

URBAN VIOLENCE IN NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA

A research report on root causes, risk factors and
preventive strategies



Full report

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CHRIPS	Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CSO	Civil-Society Organisation
DIGNITY	Danish Institute Against Torture
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
IMLU	Independent Medico-Legal Unit
IPOA	Independent Policing Oversight Authority
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
KII	Key Informant Interview
KIPPRA	Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNHRC	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NCAJ	National Commission on Administrative Justice
NCKK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NCRC	National Crime Research Centre
NGAO	National Government Administration Office
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
SACCO	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization
SEM	The Social-Ecological Model
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based violence
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drug and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

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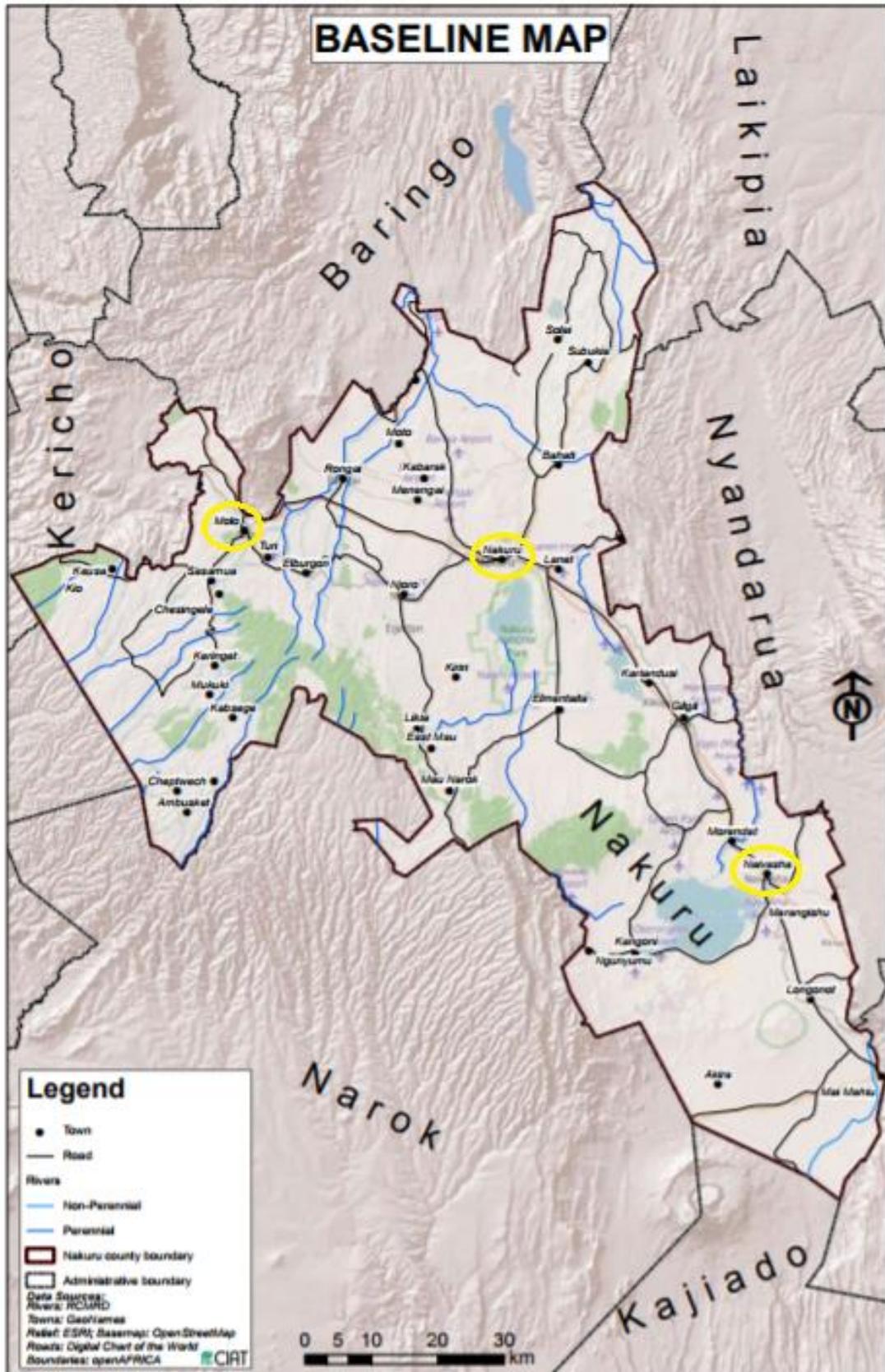
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1. Executive Summary

Rapid urbanisation has led to an increase in the prevalence of urban violence in many developing countries. This is because of the mushrooming of densely populated informal settlements in cities, which are characterised by deprivation and low quality of basic social services such as healthcare and education. The situation is aggravated by the lack of jobs for most residents of these settlements, who experience inequality, marginalisation and exclusion. Such an environment facilitates the emergence and increase in violence in urban centres.

In Kenya, about 25.6 % of the population is urbanised, most of whom live in large cities such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret and Nakuru, of which 56 % live in informal settlements. Violence in these areas has emerged as a serious security and public health challenge which the Kenyan security agencies have largely been unable to address. Violence has been shown to have significant negative consequences including erosion of social cohesion, trauma, broken families, injuries, deaths and loss of property.

The present study, commissioned by DIGNITY, is the first of its kind as it focusses on urban violence in Nakuru County. It provides new knowledge that will inform the design of a three-year multi-stakeholder urban violence program in selected areas of the county. The study was conducted in five sites across Nakuru County: Bondeni and Kaptembwo, Nakuru Town; Karagita and Kabati, Naivasha Town and Molo Town, where urban violence was previously understudied and, therefore, not well understood. The methodology adopted involved primary research using key informant interviews, focus group discussions and a household survey, with 43 % of respondents from Nakuru Town Municipality, 38 % from Naivasha and 19 % from Molo Town. Most of the respondents were women and young people, of which 69 % were below 34 years and only 10 % above 55 years old. These were complemented by secondary material.

The findings revealed that violence is a major concern for residents of Nakuru County, most of whom felt that violence was becoming more prevalent. The data collected highlights that the most prevalent forms of violence in the County mirrored the patterns of violence in Kenya. Those highlighted in Nakuru include sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), violence against children, violent crime, police violence and political and ethnic violence, which are distributed among the various neighbourhoods. Notably, SGBV and violence against children were highlighted as particularly significant challenges, by more than 70 % and 66 % of respondents, respectively, who noted that these forms of violence mainly occur at the household level. The study highlights that these forms of violence introduce unique challenges to intervention such as when the victims do not want the perpetrator punished for fear of broader repercussions. Violent crime is a significant problem, particularly in Bondeni Area in Nakuru, where 70 % of respondents identified it as most prevalent.

Given the prevalence of SGBV and violence against children, it is unsurprising that most respondents identified the bulk of victims as women, girls and children generally. Undoubtedly, there were few noted cases where men were victimised by their wives as well, especially in Naivasha. Many respondents also indicated the youth as victims of violence, especially with respect to violent crime and police violence. Unsurprisingly, many respondents also identified young people as the major perpetrators of violence, sexual assault and violent crime. This could be related to the presence of gangs perpetrating violence in the County.

On the causes, of violence, about 80 % of respondents highlighted the underlying causes as unemployment and idleness among the youth, poverty and 60 % attributed it to drugs, especially alcohol abuse. This study however adopts a formulation developed by renowned scholars Caroline Moser and Cathy McIlwane (2006) for understanding urban violence. They argue that urban violence is a complex phenomenon that should be viewed through three lenses: structure, identity and agency. As such, we argue that these underlying factors do not in themselves cause violence but rather interact with other social and individual dynamics and triggers to precipitate violence. This is also why the WHO and CDC, four-level social-ecological model (SEM) was adopted, as part of the design of the household questionnaire and in the data analyses. The SEM allows us to address the factors that put people at risk for or protect them from experiencing or perpetrating violence (risk and protective factors) and the prevention strategies that can be used at each level to address these factors.

The study notes that there are several interventions and coping mechanisms at the individual, community and state levels. We noted individual behaviour changes to limit exposure to violence, such as not walking after dark or *bodaboda* operators accompanying each other while taking customers to neighbourhoods perceived to be more insecure. At the community level, we noted efforts by civil society organisations, community-based organisations and religious institutions to address different types of urban violence through peace initiatives, awareness creation, setting up safe houses for victims of SGBV and the use of technology to alert authorities. At the State level, the respondents noted the Nyumba Kumi initiative, a form of community policing that has been applied across all areas under study, and other interventions by the County Government such as setting up of SGBV unit at hospitals.

