during the second forum, the numbers had increased to 4903. This was the first-time youth in Njoro Sub-County came out in large numbers to register as voters to influence the choice of their leaders. The political education activities encouraged youth to register as voters since they are the ones that are responsible for the change that they want. They realised they had a positive role to play, leading to peace during the election.

Sporting activities were used to spread messages on peace and other pressing matters, such as Gender Based Violence in Njoro. The sports activities also featured dialogues between the police and youth and would be used as avenues for gathering information on violence.[77] In other instances, they were opportunities for the citizens to urge the leaders to maintain peace and hold them accountable for their actions. For example, in Nakuru, Naivasha and Njoro, citizens asked the politicians to keep the peace during the elections and campaigns. In Njoro, a peace agreement was signed between the youth and the *boda boda* riders. In Naivasha and Njoro, a peace agreement was signed between the aspirants and the community.

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72   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 10 March 2023

73   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 march 2023

74   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

75   Focus Group interviews with MIDRIFT staff member, 10 March 2023

76   Key informant interview with a former IEBC returning officer in Naivasha, 9 March 2023

77   Focus Group interviews with MIDRIFT staff member, 10 March 2023

Political education also specifically targeted women not just as voters but as active political players. Over the years, Baringo County has been known for insecurity challenges fuelled by cattle rustling, stock theft, political differences, and community hostility. Despite being the most affected, women in the sub-counties have been left out of most peace and security efforts. In July 2022, a woman PBLD facilitator from Baringo mobilised and organised approximately 60 women from 6 sub-counties for their inclusion into safety and security initiatives to address cattle rustling and election-related insecurities. The mobilised women reached out to Morans[78] and youth, disengaging them from cattle rustling and encouraging alternative sources of livelihoods.

> MIDRIFT urged women to take advantage of the political space the electoral infrastructure provides, especially on the gender quotas. Some political education focused on how women could join a party and benefit from the gender quotas in the County Assembly. You have to actively join a party, to actively play a role for the party and maybe campaign peacefully for your respective candidates. By doing this, one gets visibility and a shot in the nominations if not getting directly elected.[79]

In the end, Nakuru became the first County in Kenya to elect 15 women to various positions during the August polls-the highest in the country. Eight of the elected MCAs are women - the MCA for Hells Gate ward in Naivasha was a beneficiary of the PBLD programme. Out of the 16 nominated MCAs, three were from the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY project. 'These women were able to go to the parties, participate and later become nominated. The MCA for Hells Gate was attending the project and getting the platform to talk to people,' noted a MIDRIFT staff member.

Despite the increased number of women elected in the County, they face numerous barriers to effective participation and fulfilling their political and electoral rights. Traditional gender roles, gender-based stereotypes, discriminatory attitudes, and norms are still prevalent in Njoro, Baringo, Naivasha and Nakuru West and East. The media perpetuates these gender-based stereotypes and biases. The male-dominated model of politics thus undermines women's contributions and participation.[80] Lack of political experience, low political education and limited access to information disfavour women's political involvement. The perception of Kenya's politics as 'dirty' and the prevalence of violence witnessed during the 2022 party primaries have also impacted women's participation in elections and party politics.[81] For women who belong to a marginalised and/or minority group, additional challenges prevent them from full and equal participation due to interconnected systems of power.

There are several opportunities that MIDRIFT-DIGNITY can consider investing in gender-responsive political participation, building on the work they have been doing on supporting women leaders. Political education is bearing fruits and should continue to provide pathways for women. There is a need to continue promoting women's rights and participation in conflict prevention, mitigation, and peacebuilding processes in Baringo and Nakuru. For instance, in September 2022, after the general elections, a woman leader in Likia, Njoro Sub-County, organised over 100 women to disseminate peace messages in the area. The same month, PBLD leaders initiated accountability initiatives through the cohorts' subgroups to hold the elected leaders accountable based on their campaign manifestos and promises. The PBLD move enhances accountability as the leaders implement their mandates.

Another promising opening is to promote access to decision-making spaces and political processes for all women, including the most marginalised. MIDRIFT can work with current and former women political leaders who can offer mentorship on 'breaking the glass ceiling' in politics. This will ensure the recognition of women in decision-making capacities as a human right.

Overall, there is a need to continue political education engagements beyond the election period. They need to be sustained over a period of time to generate an effect. A sure way is to focus on different political participation and accountability themes, so they are relevant and do not become redundant.

5.4 ENGAGING THE MEDIA ON POLITICAL AND URBAN VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Media plays an integral role in helping citizens make good decisions in governance and thus remains a crucial institution in election management. Radio has been one of Kenya's most popular avenues of receiving and providing information over the years. It comes embedded even in low-end phones, so it is cheap and popular with the target population in Nakuru and Baringo Counties. Community radio also gives a voice to the community they

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78   Members of the warrior group of communities such as the Samburu, Pokot, Masai and other mainly pastoralist communities in East Africa, which comprises the younger unmarried males.

79   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 10 March 2023

80   Focus Group interview with PBLD leaders, Baringo, 8 March 2023

81   Focus Group interview with PBLD leaders, Naivasha (9 March 2023) and Baringo (8 March 2023)

serve with programmes in local languages, respecting local culture, traditions and interests. MIDRIFT thus sought to use media generally and local community radio stations to facilitate dialogue within the community through sensitization, information dissemination and advocacy in violence prevention. An effective engagement will help pass the peace and electoral violence prevention messages.

MIDRIFT-DIGNITY, through the project, engaged the media to increase the citizens' knowledge of the electoral process and educate them on their rights and responsibilities. The press was to play its watchdog role, providing political parties and candidates a platform to present their manifesto. In doing so, the media was to give the voters timely and factual information needed to make informed choices.

Engaging the media on political and urban violence prevention was essential to develop a collective action plan for collaboration in mitigating electoral-related violence.[82] Of essence were the actions and the partnerships established between CSOs and media in passing information on peace and cohesion while synergizing on mutual activities, including forums on peaceful elections. In this regard, MIDRIFT facilitated drafting the Nakuru County Civil Society Forum – Media Engagement Strategy. It was premised on creating collaboration with the media practitioners operating in Nakuru County. Among other issues, the CSOs and journalists were to work together in using the media to help debunk misinformation and gender and ethnic-biased narratives. In this way, they will counter the negative narratives propagated by politicians. MIDRIFT created a WhatsApp group to ease communication and information sharing with Media Forum members.

The radio programs aired and the conflict-sensitive training with media greatly impacted the prevention of electoral violence. In March and July 2022, for the first time, journalists and media practitioners, in partnership with civil society organizations in Nakuru County, started organizing political debates that countered narratives that normalize violence and disempower women. The aim was to promote peaceful general elections and enhance the participation of women in the democratic processes.

MIDRIFT staff appeared in at least four talk shows, for example, on Radio Yetu and Radio Amani, as panellists to aid in enhancing community knowledge on what constitutes violence and how to prevent it.[83] MIDRIFT held 22 interactive radio programs (6 programs in 2020, 6 in 2021 and 10 in 2022) to discuss collective action and impact in violence prevention, both political and at the community level. Radio snapshots around gang demobilization, SGBV, reporting violence, hate speech, and political violence prevention were produced, pre-recorded and aired on local radio stations to keep the momentum on citizen involvement in violence prevention. Pre-recorded radio snapshots were aired at least ten times.

The project also engaged top Social Media Influencers to post hashtags and discussion points through social media to amplify the messages. Bloggers and media personalities drawn from local media stations were trained in workshops on passing peace and violence prevention messages and countering disinformation and misinformation campaigns. The influencers also ran an online campaign on violence prevention and countering inter-relational threats to trust building and violence prevention. Some used include *#TusibleedNdioWalead*. ('We should not bleed so that they can lead') which sensitized youth not to engage in violence so that leaders could win the elections. Another one was *#ElectionsBilaNoma* ('Elections without violence'), which urged peace during the election period. *#Vijana kuinform ndio form* ('Youth, informing others is the trend') called upon the youth to educate others with factual information.[84]

MIDRIFT also partnered with the media to host the Nakuru County debate for Governor and Senator candidates. The platform, which broadcasted on TV and local radio stations, allowed the citizens to interrogate the aspirants' manifestos. Among the issues raised was the status of implementing the N*akuru County Peace Building and Conflict Management Act*, criminal gangs and youth unemployment.[85]

The initiative to bring together media practitioners and CSOs is instrumental in violence prevention as it is a building block to strengthening the partnership and collaboration between the two entities. This partnership helped increase knowledge on violence prevention in Nakuru County. As a result, there is an established conversation on what constitutes violence, its causes, and what needs to be done to prevent its occurrence. Strong emphasis must be put in place for a sustained partnership and collaboration with the media in violence prevention and mitigation beyond the elections.

The journalists engaged in the project flagged misinformation and disinformation. They countered negative narratives used by politicians while at the same time calling out those propagating hate and incitement. Further, the journalists increased coverage of women candidates in the election and challenged roles and cultural norms that disempower women. This eventually resulted in Nakuru becoming the first County in Kenya to elect 15 women to various positions during the August polls compared to 11 in the 2017 general elections.

82   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

83   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

84   Focus Group interviews from respondents in Nakuru, Njoro and Naivasha, 8-10 March 2023

85   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 10 March 2023

5.5 ROLE OF BACKBONE ORGANISATION IN TRUST AND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

MIDRIFT is the *backbone organisation* in the IUVP programme, facilitating comprehensive intersectoral violence prevention in Nakuru and Baringo Counties. In this position, it fostered the cross-sector communication, alignment, and collaboration required to achieve desired goals.

According to various respondents in Baringo, Njoro, Naivasha and Nakuru, MIDRIFT was a facilitator, engaging residents and creating awareness of their rights and duties. It also emphasised the obligations of duty bearers and educated the citizenry on governance and security issues.

Others pointed out MIDRIFT's role in facilitating dialogue between community members, government officers and security agencies on preventing all forms of violence.[86] As analysed in the previous sections, MIDRIFT co-chaired the multi-sectoral forum, an inter-sectoral approach to preventing violence ahead of the 2022 elections. As one government respondent pointed out, 'once we formed the forum, I asked MIDRIFT to assist in convening the initial meetings since I did not have resources. They came on board very quickly!'[87] It has also undertaken many initiatives and activities to improve trust and enhance collaboration between police and citizens. Key among these is facilitating Community Policing Committees (CPCs) to convene monthly meetings between police and citizens to jointly develop strategies for improving community safety and security in Nakuru town and Naivasha. As one senior security official noted:

> MIDRIFT worked closely with the top security leadership in the county and won their confidence. This made it easy for us to reach the community members since MIDRIFT was able to reach out to them through chiefs. For us then we would come in to speak on behalf of the National Police Service.[88]

Considering that the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) had cited Nakuru County as a hotspot, it required a lot of community engagement and supporting stakeholder coordination to forestall violence.