The study however noted gaps in these interventions in their approaches and/or coverage, which presents an opportunity for additional programmatic interventions. We note, however, that the success of any intervention will depend on the extent to which it relies on community level structures that are seen as being trustworthy and effective in addressing these challenges of crime and violence. Notably, any intervention would be well advised to include religious leaders, community elders and local chiefs. About 70 % of respondents in this study found these local level institutions as both trustworthy and effective in dealing with violence.

We conclude by proposing recommendations based on the data with a focus on prevention of violence with limited attention paid to interventions after violence has occurred. Our proposed interventions are largely based on how to prevent violence by improving the awareness and understanding of the dynamics of violence and how they should be handled amongst the community and hence empowering the community to deal with violence. The view is on empowering the community to use existing mechanisms to address violence, with focus on building on the community trust in the existing institutions such as community organisations, police, chiefs, elders and religious leaders.

Here is a summary of our recommendations:

SGBV
1. Supporting the expansion of existing awareness creation and empowerment programs beyond schools to the entire community, especially women and girls to understand the dynamics of violence and how to respond in case of victimisation but also to help men and boys understand what constitutes SGBV
2. Improving the incorporating of the most trusted actors in the communities in the efforts of creating awareness and empowerment related to SGBV. In this regard, programs to prevent SGBV cases should include doctors, religious leaders and the police.
3. Support further dissemination of information on the legal procedures relating to sexual violence including the preservation of evidence to facilitate arrest and successful prosecution. The trusted institutions within the community such as religious leaders and elders should be equipped with this information as they could be first points of contact of victims or witnesses of violence.
Violence against children
1. Support programs carried out by trusted local institutions such as religious leaders that raise awareness about the rights of children and the negative effects of violence against children. Such programs should also include education on parenting skills and other methods of disciplining children. Bringing doctors to speak to parent groups about the long-term effects of violence against children could strengthen such programs.
2. Develop school-based programs to empower children to be able to report on cases of violence and abuse occurring to them or to their friends at home, in the neighbourhood or in school including how to protect themselves from victimisation
3. Provide support to existing child support centres and homes for victims of this type of violence or setting up new ones in partnership with the communities to deal with the most serious cases.

Violent crime
1. Strengthening of existing community level interventions of dealing with violent crime such as the Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing initiatives. This requires a more fine-grained analysis of why they work better in some places and not others in order to replicate best practices across the county.
2. Support the scaling of the Mulika Uhalifu program or such similar initiatives across the county to help in the reporting of violent crime.
3. Lobby the government to enhance the existing programs of dealing with proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the county.
4. Work with the existing state mechanisms such as IPOA to enhance police accountability.
5. Support the National Police Service, and other mechanisms, at the local level to enhance patrols, investigate reported cases, arrest and prosecute perpetrators.
6. Target out of school youths in peace and security programming.
7. Address the high rate of youth unemployment through provision of life skills, linkages to access of government youth funds and the 30% tender provision by government.
8. Chiefs and police should crackdown on suppliers and brewers of illicit alcohol and supply drugs.
9. Demobilize violent gangs and provide them with alternative life skills to deter re-offending.
10. Promote citizen understanding and confidence of criminal justice system to improve citizen willingness to stand-in as witnesses and pursue cases in the courts.
11. Encourage police officers, directorate of public prosecutions and the courts to work in tandem in expediting cases before them in time.
Police violence
1. Support the existing programs by local level NGOs to create awareness about the rights of citizens when dealing with the police in order to increase demand for fair treatment when engaging with the Police.
2. Work with state level institutions responsible for creating police accountability including IPOA, NCAJ, KNHRC to help the residents better understand their roles and how to seek recourse in case of abuse by police officers.
3. Support local NGOs to fight the impunity of police officers by enabling them to bring cases against rogue police officers so that they can face the consequences of their actions.

4. Support community partnerships with the police where such issues can be raised and addressed.

Political and ethnic violence

1. Supporting the existing mechanisms developed by local NGOs and Faith Based Organisations to enhance inter-ethnic cohesion.
2. Lobby government institutions such as the NCIC, National Peace Committees to have a broader and deeper presence in Nakuru County.
3. Support and encourage the County Government of Nakuru to extend the Barazas on understanding and tolerance beyond Nakuru Municipality to other areas of the County.
- 4.
5. Work with the County Government to develop inclusion policies that promote equality of opportunity for all citizens in the County, regardless of ethnic background.
6. Support national level efforts, executed at the county level to address historical injustice in the most inclusive manner. Most importantly, the resettlement of IDPs displaced by politicised political and ethnic violence in previous elections.
7. Encourage community members to report cases of incitement by political leaders and support the prosecution of such leaders in the community.

Intersectoral violence prevention

All the above-mentioned types of violence, can be addressed by focusing work and interventions towards the following:

1. Participation and Norm change on how to prevent violence perpetration from happening at all, and reducing risk factors for people becoming perpetrators, by mobilizing participation and challenging norms.
2. Trust-building between police and community, as recommended by the World Bank.
3. Leadership development for intersectoral coalition building should be strengthened.
4. Forward looking we see a need for more studies and research into data on perpetrators as opposed to victims and victim-based data.

2. Introduction

Over the last 60 years, developing countries have witnessed increasingly rapid urbanisation. By 2007, more than half of the world's population (54 %) lived in urban areas compared to 30 % world urban population in the 1950s (World Bank 2014, p.8). Trends indicate that nearly two-thirds of the world's population will live in urban areas by 2050 (World Bank 2014, p.8).

This rapid urbanisation has exerted enormous pressures on the efforts and resources of developing countries, making it difficult for them to provide decent standards of living and access to quality public services for most the urban residents. The inability of national and local governments to build adequate infrastructure and housing facilities has led to the mushrooming of unplanned, informal settlements in many cities and towns. These areas are characterised by deprivation with low quality of basic social services such as healthcare and education, which in any case, are inadequate for the large population found in these settlements. These challenges expand to other areas such as security, water and sanitation and energy. The social challenges of these neighbourhoods are aggravated by the unavailability of jobs for most of the residents of these neighbourhoods despite having higher educational attainment compared to rural populations. Most of the residents of these neighbourhoods are unemployed or make meagre incomes in self-employment. In every sense, residents of these poor neighbourhoods experience inequality, marginalisation and exclusion.

This situation is persisted around the country with about 56 % of the urbanised population live in the informal settlements in large cities and towns including Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, and Nakuru.¹ Like their counterparts elsewhere in the world, they live in overcrowded conditions, lack of basic public services such as piped water or reliable electricity supply and high unemployment levels and poverty rates.

Violence is an important development issue that requires attention.² It is now widely recognised that violence adversely affects a country's macroeconomic growth and productivity.³ Analysts have observed that violence undermines the development of nations, both in terms of economic growth and investments and in relation to sustainable development and empowerment.⁴

Beyond these challenges, or perhaps because of them, violence in urban areas has emerged as a serious security and public health challenge, which the Kenyan security agencies have largely been unable to address. This situation disproportionately affects

¹ World Bank, 2014.

² Mcllwane, 1999.

³ Moser, C. & Mcllwane, C., 2006.

⁴ Mcllwane, 1999.

the residents of informal settlements.⁵ Violence and violent crime have significant negative consequences including erosion of social cohesion, trauma, broken families, injuries and deaths and loss of property.⁶ Even though Kenyan security agencies have attempted to address these challenges, they have been largely unsuccessful largely because their strategies and activities are not targeted at the overall phenomenon of urban violence but rather on specific sub-categories of violence, particularly political violence and gender-based violence. Thus, some aspects of violence, including social and economic violence and institutional violence are neglected. Conceivably, approaching the challenge holistically, that is seeking to understand the phenomenon of urban violence rather than focusing on specific forms of violence is a starting point to address these issues.

The partnership on safety and security work between DIGNITY and the Nakuru-based Mid-Rift Human Rights Network, on intersectoral urban violence prevention, is one of the few exceptions to this approach. The two organisations have cooperated to implement activities aimed at improving policing within Nakuru Town Municipality, especially in relation to prevention of urban violence. With a view to build on this work more systematically, DIGNITY, the lead partner, commissioned a baseline study on urban violence in Nakuru County in January 2017. This study, the first of its kind to be undertaken in Nakuru, provides new knowledge and information that will inform the design of a three-year, multi-stakeholder urban violence programme in selected areas in the county. Towards this end, the study sought to illuminate the distribution and prevalence of violence, the dynamics of violence in relation to social capital issues such as socio-economics, gender, and social inclusion/exclusion, patterns of reporting and prevention of crime and violence.