One of the significant successes and sustainability of the IUVP project lies in the investments made in initiating, joining or convening multi-actor networks on actions aimed at peace-building and violence prevention. Through its implementation, MIDRIFT has demonstrated high trust in civil society partners and equally earned their trust and confidence. The organisation has played a pivotal role in establishing trust and open communication between the state and non-state actors in an adverse environment. These skills made MIDRIFT an ideal partner for co-ordinating and chairing the multi-sectoral forums on election preparedness. The then County Commissioner for Nakuru pointed to this in an interview:

> We had worked very closely with MIDRIFT on various peace and security issues. They had supported our County Security Meetings with the public. We did peace concerts across the town with them. They also supported public meetings within Nakuru town to address issues of reforms and rehabilitation of criminal gangs. Their approach is not antagonist. They are not judgmental. For those reasons, we trusted them.[89]

This view was echoed by another government official- an Assistant County Commissioner- who pointed out that 'MIDRIFT has been able to undertake their role very soberly and understood that you need to create synergy and get understood that you mean well.'[90]

Working with the County Assembly, the County Executive, and the County Commissioner has also facilitated the development of the Nakuru County Violence Prevention Policy and the passage of the *Nakuru County Peace Building and Conflict Management Act*. The positive results from these collaborations promise to outlast the spectrum of the IUVP project.

MIDRIFT's organisational structure enabled it to play this vital role of being a *backbone organisation*. It has a well-defined structure relevant to its mission/goals and programs. The organisation is headed by a Board of Directors comprising the Executive Director as an ex-officio member and five (5) other members with broad experience in human rights in Kenya. The Board meets quarterly to deliberate on various issues touching on the organisation. Typically, the Board directs and supports the organisation's leadership and is engaged as a strategic resource. MIDRIFT has competent staff members with diverse skills and academic backgrounds. There is open communication between and among the organisation's leadership and staff through exchange of ideas and discussion on management, program and technical issues. The organisation consistently encourages and incorporates staff ideas and input into programs.[91]

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86   Focus Group interviews in Njoro, Naivasha, Baringo and Nakuru, 7-10 March 2023

87   Key informant interview with a County leader in Baringo, 8 March 2023

88   Key informant interview with police commander, Baringo County, 7 March 2023

89   Key informant interview with the former Nakuru County Commissioner, 8 March 2023

90   Key informant interview with the former Nakuru County Assistant County Commissioner, 9 March 2023

91   Focus Group interviews with Mid Rift staff members, 10 March 2023

DIGNITY has been working in partnership with MIDRIFT in Nakuru since 2014. The experience and longevity have given MIDRIFT the requisite ability to manage the context and be a reliable partner. The value of this long experiences was summarised by a Sub-County leader:

> I want to confess that when I came here almost one year ago, I found MIDRIFT here. So, I found some good partners who had already done some work here. So, when I came, it was not that hard to pick from where my predecessors had done. I never looked for them (MIDRIFT). I got a partnership call, and I found that they wanted to partner, and we partnered from there onwards.[92]

MIDRIFT has invested in real time feedback to enhance project implementation. Besides contributing to learning and improved performance, the internal and external evaluations are used for accountability to stakeholders, including government, donors, implementing partners and beneficiaries. MIDRIFT has also built staff capacity on data analysis, research, managing the organisation's social media visibility, and production of research reports on violence prevention. This has enabled the organisation to understand and constantly evaluate the context, strengthened its capability to measure its outputs and outcomes and adapt its interventions in ways to impact the ground.

Overall, MIDRIFT has played a significant role as a *backbone organisation* to realise its objective of mobilisation of diverse strategic actors who channel their comparative advantages towards preventing election violence. MIDRIFT has served as a 'middle ground', bringing together resources for collective action through strong leadership grounded in relevant experience, subject matter knowledge and willingness to work with various actors. As a result, opportunities for greater engagement and integration of their perspectives in national and county government processes have emerged in never-before-seen ways.

MIDRIFT's ability to implement its mandate depends entirely on donor funding availability. Its existence, therefore, is tied to the resources available. An implicit reliance by the networks/partners on MIDRIFT's Secretariat was also noted. There is a strong case for this to change if these networks were to grow into viable pathways to deepen the work of MIDRIFT. One way would be for the organisation to strategically take a back seat in some areas and let the network members to play more frontline roles.

Without a doubt, MIDRIFT has provided visibility and greater recognition for the networks, amplifying their efforts, roles, innovations and achievements in peace and violence prevention. It can strengthen these efforts by capacity-building them on fundraising and institutionalisation. This will create more effective local support systems.

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92   Key Informant interview with a sub-county leader in Baringo, 8 March 2023

6. LESSONS LEARNED ON CREATING COLLECTIVE IMPACT CONDITIONS

Several lessons have emerged from the conversations with various actors and a review of what has been achieved by the project. They speak about context conditions and change as well as the role of actors in shaping outcomes in violence prevention.