The study focused on identifying the:

- Root causes, mechanisms and dynamics, general risk factors and protective factors and settings associated with urban violence.
- Vulnerable groups (at risk groups and victim categories)
- Factors that increase/decrease the probability of becoming a victim of violence.
- Factors that increase or decrease the probability of becoming a perpetrator of violence.

The study sites were Bondeni and Kaptembwo informal settlements in Nakuru Town Municipality; Kabati and Karagita informal settlements in Naivasha Sub-County. These are also the sites where the three-year programme will be implemented. Molo Town in Molo Sub-County was chosen as a control site.

⁵ In fact, national polls show that violent crime/violence is one of the greatest social problems facing citizens.

⁶ Hillier 2007

Understanding Urban Violence

Years of examination of the concept of violence, especially within the fields of criminology and geography, have demonstrated how complex the phenomenon is. Even though many theories have been advanced, none has yet to attain hegemonic status to provide researchers with a frame to explain urban violence. Nonetheless, the theories that have been advanced give us useful tools, which help us to understand some key aspects of this phenomenon. For the purposes of this analysis, we will consider extant literature on four main themes: (1) underlying causal factors, (2) the different forms of violence, (3) vulnerability and victimisation and (4) interventions for dealing with violence.

2.1. Causal Factors

It is evident that urban violence is highly concentrated in poor neighbourhoods. In urban contexts, a particularly important debate concerns the extent to which crime and violence are causally rooted in inequality and exclusion. Much of the research on crime and violence in developing contexts has demonstrated that the relationship between poverty and inequalities with urban crime/violence is complex.⁷ This is not to disregard poverty as a contributor to high levels of violence but rather to point out that there is no clear evidence of a causal relationship between the two variables thought to contribute to urban crime/violence. Stewart for instance, argues that violence, poverty and inequality are linked in a vicious cycle: inequality spawns violence, which in turn worsens poverty and increases inequality even more.⁸ While this may be so, researchers and academics still debate on the extent to which the factors are linked with urban violence.⁹ Nonetheless, inequality is a major contributor to the high levels of crime and violence in poor urban neighbourhoods. Winton argues that “...in situations of widespread and severe inequality, the urban poor are undervalued and marginalized, and their daily living conditions heighten the potential for the emergence of conflict, crime or violence.”¹⁰

Inequality takes both economic (poverty) and socio-political dimensions¹¹ with the latter being a question of social and political exclusion which is often but not always, based on identity. This nexus between exclusion, inequality and identity is useful in explaining high levels of inter-communal violence in poor-urban neighbourhoods. This is the argument made by renowned scholars of urban violence Caroline Moser and Cathy McIlwane noting that power and powerlessness are fundamental to understanding the

⁷ Lemanski, 2012.

⁸ Stewart 2008

⁹ Moser 2004; Fainzylber et al. 2002; Neumayer 2005.

¹⁰ Winton 2004

¹¹ Muggah 2012: 45

causal factors that underpin violence and challenging the stereotypical view of poverty as a determinant of violence as too simplistic.¹²

It is important to distinguish between structural causes and trigger risk factors. While underlying structural causes are generally related to unequal power relations, trigger risk factors, in contrast, relate to situational circumstances that can exacerbate the likelihood of violence occurring. This approach therefore helps to incorporate the wider political and socioeconomic power structures within which individual realities are manifest into the analysis of urban violence while also allowing for the recognition that victimisation is also influenced by elements of individual identity formation as gender, age, ethnicity and race.

Moser and McIlwane (2006) developed one of the most potent frameworks for understanding this phenomenon. Their work, builds on community perceptions of urban violence to locate the situation-specific nature of people's experience of violence within a broader structural context. They convincingly argue that no single factor explains why some individuals behave violently towards others or why some communities are more violent than others.

Noting that the causal factors underlying violence are multi-dimensional and interrelated, they map the factors underlying violence, fear and insecurity on to three interrelated concepts of **structure, identity and agency**.

Violence may be embedded in social institutions and material structures through the severe inequalities in the distribution of economic, political and social resources that are closely linked to poverty and inequality. Slums or poor urban neighbourhoods are spaces where multiple forms of deprivation accumulate.¹³ Dark lanes, isolated bus stops or public latrines are often unsafe spaces where rape, robbery and violent crime lurk. Others have noted how the life demands on the poor, requiring them to commute long distances, and to work early in the morning or late at night, exacerbate these spatial dangers. Another dimension regards socially constructed levels of tolerance to violence, and perceptions of what are acceptable and unacceptable levels or types of violent manifestations. Understanding how a society responds, or fails to respond, to different types of violence is a vital component of understanding violence and crime.

Regarding identity, Moser and McIlwane argue that how people experience violence also depends on their identity position primarily with respect to gender, age, ethnicity and race. They call for a more nuanced approach to this question of identity noting that individuals have a plurality of identities. They also highlight the need to factor in individual agency in any attempt to understand crime and violence noting that individuals as social actors react to situations and formulate objectives in different ways. They note that stereotypes, which treat groups of people as "objects" denies them individual agency and their roles as actors. They specifically note the common

¹² Moser, C & McIlwane, C.,2006.

¹³ Auyero, et al 2013

stereotypes that link poverty with high crime rates suggesting that all poor people are violent. They conclude that the combination of structure, identity and agency that can assist in understanding the underlying factors causing violence.

2.2. Forms of Violence

Moser and McIlwane (2006) propose a conceptual framework that makes a four-fold distinction between political, institutional, economic and social violence – with each category identified in terms of the motivation for the physical act that consciously or unconsciously is used to gain or maintain power. However, they themselves note that such categorization is too static to represent a dynamic and holistic phenomenon, the four-fold typology identified above is conceived as an interrelated continuum with close linkages between different types of violence. Notably though, public records on violence and crime are not represented in this format.

Violence is prevalent in Kenya. Nearly 90 % of all adults in Kenya have experienced physical violence since they turned 15 years old.¹⁴ The most prevalent form of violence, as shown by Table 1 below, are Gender-Based Violence, Sexual Violence, Violence against Children, Murder, Robbery, mob violence and extra-judicial executions by the police.

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence is quite common with women and girls, mainly, being victims of assault, rape, threats and acts of intimidation.¹⁵ It is estimated that 39 % of married women and nine % of men between the ages of 15 and 49 have experienced spousal violence or sexual violence with many of them suffering physical injuries.¹⁶ About 20 % and 12 % of women and men, respectively, reported experiencing violence in the year before the 2015 survey was undertaken. Further, it is estimated that 14 % of women and 6 % of men in the entire Kenyan population, have been victims of sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. In 2016, 22,732 cases of sexual violence were reported to the police.¹⁷ Another dimension of this type of violence is familicide in which parents, mainly men kill their spouses, children and then themselves.¹⁸

Table 1: Statistics on Violence Prevention in Kenya

Type of Violence	Reported Incidents	% Population Victimized ¹⁹	
		Female	Male
Gender-Based Violence	-	39	9
Sexual Violence	22, 732 ²⁰	14	6

¹⁴ KDHS, 2014, p. 291.

¹⁵ KDHS, 2014; C. McEvoy, 2012.

¹⁶ KDHS, 2015, p. 291.

¹⁷ KNBS, 2016, p.52.

¹⁸ In some cases, women kill their children and then themselves.

¹⁹ At least once in lifetime; or during childhood.

²⁰ KNBS, Statistical Abstract, 2016.

Violence against Children	-	32	18
Murder	2,648 ²¹	-	-
Robbery	2,865 ²²	-	-
Mob Violence	1,500 ²³	-	-
Extra judicial executions	262 ²⁴	-	-

Violence against children is another predominant form of violence in Kenya even though data on the victimisation of children is outdated. The most recent survey on violence against children was undertaken in 2010.²⁵ It showed that 32% of girls and 18% of boys in Kenya experienced physical violence during childhood with parents being the main perpetrators of violence against children.²⁶ However, teachers and fellow students within the school environment have been noted to also be key perpetrators of this violence. For instance, while corporal punishment in schools was banned in 2001, it persists in some areas with school bullying being a significant problem that has led to deaths and the maiming of children in some Kenyan schools.²⁷

Major crimes such as murders, robberies and kidnappings constitute the other key category of violence in Kenya. In 2015, the murder rate in Kenya that year stood at 5.63 murders per 100,000 people.²⁸ Media reports show that robberies in Kenya mainly take the forms of muggings, home invasions, car hijackings, and armed attacks on businesses. Robbery incidences, in which robbers attack their victims with blunt objects, knives and guns, have ended up in deaths and maiming of many more.

Table 2: Reported Cases of Murder and Robbery in Kenya (Source KNBS Statistical Abstract 2016)

Type of Violence	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Murder	2,239	2,641	2,761	2,878	2,649	2,648
Robbery	2,843	3,262	3,262	3,551	3,011	2,865

In 2015, the rate of robbery was 6.09 robberies per 100,000 people.²⁹ A 2010 UNODC survey showed that at least 3.7% and 5.1% of Kenyans reported being robbed or assaulted/threatened in 2010.³⁰ This discrepancy between the murder rates based on official records, and this survey data, seems to suggest robbery incidents are generally

²¹ KNBS, Statistical Abstract, 2016.

²² KNBS, Statistical Abstract, 2015.

²³ R. Mckee reported in media 1997-2013.

²⁴ NMG Database 2015-16.

²⁵ UNICEF, 2010.

²⁶ UNICEF, 2010, p. 2.

²⁷ O. Okoth, 2014; J. Mwangi, 2013; J. Syanda, 2007; D. Ndeti, 2007.

²⁸ This ratio is based on 2015 estimate national population, which was 47 million people (KIPPRA 2016). It is calculated by dividing the national population by 100,000, and dividing the result by the number of murders reported nationally. There are no systematic studies of the problem of murder in Kenya. There are no published studies on the extent of this form of violence and its drivers.

²⁹ NPS, 2016.

³⁰ UNODC & KIPPRA, 2010, p.4.

not reported to the police in Kenya.³¹ Kidnapping, especially of children, and car hijackings are also quite prominent, reported that there were 588 cases of carjacking in 2012 which dropped to 470 in 2014 with kidnappings increasing from 250 in 2013 to 262 in 2014. Many of these crimes are gun related; in fact, firearms were used in 12,877 violent crimes in Kenya during the period 2010-2014.³² It is estimated that there are approximately 650,000 illegal firearms in circulation in Kenya (Regional Arms Centre on Small Arms, 2015)

Organised Gangs play an integral role in urban violence in Kenya committing violent crimes, including armed robbery, muggings and kidnapping, trafficking of persons, extortion, firearms smuggling and the drug trade.³³ The National Crime Research Centre (NCRC) estimates that there were at least 46 gangs in Kenya as of 2013 comprising mainly of young men in their 20s, even though there is also evidence that children have been recruited into some of these gangs.³⁴ Gangs are known to use violence against members of the public and with other gangs.³⁵

Police abuses and violence have also been identified as a major challenge in Kenya by various observers including government watchdog institutions, local and international human rights groups.³⁶ The police have been known to misuse their power and harass citizens. The Data Department of the Nation Media Group reported that they had documented 262 extrajudicial killings by the police during in the past two years, about one incident every two to three days IMLU estimated that 308 people were summarily executed by police in various parts of the country between January 2015 and March 2017.³⁷ IMLU data shows that more than a third of Kenyans reported that they had been victims of police brutality and harassment on at least one occasion since 2011.³⁸ The poll found that 39.4% of violence against civilians by the police took place in police cells, while 41.2% took place during arrests. Disappearances of suspected terrorists is another contemporary concern for Kenyan human rights groups.³⁹ The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) estimated that about 81 people had been forcibly disappeared, and may have been killed.⁴⁰ It should be borne in mind that the police have themselves been victims of violence in the line of duty, particularly when they respond to armed robberies and terrorist attacks. In 2015, for instance, some 28 officers were killed in the line of duty, while 102 were injured and/or maimed.⁴¹

³¹ Analysts suggest that in general victims of robberies and other crimes in Kenya are reluctant to make reports to the police because they are perceived to be inept in taking the required action.

³² The Regional Centre on Small Arms, 2015, p.9.

³³ NCRC, 2013, p. 25.

³⁴ NCRC, 2013.

³⁵ D. Anderson, 2002, pp. 531-555..

³⁶ IMLU, 2014; IPOA, 2013 see also reports by KHRC; Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch etc.

³⁷ IMLU 2015; IMLU, 2016; NMG, 2017; See <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-police-idUSKCN12206E>

³⁸ IMLU, 2016.

³⁹ Amnesty International, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2015.

⁴⁰ KNCHR, 2015, pp. 6.

⁴¹ NPS, 2015, pp.8.

Politically-Instigated Political and ethnic violence is also an important type of violence, which occurs mainly during election seasons but also related to heightened political activity. It is estimated that political violence has led to about 3,500 deaths between 1997 and September 2013.⁴² Official state inquiries into the 1992 and 1997 electoral violence found that political actors, particularly senior state officials opposed to democratic change, instigated violence against certain ethnic communities that were deemed to support the opposition political parties.⁴³ The motivation of fomenting violence was to frighten the Kikuyu community, perceived opposition voters, living in the Rift Valley and Coastal regions, and prevent them from voting during the December 1991 and December 1997 elections.⁴⁴

But the worst violence to rock the country was in 2007/2008 following disputed results of the presidential election.⁴⁵ That violence resulted in the death of more than 1,333 people, nearly 600,000 people displaced, and economic losses valued at more than KES 300 billion, equivalent to 3 Billion USD.⁴⁶ Violence between supporters of both the opposition and the government sides manifested in communal riots, killings, massive internal displacements, rape and lynching around the country.⁴⁷ Gangs of young men took advantage of the situation, and effectively paralyzed the country's road network by barricading roads, harassing, robbing and assaulting motorists and travellers. The official inquiry into the 2008 post-election violence found that politicians incited their followers to engage in violence, and supported the formation/activities of gangs and vigilantes, which carried out violent acts.⁴⁸ Some aided the formation of gangs, and others planned and funded them to mete out violence against their opponents and ethnic groups not supportive of their political objectives.⁴⁹

Resource based conflicts, related to access to land, pasture, and water are also common in Kenya, even though they typically occur in rural and remote places.⁵⁰ Commonly in the northern and coastal areas of Kenya, the conflicts typically pit different pastoral communities against each other, or pastoralists against farming populations. Such violent conflicts heighten during periods of drought, when water and pasture resources are strained. Most of the perpetrators of this kind of violence tend to be young men, armed with crude arms and increasingly firearms.⁵¹ It is claimed that political actors

⁴² ACLED, 2017, pp.1.

⁴³ See the various reports on electoral related violence such as the Kiliku Report (Republic of Kenya, 1992; Akiwumi Report (Republic of Kenya, 1999)

⁴⁴ KHRC, 1998; NCCK, 1997.

⁴⁵ E. Okere, 2012; A. Nderitu, 2012; S. Sebastien et al, 2012; Republic of Kenya, 2009.

⁴⁶ Republic of Kenya, 2009.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Kamungi, 2009, pp.353; Mohammed, 2015, pp.49.

⁵⁰ CHRIPS, 2016.

⁵¹ Ibid.

exploit these conflicts to marginalize their opponents.⁵² Large numbers of livestock have been stolen during these attacks.

Kenya has also had a challenge of Terrorism since the 1990s. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Al Qaeda elements infiltrated the country, carrying out several attacks, including the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998. The problem of terrorism grew with the emergence of Al-Shabaab terror group in neighbouring Somalia, which started to carry out attacks in the northern and coastal parts of Kenya in 2011. In 2016, the National Counter-Terrorism Centre reported that approximately 900 people, including security personnel, had been killed in terrorist attacks in Kenya since the year 2000⁵³. The period 2013-2015 saw a major shift in the scale, frequency and style of the attacks. Six-seven (67) people were killed in the Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi, while 280 people died in four major attacks in 2014-2015.⁵⁴ Before 2013, terrorist attacks took the form of suicide bombings, but terrorist strategy has changed to favour shooting attacks on people.

2.3. Vulnerability and Victimization

Emanating from the above analysis, there are several factors that can be used to explain the vulnerability of certain groups of people to violence.

Most of the studies into the prevalence of violence in Kenya associate the phenomenon with high levels of poverty, unemployment, disillusionment and weak social cohesions.⁵⁵ As such, there is a multiplicity of literature showing the violence in Kenya is particularly prevalent in poor or low-income neighbourhoods in urban areas. As noted above however, the approach to this question requires more nuance.

The second is gender. As highlighted above, women are a greater risk of experiencing violence in their homes than men.⁵⁶ Similarly, girls are more likely to have experienced physical violence than boys.⁵⁷ Even so, elderly, widowed women in places like Kilifi and Kisii counties, are at higher risk of being lynched by being falsely accused of being sorcerers so that they may be dispossessed of the land and property. However, political violence disproportionately affects men. Men are by far more involved in perpetrating or countering this form of violence. Statistics of various official inquiries into past episodes of politically-instigated political and ethnic violence in Kenya show that men were the

⁵² Oucho, 2002.

⁵³ Ombati, Cyrus (2016), 900 Kenyans killed in terror attacks in past 16 years, The East African Standard. Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000194525/900-kenyans-killed-in-terror-attacks-in-past-16-years>

⁵⁴ ACLED, 2013; KNCHR 2015, pp.3.