1   **Socio-political conditions are constantly changing, sometimes in a way that we may not anticipate.** Tracking and understanding those changes is critical to programme interventions. Some of the participants interviewed note that while ethnic stereotypes and political inclinations remain divisive elements in the region, many Kenyans had also become tired of cycles of political violence and were keen to invest in preventive measures. Moreover, the economic downturn precipitated by COVID-19 had also created a disincentive to violence as many Kenyans were concerned that 'the economy was improving, and violence would have made things worse again.'

2   **The power of leveraging the contributions of diversity and multiple actors.** While the PBLD was predicated on this understanding, the elections became an important laboratory for testing this theory. That power, influence and value of multiple actors were evident through the county as well as sub-county peace forums, as well as the various convenings with state officials such as the County Commissioner and County police leaders working side by side with local community leaders, elders and even groups of youth seen as potential troublemakers. The idea that peace and security are products of an assemblage of actors is familiar in security, peace and conflict literature. However, seeing it in practice, as in the case of the PBLD, is an important confirmation of the theory. The logic of that approach is summarized by one of the key informant's explanations that they realized that 'we are targeting the same people.'

3   **Success significantly depends on the existence of a trusted anchor organization.** Most multi-stakeholder processes fail because there is no trusted anchor organization to provide leadership and coordination or because the lead organization suffers from a trust deficit in the eyes of the key stakeholders. It is clear that MIDRIFT was chosen to co-chair the multisectoral forum by the various actors because they saw the organization as capable of steering the process but also as one that they could trust. MIDRIFT had a history of working with multiple actors through its work on violence prevention in Nakuru County and demonstrated that it could be a dependable partner. That MIDRIFT was acceptable to state actors and even invited to co-chair the process speaks to the capital that the organization has built. One government official noted that, 'the MIDRIFT Coordinator had a very good rapport with the County Commissioner. He could postpone any meeting to attend HURINET meetings. The Commissioner had found a partner that could bring together all the actors. This was a unique strength of the organization. MIDRIFT had the convening power'.[93]

4   **Identifying and targeting the right actors is critical for success.** The project carefully identified the key actors needed to promote peace and prevent election violence and those likely to be perpetrators. The engagement with elders, religious and community leaders, local administration and police officers to promote peace reflects a keen understanding of who has the power to influence community ideas and choices. That the project brought these leaders to convenings with alleged gang members, *boda boda* riders and vulnerable youths who could potentially be used to foment violence was particularly important.

5   **Engaging political actors has to be done early enough**. In its design, the project intended to reach out to political leaders since they are the ones who often precipitate election violence through their utterances. Political leaders are, however, focused on mobilizing crowds and securing votes during the election year. Their immediate interest may not always correspond with the messaging on peace and violence prevention at the community levels where this project was engaged. Moreover, in some cases, politicians are more interested in promoting wedge politics as this is what rallies their bases rather than the unifying messages of this kind of initiative. As one key informant noted, 'in future in terms of designing the programs and activities targeting such sectors, we need to start early.'[94]

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93   Key informant interviews with elections management official, 8 March 2023.

94   Focus Group interview with MIDRIFT staff members, 7 March 2023

7. REPLICABILITY AND SCALABILITY FOR THE FUTURE

THE PBLD initiative has generated important lessons on conceptualization, design and implementation that may provide lessons for scalability and replication. In terms of conceptualization, the ideas about changing mindsets, building skills and working across sectors are applicable to various situations and contexts beyond Nakuru and Baringo, where the project has been implemented.

A key consideration that should guide any replication and scalability efforts is to articulate what the concepts underpinning the project mean for the community and place where it is intended. The ideas and concepts of tolerance, social capital, sense making, and collaboration are universal in their meaning. However, these need to be reflected in local realities. Local vocabularies of what tolerance of diversities entails in a particular place, such as Njoro, must be crafted so as to speak to people's lived realities. This is important since adults and all human beings learn better when they can relate knowledge and concepts to their experiences.

A second key consideration in the design is the need to identify a key anchor organization that would play a role of a fulcrum. The choice of the anchor organization is key and will determine whether the project succeeds or fail. That organization must inspire confidence among potential partners that it will not domineer and will diplomatically navigate all the competing interests and manage the possible conflicts within partner organizations. As one government official noted:

> MIDRIFT came with the approach that they can assist. They were also able to bring other partners from civil society, and even some of those previously hostile groups were now able to understand us. By the time I left, we had brought in a legal aid organization and given them a container in our compound. Even Judge Joel Ngugi, the High Court judge in the County, came in and promoted this approach.[95]

A third consideration is the understanding of the problem through research and analysis. The MIDRIFT project benefitted immensely from the analysis of urban violence using research data. For 18 months, MIDRIFT was involved in studying the nature of violence, drivers, and actors, among others. The interventions were based on concrete evidence from research. It is, therefore, clear that replication requires thorough research beyond just a scan of the context.

A fourth consideration is the need to involve both state and non-state actors. Conflict and security interventions cannot succeed without both the state and non-state actors working together. Finding a formula where the state security actors become real partners is critical. Success is unlikely when the state is peripheral in these kinds of interventions. The state brings its power and authority to this kind of engagement. At the same time, non-state actors, particularly community groups, religious leaders and CSOs, bring to the table community trust and knowledge of the issues in a manner the state may not be well placed to. In other words, any similar project design needs to invest in building this state-non-state partnership.