⁵⁵ Schuberth, 2014; LeBas, 2013; KNCHR, 2014; National Crime Research Centre, 2012; UNICEF, 2011.

⁵⁶ KDHS, 2015.

⁵⁷ UNICEF 2010, p.2; Ruto 2009, p. 181.

overwhelming majority of people killed.⁵⁸ Additionally, men are much more likely to be the victims of mob violence than women in Kenya.

The third risk factor is age. Nearly 70% of Kenya's population are youth, defined in government policy as persons between the ages of 18 and 34⁵⁹. It can therefore be inferred that people of in this age bracket are more likely to experience violence in contrast to those falling below or above the bracket. Intuitively, children (defined as persons below 18 years in Kenyan law) are more likely to experience violence, the associated psychological trauma, and neglect, because of their vulnerability. However, there have been no violence victimization surveys that sampled children, and it is therefore not possible to determine the extent of the risk they face vis-à-vis adults.

The fourth risk factor is class and ethnic identity. From the review of available literature, it does not seem that socio-economic status and ethnicity are individual risk factors with respect to domestic violence, sexual violence, violence against children or murder, robbery and kidnapping in Kenya. They are, however, clear individual risk factors in political violence in the country. Poor people in urban areas are more at risk of being victims of political violence than their affluent, middle-class counterparts. Minority ethnic communities in regions with ethnically hegemonic groups are also at greater risk of being victims of political violence.

2.4. Mitigation

Kenyans assess the criminal justice system (police, courts and prison) as generally ineffective,⁶⁰ and distant, complex and expensive.⁶¹ Nonetheless, studies in poor urban neighborhoods have shown that Kenyans prefer the police to the other institutions in addressing their security concerns. In his study of policing in Githurai, Wairuri noted that this preference is informed by the proximity and accessibility of the police as well as their ability to dispense justice in a manner that meets community expectations.⁶² This notwithstanding, Kenyans still complain about police corruption.⁶³ Some complain that reporting thieves to the police therefore loses meaning, as it becomes just another opportunity for the police to collect bribes. The important take away from here is that people often report cases to the police, despite the challenges noted above, but not with the intention of the cases ending up in court. Rather, they usually expect the police to resolve the cases.

⁵⁸ Republic of Kenya, 2009; Republic of Kenya, 1998.

⁵⁹ Constitution of Kenya, 2010.

⁶⁰ Wairuri, K (2015), Popular Support for Police Violence in Nairobi, Unpublished MSc Thesis: University of Oxford

⁶¹ See Owen & Cooper-Knock, 2014

⁶² Wairuri, 2015; See also CHRIPS recent conflict assessment of 7 counties where people complained about the police but still saw the police as important. Ayiera, E (2017) studying violence in poor urban neighborhood of Nairobi reached the same conclusion.

⁶³ Akech, 2005; Ruteere & Pommerolle, 2003; Anderson, 2002.

Since the government is unable to guarantee security to every person, individuals and communities develop and employ their own mechanisms for generating security and justice outcomes.⁶⁴ These alternative mechanisms take different forms including improving security of homes (dogs, metal grills), community vigilantism either in the form of mob justice or through organized groups such *Mungiki*, *Kamjesh* and *Taliban*.⁶⁵ Many communities have developed their own mechanisms for dealing with violence. Lynching or Mob Violence, popularly known as 'mob justice' in Kenya appear to be a response to the perceived ineffectiveness in the criminal justice system⁶⁶. Mob violence typically targets criminals, especially petty thieves, and persists in both urban and rural areas. Elderly people in rural areas in parts of coastal (Kilifi) and Western Kenya (Kisii) have been victimized on spurious claims that they are sorcerers.⁶⁷ These accusations are instigated by criminals seeking to steal land and property from lonely, elderly people. Local media regularly report on incidents of mob violence. But there has been no consistent documentation of cases and trends by the police, civil society or research institutions. Robert McKee has attempted to address this gap by reviewing media reports on mob violence.⁶⁸ McKee found that some 1,500 people were reportedly lynched during a 17-year period, from 1996 to 2013.

Another key dimension is the employment of private security agencies. As Garland noted, once security ceases to be guaranteed to all citizens by a sovereign state, it tends to become a commodity, which like any other is distributed by market forces rather than according to need.⁶⁹

2.5. Clarification of Concepts

This section highlights the conceptual choices we have made to help us understand the phenomenon of urban violence in Nakuru better. This include the definition of violence, the categorisation of violence, and analysis of the vulnerability.

We recognise that the definition of violence is highly contested. While we acknowledge, the distinctions made by Moser & McIlwane for instance, between political, institutional, economic and social types of violence, we have adopted a parsimonious definition of violence.⁷⁰ For this study, we adopt the instrumental definition of violence advanced as the use of physical force, which causes injury to others to impose one's wishes.⁷¹ The only addition we make to the definition is to include the threat of violence and verbal abuse which consider significant manifestation of non-physical violence because the result is still the imposition of the perpetrator's wishes against a victim. This is very much in line with the violence definition as defined in the WHO World report on

⁶⁴ Hornberger, 2013; Owen & Cooper-Knock, 2014; Baker, 2006; See also, CHRIPS,2017.

⁶⁵ Baker, 2006; Tankebe, 2009; Anderson, 2002; Katumanga, 2005; Ruteere, 2008; Rasmussen, 2013; Kagwanja, 2003.

⁶⁶ Baker, B. Multi-Choice Policing in Africa, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 47:01, 154-155, 2009.

⁶⁷ Joseph, 2009; Miguel, 2005.

⁶⁸ Mckee, 2001: 1

⁶⁹ *Garland, 1996:463.*

⁷⁰ Moser & McIlwane, 2006.

⁷¹ Keane, J. (1996). *Reflections on Violence*. London: Verso.

violence and health (WRVH), namely: "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation." This is not to disregard the evident forms of structural violence embedded in the Kenya society, especially in the deprived neighbourhoods we are studying, but rather to make a pragmatic choice to understand the types and dynamics of violence that can be addressed through programmatic interventions.

Consequently, rather than seek to understand violence as political, institutional, social or economic as suggested by Moser and Mcllwane, we have decided to categorise violence as Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV), Violence against Children, Criminal Violence, Police Violence and Political and ethnic violence. The category of criminal violence includes major crimes such as murders, robberies and kidnappings constitute the other key category of violence in Kenya.⁷² This decision is based on several considerations. First, the data available does not lend itself to a neat mapping onto the schema proposed by Moser and Mcllwane but rather is received in this format that we are proposing. In fact, Moser and Mcllwane observe that they are not neat, clearly distinguishable categories. Secondly, our categorisation will help us develop a more nuanced view of the dynamics of violence and therefore inform the recommendations made for interventions to address specific forms of violence.⁷³ We agree with the proposal by Moser and Mcllwane to understand violence through the framework of structure, identity and agency. In our attempt to understand perpetrators and victims, we are careful to employ this framework.⁷⁴ This is particularly helpful in avoiding the common analytical traps that sometimes deny key actors agency by, for instance, suggesting that all poor people are violent. This framework also helps us to remain mindful not to allocate the same amount of agency to all actors despite evidence of differential power relations within the communities that we are studying. Finally, we also adopt the recommendation by Moser and Mcllwane to understand the dynamics of violence - and response mechanisms - as occurring at three different levels: individual, community and state. Similar to the four-level social-ecological model (SEM) which seeks to enlighten why no single factor can explain why some people or groups are at higher risk of interpersonal violence, while others are more protected from it. This framework views violence as the outcome of interaction among many factors at four levels - the individual, the relationship, the community, and the societal. The SEM allows us to address the factors that put people at risk for or protect them from experiencing or perpetrating violence (risk and protective factors) and the prevention strategies that can be used at each level to address these factors. Our study therefore makes an attempt wherever possible to distinguish the dynamics of the various types of violence at each of these levels of analysis.

⁷² Moser & Mcllwane, 2006.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Methodology

2.6. Overview

The study adopted a mixed-methods approach consisting of both quantitative survey and qualitative research. The study employed some qualitative approaches - literature review and collection of routine statistics (including NGOs reports and maps) – to refine the key questions for the study.

2.7. Study Sites

The study covered Nakuru Town Municipality (Bondeni and Kaptembwo informal settlements), Naivasha Sub-County (Kabati and Karigita informal settlements) and Molo Sub-County (Molo Town). These sites were partly selected based on the fact that they are informal settlements. It is estimated that most of the county's 1,867,461 people live in informal settlements in Nakuru Town Municipality concentrated in Bondeni-Kivumbini, Free Area, Lake View, Mwariki, Kaptembwo and Kwaronda.⁷⁵

2.8. Quantitative (Household) Survey

A key component of the study was a quantitative survey that reached individuals in 1,780 households, covering Nakuru Municipality, Naivasha Town and Molo Town, through face-to-face interviews. The survey was conducted based on a structured questionnaire (annexed) that was revised three times and then translated into English and Kiswahili. The household survey questionnaire was designed to gauge respondents' knowledge, perceptions and experiences of violence, violence distribution and prevalence, violence typology, risk factors and violence trends and dynamics. The survey was administered through a Mobile Data Collection (MDC) platform. Questionnaires (annexed) were administered to randomly selected household respondents in randomly selected areas in the five study sites. Once data was gathered from each respondent, it was immediately transmitted to a secure server for later retrieval and analysis.

Field Interviewers and Training: A team of 35 interviewers were recruited from Nakuru Town from CHRIPS database of experienced field researchers to conduct the survey. A 1:1 ratio for gender balance was ensured in the recruitment. Given the total sample size used was 1,780 households, each interviewer conducted approximately 50 interviews over a six-to-seven-day period. Therefore, the interviews allocated to each interviewer amounted to about 2.8% of the total sample, falling within the recommended maximum of 5%. To ensure uniformity and for quality control purposes, the research team, in collaboration with DIGNITY, trained enumerators on: (a) Description of survey; (b)

⁷⁵ Lowe, Lucky (2001), Nakuru - a study in urbanization, <http://livelihoodtechnology.org/home.asp?id=csNakuru> .

Roles of team leaders and interviewers; (c) Sampling intervals to be used; (d) Handling of questions from respondents; (e) the MDC platform; and (f) the Kish Grid. Each enumerator spent a whole day carrying out seven pilot surveys to gain familiarity with the questionnaire. During the ensuing debrief, their comments on the wording and flow of the questions were particularly useful, and informed the fourth and final revision of the questionnaire.

Household Identification: Like many household surveys, a household is primarily-(a) unit of people who eat from the same food pot and (b) are answerable to one household head (c) could also be living under the same roof though not necessarily. This information was verified by the interviewers asking the questions about the number of people who live under the same roof and eat together. Once at the sampling point (sub-location⁷⁶), the interviewers reported to the gatekeepers, in this case the assistant chief/chief to whom they introduced the survey. In some cases, the chief then personally or through an assigned village elder help them identify the boundaries of the sub-location. This measure was taken to ensure that the survey was conducted within the randomly selected sub-location. The interviewers then identify a landmark e.g. school, church, mosque, police post, chief's camp, shop etc. closest to the selected households. For this purpose of household based surveys, a landmark is defined as a permanent feature at a specific location that will be available for many years to come.

Once they reached the relevant sub-location, the interviewers situated themselves at the selected landmark and using the "date score", decided on the first household to be interviewed (sampled). This was done by summing up the date in case the date has two digits. For instance, on the 21st February 2017, all the interviews started at the 3rd household from the landmark, (i.e. 21st; $2+1=3$), while on the 22nd, the interviewers summed up $2+2=4$, then started the interviews at the 4th household from the landmark, and so on. Where the interview at the first sampled household was successful, four households were then skipped, and the next interview was undertaken at the 5th household. After every successful interview, this skip pattern was repeated to ensure that each sampling point was well covered until the required numbers of interviews were achieved. In the event of an unsuccessful interview, the interviewer knock on the immediate household until a successful interview was achieved. As the interviewer walked from the landmark and the sampled household, they kept left as they look for the next household. (This is called the "left hand rule".)

The respondent selection process was done after a successful household identification process. The respondents were selected by use of the Kish Grid (annexed) in which case the interviewer listed all the occupants of the household aged 18 years and above. The interviewers then used the last digit of the serial number on the questionnaire to select the respondent to be interviewed. In instances where the selected respondent was not

available at the time of call, three call backs were made in attempt to find the respondent. Where the respondent was completely unavailable, the interviewer made a substitution by moving to the subsequent household. Debriefs with team leaders, the research team learned that the data enumerators encountered few challenges in the administration of the survey. Respondents were generally cooperative, although some appeared to be uncomfortable with some of the questions that focused on issues such as marital rape. Chiefs and their assistants were also cooperative in providing the required support to interviewers.

Sampling frame: The overall sampling frame to be used was derived from the 2009 population and household census data.⁷⁷ The research team settled on using a multi-stage stratified sampling strategy. The study targeted the adult population, (18 years and above), male and female living in the selected urban areas. Refugees and non-members of the household were not interviewed. To ascertain this, the interviewer listed all those present in the household, and by asking specific questions, clarifying whether they would be considered household members or not, Kenyans or non-Kenyans. As such visitors and refugees were not be considered members of the household thus not listed in the Kish Grid.

Sample size determination and distribution: In determining the sample size of this study based on the sampling requirements, the following formula was applied.

$$n = Nz^2pq / (E^2(N-1) + z^2pq)$$

Where

N=adult population size of Nakuru Town (308,791)

z=confidence level (1.96)

E=margin of error (3.45%)

p=the proportion of a population with a particular characteristic (0.5)

q=the proportion of a population not having this characteristic (0.5)

On this basis, a total sample size of 1,780 respondents was drawn from the 2009 National Population Census data⁷⁸ that had estimated the combined population of the five study sites be 187,887 people. This sample size allowed for a low margin of error of +/-2.3%, ensuring a high degree of accuracy and credibility of the data gathered. It should be noted that the research team unsuccessfully attempted to get more recent population data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), the Nakuru County Government, and NGAO administration chiefs. All the sources indicated that they did not have any new estimates of the change in population in the study sites since 2009, and

⁷⁷ KNBS 2009 National Population Census.

therefore relied on that year's census. It is unlikely any new data will be available until the planned 2019 census is undertaken.

The sample of 1,780 respondents was distributed across the five study sites as follows:

Table 3: Distribution of Sample in the Five Study Sites

Town	Fields of study	Population	Households	Percentage in the Total Population	Sample
Nakuru Town	Bondeni	20,574	6,148	11%	195
	Kaptembwo	70,352	23,200	37%	666
Naivasha Town	Karagita	39,209	12,953	21%	371
	Kabati	25,437	9,194	14%	241
Molo Town	Molo Town	32,315	8,664	17%	306
Total		187,887	60,159	100%	1,780

The survey achieved broad demographic representation by reaching respondents across age and gender. Fifty-six percent of the total participants were female while 44% were male. Twenty-seven percent of all the respondents were between the ages of 18 and 24, 41% between 25 and 34 years old, 19% between 35 and 44 years; and 13% were 45 years and above. More than 60% had lived in their areas of residence between 1 and 10 years. Regarding their sources of income, 34% of the respondents claimed to be doing business, 27% were manual labourers and 20% were unemployed.

2.9. Qualitative Data

Review of the relevant literature, helped us to develop an overview of the pertinent issues with respect to urban violence in poor, urban neighbourhoods in Kenya.⁷⁹ The literature review, which continued throughout the study period, also helped in the development of the research instruments, which included questions for key informant interviews (KIIs) and the Focus group discussions (FGDs). The findings of the preliminary literature review (analysed below) demonstrated that the key questions for this study were appropriate and had not been adequately explored in previous studies. The review also enabled the identification of key institutions working on issues related to violence in Nakuru, from which key informants were recruited for the study.

The study also included key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Key informants were selected across different categories: men, women, youth, civil society

organisations, government institutions and individuals. We conducted a total of 55 KIIs in Nakuru, Naivasha and Molo. The interviews were semi-structured in nature with the main questions based on key themes emerging from the literature review and informed by the objectives of the study. The interviewees were selected through purposive sampling techniques from the key groups including civil society organizations, community-based organizations, religious organizations, community opinion leaders, local politicians, officials of the Nakuru County Government and the National Government Administration Office, health workers, senior National Police Service officers and private sector actors. Key informant interviews took between 1 and 2 hours. In some cases, informants provided supporting documentary and statistical data/evidence, which has been used in this report. The full list of the interviewees is annexed.

Additional qualitative data was gathered through 13 focus group discussions (FGDs) held in all the study sites. They were particularly useful in gaining local residents perspectives on key questions of urban violence, identifying how they feel about the causes and consequences of urban violence, as well as gaining ideas on potential solutions to these problems. The FGDs brought together between six (6) and eight (8) participants from the various groups including local opinion leaders, women, youth and men/elders. The discussions were moderated by a member of the research team, and focused on the key themes and questions identified in the initial literature review. As with the key informant interviews, responses from FGDs were incorporated into Google Forms-based questionnaires.