A fifth consideration is the investment in an ongoing study of the project, evaluation and knowledge generation. The PBLD was based on a solid research base that paid close attention to the role and place of data and evidence. Embedding research into the project from the beginning is critical to allow for a proper understanding of the concept and adaptation of the tools. Research and evidence generation needs to be built at every stage of the project and not introduced as an afterthought.

Scientists use replication to refer to the repetition of a study as a way of testing the theory. In business terms, replication speaks to the duplication of a model to increase impact. In social change work, replication of a project approach speaks to the application of the model in other contexts with the intention of achieving a similar impact. Scalability speaks to the growth and expansion of the project or initiative relative to costs and efforts. Scaling up has been defined as 'liberate efforts to increase the impact of successfully tested health innovations so as to benefit more people and to foster policy and programme development on a lasting basis.' [96]

MIDRIFT is well placed to scale up its PBLD work and to also replicate it beyond where it currently operates. In thinking about replication and scalability, research and studies in other fields provide a good basis and guide on how to navigate this.

There are several key elements that MIDRIFT should take into account to ensure that replication and scaling-up measures are well attuned to the local realities, key actors are well chosen, and available capacities and resources are well identified. The key elements to consider are the following:

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95   Key informant interview with former County Commissioner, 8 March 2023.

96   WHO, *Nine Steps for Developing a Scaling-up Strategy*, (World Health Organization, 2010) p. 2.

Community Concerns and Issues

Here the focus is to understand the kind of conflicts and tensions that are dominant in the target community. In addition, it is critical to clearly understand the cultural, economic and even political dynamics that are likely to shape the intervention.

Individual Strengths and Stressors

This calls for a comprehensive understanding of potential beneficiaries' capacities, resources and limitations.

Community Strengths and Stressors

The focus here is on the key institutions as well as systems that have a positive or negative impact on change. Schools, religious institutions, ethnic communities, etc.

Current Events

Recent events, whether economic, environmental, political, and religious contexts, among others, are important to take into account as they shape people's views, perceptions, narratives and even preparedness to engage in violence prevention.

Trusted Individuals and Resources

The support of key individuals who are trusted by the community is critical for the success of violence prevention initiatives. These individuals could be religious leaders, community leaders, elders, teachers, administrators, etc. Such individuals bring the initiative various kinds of resources- financial, moral authority, official authority and power, community trust, etc.

Trusted organizations/institutions

Institutions and organizations that are trusted by the community are key to violence prevention. These institutions could be religious ones such as churches or mosques, could be community-based groups or NGOs, schools, or even state institutions. Identifying these institutions and the role they are likely to play is an important part of the project design.

Replication and Scalability Framework[97]

Key Elements	Good Practices and Key Considerations
Community Concerns and Issues	• What are the different groups that make up the community of interest? • What tensions and partnerships exist within the community? • What are the challenges and barriers to participation in violence prevention (e.g., economic issues, logistics, perceptions, etc.)? • What cultural concerns may impact prevention interventions (e.g., stereotypes, mistrust of law enforcement)? • What are the potential incentives for community participation on violence prevention? • What are some of the competing priorities for potential beneficiaries (e.g., employment)?
Individual Strengths and Stressors	• What are the skills and interests do most of the potential beneficiaries in the community have (e.g., sports)? • What resources/assets do the potential beneficiaries in the community have? • What resources/assets do potential beneficiaries in the community lack? • What are the main psychosocial concerns in the community?

Community Strengths and Stressors	• What are the strengths/positive influences, and challenges/negative influences of the following?
	
	   • Family
	
	   • Peer group
	
	   • School
	
	   • Workplace (if applicable)
	
	   • Neighbourhood
	
	   • Ethnic community
	
	   • Religious/spiritual affiliations
	
	   • Wider economic system
	
	   • Wider political/government system
	
	   • Wider education system

Current Events	• What are the recent events at the local, national, or international level that can be used as examples for introducing capacity building on violence prevention?
Trusted Individuals and Resources	• Who are specific trusted and influential individuals within the community that can be key partners?
Trusted organizations/ institutions	• What are the key organizations and institutions that can drive the initiative for violence prevention?

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97   Adapted from "The Global Citizen's Forum (GCF) Replication Framework" December 2019, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Office of Justice Programs at: https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/256023.pdf

8. REPLICABILITY AND SCALE-UP IN OTHER AFRICAN CONTEXTS

Elections constitute an essential element in liberal democracy. They are a viable means of ensuring the orderly process of leadership succession and change and an instrument of political authority and legitimation. In many African Countries, a wave of democratic enthusiasm has evoked a process of competitive and multiparty elections. This has provided citizens and civil society a platform to make political claims about the state. However, failure or weaknesses of the structure and process of elections, election management institutions, and violence have led to a decline in democratic gains in the continent over the years. This endangers the fragile democratic project in Africa. Hence, interventions such as those made by MIDRIFT-DIGNITY are timely and resonate with most African Countries with contexts similar to Kenya.