Additionally, the study included a quantitative household survey, which relied on a structured questionnaire designed to gauge respondents' knowledge, perceptions and experiences of violence, violence distribution and prevalence, violence typology, risk factors and violence trends and dynamics.

Research Ethics Considerations

The study was guided by the principle of informed consent: All participants in the study, including survey respondents, key informants and FGD participants, were clearly informed about the risks and benefits of their participation in the study. The study was guided by the principle of informed consent. Each participant was informed that their participation in the study would be kept confidential, and that information provided would not be directly attributed to them. They were also informed that they had a right to decline to participate, and their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Quality Assurance and Review Mechanisms:

Several complementary approaches were applied to ensure data quality during the qualitative and quantitative phases of the baseline study. Refresher training and

induction of enumerators for the quantitative survey was conducted on February 7, 2017 in Nakuru Town. All enumerators signed on to CHRIPS' research principles and ethics code document. As part of quality control, 5 % of all interviews for the survey were accompanied by team leaders in the field. The measure was taken to ensure that interviewers followed the instructions and procedures in the sample specifications in the questionnaires and conducted the interviews per the specified standards.

Regarding quality control for the collection and analysis of qualitative data, all data gathered through qualitative research—key informant interviews and FGDs—was corroborated by cross-referencing it with different sources.

2.10. Limitations and Mitigation Measures:

Violence is complex and sensitive issue in Kenya, as it is anywhere else. Therefore, there is always a likelihood of getting inaccurate or unreliable information from key informants, FGD participants and quantitative survey respondents. While this limitation is not one that can be completely overcome, the study attempted to do so by using a good sample size (for both the key informant interviews and the quantitative survey), as well as multiple data collection methods to increase the odds of getting accurate information. To enhance the accuracy of information, all data gathered through- key informant interviews, FGDs and quantitative survey- has been triangulated to generate the report's findings and analysis.

Being aware of the security sensitivities surrounding the subject of violence generally, the research team accommodated the concerns of key informants about confidentiality to ensure that their participation in the study does not expose them to any security threats.

Another key challenge faced in the field was lack of access to certain key informants, in particularly Members of County Assembly and County Government officials. This challenge was partly addressed by finding alternative respondents who are knowledgeable on the issues in question.

The field research phase was conducted in three phases. The first phase, which took place between 6th and 10th February 2017, involved the pre-testing of all the data collection tools in Nakuru Town through mock interviews and FGDs.⁸⁰ Pre-testing enabled the research team to identify gaps and problems in the tools, and provided the basis for refining them accordingly. The second Phase took place between 20th February and 1st March 2017 and involved the collection of data including key informant interviews, FGDs and the quantitative survey in the five study sites. The third phase, which took place between 10th and 12th April 2017 included additional key informant

interviews with senior leaders of the National Police Service in all the five study sites, and two additional FGDs in Nakuru Town (Bondeni and Kaptembwo).

2.11. Study Population Characteristics

In total 1,780 household interviews were performed. 19% of the population was from Molo Town, 15% from Naivasha Kabati, 23% from Naivasha Karagati, 12% from Nakuru Bondeni Village and 31% from Nakuru Kaptembo. 55% of the population consisted of women and most of the study participants were younger. 27% were 18-24 years and 42% were 25-34 years, 18% were 35-44 years old, 10% were 45-54 years and the oldest 55 years and above only consisted of 4%. Almost a quarter of the participants had 5 or more members in their household (22.8%). 38.5% had a household consisting of 3-4 members and almost the same number of participants had a household consistent of only 1-2 people (38.7%). These detailed table showing the characteristics of the participants is included in Appendix 1.

The number of participants with no formal education was very small, standing at 1.6%, 8.9% had started a primary education and more had completed primary education (21.5%). The most participants had finished a secondary education corresponding to 40%, whereas some had begun, but not finished (13.9%). 15% had a higher education than secondary.

Over half of the population were married (56.5%) and 35% were single, probably due to the high number of young people in the study population. 3.8% were divorced/separated and 3.6% were widowed.

Most people were involved with business (35%), some involved with manually skilled and unskilled work and more than 1/3 were unemployed. Other practices like clerical, domestic service, professional and others consisted of the rest from 3-5% in each category. Most participants had an income Kshs 5,000-10,000 per month (37%). 16% had an income between Kshs 1-5,000, 26% between Kshs 10-20,000 and 8% had a monthly income of Kshs 20,000-40,000 per month. 1% of the population had an income higher than Kshs 40,000 and 11% refused to answer. A report published by the World Bank in 2016, details the decline of those living in global poverty, which is reclassified as living on \$1.90 or less a day (corresponding to less than 196 Kshs per day), to a forecast 9.6% of the world's population in 2015 - a projected 200 million fewer people living in extreme poverty than in 2012.⁸¹ This means that at least 16% of the study population live in poverty along with a proportion of the Kenyans that in the next category (5,000-10,000) earn less than 6,000 Kshs per month. Furthermore, there is a chance that the reason for not responding to the question is due to a low household income. 200 participants corresponding to 11% of the study population chose not to answer this

⁸¹ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/global-monitoring-report>.

question. The sensitivity of this category has been identified in other studies as well.⁸² In addition to the income estimates, it was seen that almost the whole study population used communal toilet facilities corresponding to 94.4%.

Almost all participants were Christian (95%). Half of the respondents belonged to Kikuyu (47%). 13-14% of the study population were either Kisii, Luo or Luhya and 7% were Kalenjin. 2% were Kamba and 1% were Maasai or Meru. Also, 1% refused to answer. The rest belonged to ethnic groups: Turkana, Swahili, Somali, Samburu, Mijikenda, Meru, Maasai, Borana and Embu and were placed in the “Others” category.

In the below analysis, age was categorized into four categories 18-24, 25-34, 35-44 and 45+. The 45+ group had less than the other categories, which was why it made sense to combine 44-55 and 55+ to into one category.

Key Findings and Analysis

2.12. Overview

The following section presents an analysis of the research data collected from participants in the study sites. It highlights the types of violence experienced in the areas, their distribution and prevalence and different response mechanisms at the individual, community and State levels.

2.13. Background of Nakuru County and the five study sites

Nakuru County is in Kenya’s south Rift Valley area, and is the former headquarters of the Rift Valley Province. It shares borders with several counties: Kericho and Bomet (west), Baringo and Laikipia counties (north), Kajiado and Kiambu (south), Nyandura (east), and Narok (south west). The county has eleven administrative sub-counties: Naivasha, Gilgil, Nakuru, Rongai, Nakuru Town West, Nakuru Town East, Subukia, Njoro, Molo, Kuresoi South and Kuresoi North. The Nakuru County Government estimates that the county had a population of 1,867,461 in year 2014.⁸³ Of the total population, 937,131 were male, while there were 930,330 females. A large proportion of the county’s population live in informal settlements in Nakuru and Naivasha Municipalities. This population is concentrated in Bondeni-Kivumbini, Free Area, Lake View, Mwariki, Kaptembwo, Kwaronda, Karagita-Mirera, Kihoto and Kabati in the two municipalities of the municipality.

Nakuru County’s economy is mainly based on small-scale agriculture, dominated by dairy farming and grain production. Retail, tourism and light manufacturing also contribute significantly to the local economy. Most people are self-employed or work in

⁸² The high non-response rate of the income question in surveys has been the subject of many other studies. See for instance Riphahn, R.T., & Serfling, O., (2002), Item Non-Response on Income and Wealth Questions, IZA Discussion Paper No. 573; Yan, T., Curtin, R., Jans, M. (2010), Trends in Income Nonresponse Over Two Decades, Journal of Official Statistics, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 145-164.

⁸³ CIDP, 2014.

the so-called informal sector, and poverty levels remain high at 45 %.⁸⁴ The Nakuru County Government recognizes these challenges and has developed the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP)2014, and the County Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) 2014-2016 to partially address them.⁸⁵ One of the county’s key policy priorities is the reduction of high levels of recurrent expenditure (51% of the county’s budget pays wages of government officials) so as to free up funds for development. Another key priority is the improvement of access to better quality healthcare services and social protection for more people, with a focus on controlling communicable diseases and reducing child mortality.

Bondeni and Kaptembwo (Nakuru Town Municipality), Karagita and Kabati (Naivasha Sub-County) and Molo Town are classified as informal settlements, and share many characteristics. While all the five areas are considered cosmopolitan, the dominant ethnic groups are the Kikuyu and Kalenjin. However, there are sizable populations of Luhya, Luo and Kisii people. The youth are the majority in these areas, mirroring the national situation. Data from the household survey for this study shows that these areas have a large transient population, with most people having lived in them for between 1 and 10 years only. Most residents earn their living work in the low-income informal sector.