In Kenya, political conflict, social revolt, ethnic rivalries and opportunistic violence have been entrenched during elections. The triggers of election violence and tensions are multi-dimensional and include historical, structural, institutional, legal, and cultural factors, which have always reflected an underlying ethnic-identity problem. In the continent, several countries, as highlighted below (they are not exhaustive), have similar contexts where strategies to secure peaceful elections, such as the one employed by MIDRIFT-DIGNITY, might work. These countries, among others, have low trust among the communities, leaders and citizens; are engaged in divisive and selfish politics, ethnic divisions and violence; structural inequalities and inadequate infrastructure to respond to violence.

Ethiopia, for instance, has challenges of ethnic tensions and disputes, leading to a high distrust of the ruling elite. Its federal governance structure and power sharing between the regions and the federal government have been a matter of concern. The country is currently engulfed in an internal war that threatens its stability.[98] Ethiopia is known for regular internet shutdowns, especially during politically sensitive moments. The government, likewise, firmly controls the media and has sometimes instituted a strict media blackout during the conflict in Tigray, creating a gulf of information and fuelling numerous rumours about what was occurring.[99] Without integrity, Ethiopia's electoral process is likely to destabilise.

In Zambia, the use of youth militias, intelligence services, police, and military loyalists to intimidate rivals has been documented.[100] Opposition party members have been previously arrested on spurious charges, and the judiciary is politicised. The Civic Space is highly restricted, and independent media outlets critical of the government have been targeted for harassment by the government.[101]

In Uganda, there is a low level of trust in the Electoral Commission. It is seen as being controlled by the Executive. Opposition complaints over bias within the Electoral Commission mirror the growing politicisation of other vital institutions, such as the Judiciary and Police.[102] Media and Journalists covering the opposition have been arrested and face constant harassment from the police. While Ugandan politics is not uniquely divided by ethnicity, the sense of ethnic exclusion, however, permeates the political and social discussions.[103]

Understanding the political and electoral environment before making the interventions is important because the country's political economy influences people's perceptions of the electoral process. People's views on whether the elections are free and fair – and credible – are coloured by multiple perspectives, including the nature of political settlement or elite bargains preceding the election. Electoral violence is often the result of the failure of the political settlements. The likelihood of violence is also shaped by how authorities take adequate measures to ensure free and fair elections. Essential features to establish are the levels of preparedness of various institutions, such as the Judiciary and Electoral Commissions and the independence of the police.

Elections in various African countries are dynamic and complex. Given the legitimising authority that a credible electoral process can bring, managing elections is significant for shaping Africa's governance and security environment. Among the many lessons for democratic development in Africa that can be drawn from Kenya's 2022 elections is the importance of strengthening independent institutions (such as the judiciary and electoral commission) to mediate disputes. Citizens have more effective ways to respond to the inevitable governance shortcomings that emerge from contested polls.

98   Scott Neuman, "9 Things to Know about the Unfolding Crisis in Ethiopia's Tigray Region," https://www.npr.org/2021/03/05/973624991/9-things-to-know-about-the-unfolding-crisis-in-ethiopias-tigray-region

99   Ayantu Ayana "The Media's Crisis on Ethiopia," https://africasacountry.com/2020/08/the-medias-crisis-on-ethiopia

100   "Zambia Opposition Leader Denies Training Illegal Militia," https://www.africanews.com/2016/03/10/zambia-opposition-leader-denies-training-illegal-militia//

101   Amnesty International, "Zambia: Killings and Brutal Crackdown against Dissent Set the Tone for August Election," https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2021/06/zambia-killings-and-brutal-crackdown-against-dissent-set-the-tone-for-august-election/

102   Human Rights Watch, "Uganda: Elections Marred by Violence," https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/01/21/uganda-elections-marred-violence, January 21 2021

103   Liam Taylor and Haggai Matsiko, "How Uganda's Election Re-exposed Regional Faultlines," https://africanarguments.org/2021/03/how-ugandas-election-re-exposed-regional-faultlines/

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

1   Extend the programme beyond the current counties of Nakuru and Baringo. The approach has been tested and demonstrated that it can work to prevent and address violence. It has also demonstrated that it can be adapted to various contexts. The approach can therefore be applied in other counties in the country facing similar challenges.

2   Scale up the project in the areas where it is currently being implemented. Building on the gains and the community goodwill built for the projects, there is a great need to expand the project to other parts, given the insecurity that has afflicted many areas of the county. Whereas there have been significant investments in Nakuru County, there is still room for scaling up the project beyond the current Naivasha, Njoro and Nakuru Town sites where it has been implemented. Moreover, the project is largely in its infancy in Baringo County, and the security needs are vast. Expanding the project beyond the urban sites to deeper into the communities in these two counties will guarantee that the project gains more depth and ensures its long-term sustainability.

3   Localize the ideas and examples of the project better. The concepts that guide the project are universal, but they only make sense when they speak to local realities. The project has been successful in doing this, but there is still room for better localization. There is a need to ensure that trainers use more local examples and to also ensure that the modules and training resources are well adapted.

4   In future, its highly recommended to consider producing Information, Education and Communication materials for Political Education.

5   Increase the time taken to cover the modules to about a week. Training programmes for already busy beneficiaries always have to find a good balance with their other commitments. However, it was noted by many of those interviewed that the time allocated for training was not sufficient.

6   Continue with the community engagement initiatives beyond the elections. Building lasting peace is a long-term agenda and one that goes beyond the project cycle. There is a need to plan for projects beyond the elections period or link such projects to others that will continue the work of community sensitization and peacebuilding.

7   Include more elders and other beneficiaries who are not youthful. Whereas it is the youth who often are involved in violence, everyone in the community is involved in one way or another. The elders often provide resources to the youth involved in violence.

8   Include more women, including aspiring women leaders. Increased engagement of women should not just be about the numbers but rather a strategic recognition of their role in shaping attitudes and behaviour and in influencing others to prevent violence and promote peace.

9   Engage more parents and schools. Schools are key institutions for socialization, and many young people begin their involvement with violence and criminal activities while at school-going age. In many cases, drug use begins in schools.

ANNEXES: INTERVIEW GUIDES

I. QUESTIONS FOR COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, ASSISTANTS AND THE POLICE

Introduction and consent

Welcome! My name is [YOUR NAME], and I am doing a study of the Local Leadership for Electoral Preparedness and Election Violence Prevention programme implemented by MIDRIFT HURINET and DIGNITY. Before you decide to take part or not, it is important that you understand why this study is being done. This study will look at the impact of the programme and how it can be replicated and improved. This is why I would like to hear your opinions and experiences about various topics that relate to the programme.

Your participation in this discussion is VOLUNTARY. This means you do not have to answer anything you do not want to. You can withdraw from this session or stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable to continue.

I will RECORD this discussion to not forget the important things you say. Your answers are CONFIDENTIAL. Your name will not be mentioned anywhere. Answers can never be traced back to you.

[If an FGD] Please make sure that we are respectful of each other's opinions. We cannot share what others say here today. We also ask you to protect the privacy of these discussions.

Please let me know if you want to participate, and we will begin.

Do you have any QUESTIONS before we start?
(Answer any questions ensuring that your answers are not related to the discussion ahead)

Key informant questions

General introduction questions

1   Let's start discussing the challenges and favourable conditions to achieving peace and security in Nakuru/ Baringo County (choose as appropriate). What are the challenges to achieving peace and security during elections in this county?

2   Please describe your role in the mid rift elections violence prevention programme (Probe for specifics on nature of involvement, key motivations, their contributions; benefits to individuals)

3   How were the state and non-state actors and agencies mobilized for and involved in the programme? How specifically did they contribute to the project's aim of creating elections free, fair and peaceful? (PLDB people to be asked and co-facilitators; the program staff too; multisectoral forums-CC; DCC etc)

4   Overall, how well do you think the MIDRIFT and DIGNITY program responded to the local challenges that have prevented free, fair and peaceful elections? Why or why not?

Now let's think about the results or changes caused by the programme.

5   What is the most significant change MIDRIFT interventions made to promote peaceful elections? (Prompt: if in an FGD, everyone can have different answers) (also probe the KI)

a   Why do you think this change is significant? (Probe each participant)

b   What would have happened without the program in your community?

c   Which activities of the program were the most important or conducive to these changes?

d   Were there other external factors that also played a role? For example, other NGO or government projects or policies?

Innovation

6   I now want to understand the impact of the collaborative infrastructure 'Multisectoral Dialogue Forums for Electoral Preparedness'? What would you say was its impact? (Probe for those PBLD people in the forum)

7   In which ways can the Multisectoral Dialogue Forums be used to promote peace and security beyond the elections? Are there other ways it can be reorganized to be used for other violence prevention purposes nationally?

Recommendations

What would you recommend to be improved if such a project is rolled out once again?

Closure: Is there any additional view that you would like to share? Thank the respondent (-s)

II. KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONS TO MIDRIFT HURINET STAFF

General questions

1   What was the role of MIDRIFT in driving forward and guiding the election violence prevention initiatives? (Probe for opinions and examples of activities in the area)

2   How were the state and non-state actors and agencies mobilized and involved in the programme? How specifically did they contribute to the project's aim of creating election preparedness and free, fair and peaceful elections?

Now let's think about the results or changes caused by the programme.

3   What is the most significant change MIDRIFT interventions made to promote peaceful elections? Why do you think this change is significant? (Probe each participant)

4   What would have happened without the programme in the community?

5   Which activities of the programme were the most important or conducive to these changes?

6   Were there other external factors that also played a role? For example, other NGO or government projects or policies?

7   On the whole, how confident are you that residents of Nakuru and Baringo Counties can advance peace and security thanks to the programme in the short and longer term? Why or why not?

Innovation

8   I now want to understand the impact of the collaborative infrastructure 'Multisectoral Dialogue Forums for Electoral Preparedness'. How was it created? What would you say was its impact? (Probe contribution by MIDRIFT local influence to national and back to local level processes, based on state decisions)

a   Is the Multisectoral Dialogue Forums sustainable i.e., vital for use during other elections?

b   Are there other ways it can be reorganized to be used for other violence prevention purposes?

9   What can be learned from the activities of promoting young voter registration? What was the impact in terms of additional registering of young voters?

10 How did MIDRIFT interventions/activities contribute to promoting women's participation during the elections in Baringo/Nakuru?

11 What can be learned about barriers or opportunities for the promotion of women running for political offices?

12 How well did the Local Leadership for Electoral Preparedness and Election Violence Prevention programme adjust to the changing context?

Leadership development programmes

13 Has the programme led to any changes in terms of personal leadership skills or capacity to mobilize communities?

   a   If yes, how so? Please provide examples.

   b   If not, why not?

14 What should be included in the leader development or what can be improved?

15 Is the leader development reaching the people you think it needs to reach to advance peace and security in the community during elections?

   a   Who do you think is missing? Are there any disadvantaged groups who could not participate? Probe: What about women/girls. those with disabilities, widows, women who identify as LGBTI, domestic workers, illiterate women, or women from low-income households?

   b   What can be done to include them in future project activities?

Role and impact of the programme

16 What were the main programme results and outcomes?

17 What key factors contributed to the achievement of the programme results and outcomes?

18 What key factors hindered the achievement of programme results and outcomes? How were these challenges addressed?

19 How can the MIDRIFT-DIGNITY programme be reorganized to be used for other violence prevention purposes?

20 Can you think of any unintended outcomes – positive or negative – that the project produced?

   a   Will these be long-lasting?

   b   How can these be mitigated?

21 In terms of sustainability, which changes will last after the project ends and which ones will not? Why?

   a   What can be done to improve the sustainability of the results? (Prompt: How can we make the changes long-lasting and without a need for NGOs?)

Closure: Is there any additional view that you would like to share? Thank the respondent

III. KI AND FGD QUESTIONS FOR, ELECTORAL OFFICIALS, COUNTY OFFICIALS, KEY PLACE-BASED LEADERS, CO-FACILITATORS, POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS, WOMEN LEADERS AND YOUTH LEADERS

Introduction and consent
Welcome! My name is [YOUR NAME], and I am doing a study of the Local Leadership for Electoral Preparedness and Election Violence Prevention programme implemented by MIDRIFT HURINET and DIGNITY. Before you decide to take part or not, it is important that you understand why this study is being done. This study will look at the impact of the programme and how it can be replicated and improved. This is why I would like to hear your opinions and experiences about various topics that relate to the programme.

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General introduction questions

1   Let's start discussing the challenges and favourable conditions to achieving peace and security in Nakuru/ Baringo County (choose as appropriate). What are the challenges to achieving peace and security during elections in this county?

2   Please describe your role in the MIDRIF HURINET /election programme on peace and security /PLDLB Local Leadership for Electoral Preparedness and Election Violence Prevention program implemented by MIDRIFT and DIGNITY. (Probe for specifics on nature of involvement, key motivations, their contributions; benefits to individuals)

3   How were the state and non-state actors and agencies mobilized for and involved in the programme? How specifically did they contribute to the project's aim of creating elections free, fair and peaceful?

4   Overall, how well do you think the MIDRIFT and DIGNITY program responded to the local challenges that have prevented free, fair and peaceful elections? Why or why not?

Now let's think about the results or changes caused by the programme.

5   What is the most significant change MIDRIFT interventions made to promote peaceful elections? (Prompt: if in an FGD, everyone can have different answers) (also probe the KI)

    a   Why do you think this change is significant? (probe each participant)

    b   What would have happened without the program in your community?

    c   Which activities of the program were the most important or conducive to these changes?

    d   Were there other external factors that also played a role? For example, other NGO or government projects or policies?

6   On the whole, how confident are you that residents of this County can advance peace and security thanks to the program in the short and longer term? Why or why not?

Innovation

7   I now want to understand the impact of the collaborative infrastructure 'Multisectoral Dialogue Forums for Electoral Preparedness'? How was it created? What would you say was its impact? (Probe for those PBLD people in the forum)

8   In which ways can the Multisectoral Dialogue Forums be used to promote peace and security beyond the elections? Are there other ways it can be reorganized to be used for other violence prevention purposes nationally?

9   What can be learned from the Mid Rift activities of promoting young voter registration? What was the impact in terms of additional registering of young voters? (Probe for examples)

10   How did MIDRIFT interventions/activities contribute to promoting women's participation during the elections in Baringo/Nakuru?

11   What can be learned on barriers or opportunities for promotion of women running for political offices?

Leadership development programmes (Only ask PBLD cohorts and co-facilitators)

12 To what extent did the leader development you received from the programme prepare you for your role as a leader or provided these capacities?

    a   Which capacities did the leader development strengthen for you? (probe: anything else?)

    b   Has the program led to any changes in terms of personal leadership skills or capacity to mobilize communities? If yes, how so? Please provide examples. If not, why not?

    c   How are you using these skills and capacities now? Will you do so in the future?

13 What was the role and influence of Co-facilitators for the place-based leadership development program?

14 What should be included in the leader development or what can be improved about it?

    a   Is the program reaching the people you think it needs to reach to advance peace and security in the community during elections?

    b   Who do you think is missing? Are there any disadvantaged groups who could not participate? **Probe**: What about women/girls. those with disabilities, widows, women who identify as LGBTI, domestic workers, illiterate women, or women from low-income households?

    c   What can be done to include them in future project activities?

15 In terms of sustainability, which changes will last after the project ends and which ones will not? Why?

    a   What can be done to improve the sustainability of the results? (Prompt: How can we make the changes long-lasting and without a need for NGOs?)

Closure: Is there any additional view that you would like to share? Thank the respondent (s)

Creating Peaceful, Fair and Non-Violent Elections

Lessons Learned from Local Leadership Development in Nakuru and Baringo Counties, Kenya 2021-2022

By Mutuma Ruteere & Patrick Mutahi

Ronsbo, H. (Ed.)

DIGNITY
DANISH INSTITUTE AGAINST TORTURE