All the study sites areas suffer from high levels of poverty and unemployment, particularly among young people. The limited land available in these areas cannot properly sustain their large populations. The result is overcrowding compounded by poor housing conditions, lack of adequate physical infrastructure, in particular drainage systems, water and sanitation systems, access roads, adequate street lighting, and reliable electricity supply. Most residents live in shacks and one-room homes with their families, and few own land in any of the five sites. Insecurity persists in the five sites owing to a combination of weak police presence, frustration among young, unemployed people, and low levels of social community cohesion.

Table 4: Key Indicators in Five Study Sites

Study Site	Bondeni	Kaptembwo	Karagita	Kabati	Molo Town
Location	Nakuru Town Municipality		Naivasha County	Sub- County	Molo Sub- County
Size (sq km)	-	5.1	-	-	-
Population (2009 census data)	20,574	70,352	39,209	25,437	32,315
No. Households (2009 census)	6,148	23,2000	12,953	9,194	8,664

⁸⁴ KIPPRA, 2016: 177.

⁸⁵ The Nakuru County Integrated Development Plan is aligned to priorities of various national and international development frameworks, including Kenya Vision 2030 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

% aged 18-34/youth (survey data)	72%	71%	67%	64%	65%
% of population with secondary school qualifications	37%	38%	43%	35%	34%
% of population with tertiary/ higher education-level qualifications	19%	21%	15%	14%	11%

Urban violence in the five study sites, Bondeni and Kaptembwo (Nakuru Town); Karagita and Kabati (Naivasha Town) and Molo Town—is generally understudied. Of the 26 studies reviewed for this study, only one has a specific focus on one of these sites—Kaptembwo in Nakuru Town. Judy Ngina (2016) uses data collected from the informal settlement to examine the relationship between gender violence and its relationship to inaccessibility of water. She concludes that a significant proportion of women in Kaptembwo face the risk of sexual and gender-based violence when they go out of their homes to fetch water for their families. However, the study does not have a focus on SGBV in other settings e.g. in homes. A second refereed study by Karanja Njoroge et al about street children in Nakuru Town asserts that they are at risk of violence, but is thin on data touching on the exposure of these children to violence or their role in committing violence.⁸⁶ The other studies (which happen to be masters level theses) broadly examine violence in Nakuru Municipality (Town), but make no mention of Bondeni or Kaptembwo.⁸⁷ Overall, it does not appear that there are any studies on violence in Bondeni (Nakuru), Karigita and Kabati in Naivasha Town, or Molo Town. While several studies have been conducted on the problem of politically-instigated political and ethnic violence in Molo Sub-County, they focus mainly on the violence that took place in the rural parts of the county, and not Molo Town.

Studies show that in Nakuru County, the typical settings for violence in Nakuru County are informal settlements in urban areas, including Nakuru Town Municipality.⁸⁸ Living standards and the quality of life in Nakuru’s informal settlements are low, mainly because of poor spatial planning of urban areas, particularly of low-income areas and informal settlements. As a result, health, hygiene, safety, the quality of the environment and security have been adversely affected. The first Nakuru County Government recognized the gaps in the availability of spatial data, and its impact on planning, and started a digital topographic mapping exercise in 2015 to gather the data required for

⁸⁶ Njoroge et al., 2013.

⁸⁷ See J. Nyaga, 2014; R. Abduba, 2010; W. Maina, 2010.

⁸⁸ See E. Majanga 2015; C. Tanui 2015; F. Vosevwa 2014; UNICEF & Save the Children 2012; P. Muiro 2012, p.135; G. Lubaale 2012, p. 38; E. Okere 2012, p.22; A. Mugalavai 2012; R. Abduba 2010, p.42; M. Ndung’u 2009; B. Lang et al. 2008; M. Ndung’u 2009, p.77; B. Lang et al. 2008, p.8.

spatial planning that will be implemented through to 2024.⁸⁹ The spatial plan commits to the building of new physical infrastructure. It also prioritizes the need for clear planning of residential, business, industrial, and recreational areas. While the planning processes has been completed, but the spatial plan is yet to be publicly released.

The patterns of violence identified above in the analysis on violence in Kenya can also be discerned at the local level in Nakuru County. For instance, the victimisation of women through Gender-Based Violence prevails in Nakuru.⁹⁰ Similarly, several studies have shown that children in Nakuru, especially street children are particularly vulnerable to violence meted out by municipal inspectorate officers, the police and members of the public.⁹¹ Many street children in Nakuru Town Municipality come from poor and/or dysfunctional families, and have run away from home to have more independence.⁹² Further, Nakuru is known to host several gangs including Mungiki, Backyard, Gengejuu, Lumumba, Makaveli, Mtaro Base, Wajanja, Wazelendo and Westside.⁹³

Patterns of the nature of violence in Nakuru County are also like the national trends. For instance, it is evident that firearms are used in crime in Nakuru County with evidence that residents of middle-class suburbs, such as Kiamunyi, Milimani, Nakka and Section 58, have been the victims of car hijackings, robberies, assaults and rapes in which firearms were used (R. Abduba 2010, p. 3). Similarly, Nakuru County has also borne the risk of police excesses and extra-judicial executions. For instance, 14 of the 308-summary execution by the police between January 2015 and March 2017 occurred in Nakuru County.⁹⁴ Nakuru County has also borne a disproportionate level of the politically-instigated political and ethnic violence since the return to multi-party democracy in the early 1990. Nakuru County, then Nakuru District, was one of the places within the Rift Valley where the Kikuyu community was attacked for being supporters of the “opposition”.⁹⁵ In Kenya’s 2008 post-election violence, Nakuru County was once again a centre of conflict partly due to its cosmopolitan nature particularly in Nakuru, Naivasha and Molo towns. The official inquiry into the violence found that some 263 deaths occurred in what is now Nakuru County during the crisis.⁹⁶ Additionally, Nakuru County, especially Naivasha and Molo, have experienced internecine violence over access to and use of land in the past two decades.⁹⁷ In Molo settlement schemes, corruption in the allocation of title deeds has been a key source of land-related violence.

⁸⁹ Nakuru CIDP, 2014.

⁹⁰ See E. Onsumu et al., 2015; WHO, 2014; W. Maina et al., 2013.

⁹¹ Karanja et al., 2013; UNICEF, 2012, pp. viii.

⁹² Karanja et. Al., 2013, pp. 219.

⁹³ Mkutu et. al., 2015.

⁹⁴ IMLU 2017; IMLU 2016; IMLU 2015.

⁹⁵ KHRC, 1998; NCKK, 1997.

⁹⁶ Republic of Kenya, 2009: 308.

⁹⁷ Lang & Sakdapolrak, 2014; Boone, 2011; Kenya Land Alliance, 2009; Republic of Kenya, 1998; KHRC, 1998.

2.14. Experience with violence and perpetrators

In table 5, when investigating the answer to perpetrators, the data file was split according to who had experienced violence (EV1). Only data on persons who had experiences violence was inserted.

As table 5 below illustrates, the prevalence of violence within the last six months is 2% higher in Naivasha(20.1) than in Molo(18.6) and 2% higher in Nakuru(22.5) than in Naivasha. The perpetrators are more often organized groups and gangs (29.6 %), thieves (24.3 %) and youths (23.2 %). However, current spouses (10.9 %) and police (8.4 %) also make up a relevant part of the perpetrators. Former spouses, other family members, local administration and others accorded for less than 5% of the violence experienced by respondents .

	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
Sample	596 (33.5)	595 (33.4)	589 (33.1)	1780
Experience of violence				
Yes	174 (22.5)	135 (20.1)	62 (18.6)	371 (20.9)
No	599 (77.5)	537 (69.5)	272 (81.4)	1408 (79.1)
Perpetrators				
Current spouse	24 (14.1)	7 (5.5)	8 (13.1)	39 (10.9)
Former spouse	8 (4.6)	5 (3.7)	2 (3.2)	15 (4.0)
Other family member	1 (0.6)	1 (0.7)	2 (3.2)	4 (1.1)
Neighbor	29 (16.7)	12 (8.9)	16 (25.8)	57 (15.4)
Organized groups/gangs	46 (26.4)	47 (34.8)	17 (27.4)	110 (29.6)
Thief	42 (24.1)	27 (20.0)	21 (33.9)	90 (24.3)
Police	13 (7.5)	14 (10.4)	4 (6.5)	31 (8.4)
Local administration	2 (1.1)	3 (2.2)	3 (4.8)	8 (2.2)
Youths	43 (24.7)	35 (25.9)	8 (12.9)	86 (23.2)
Others	2 (1.1)	2 (1.5)	1 (1.6)	5 (1.3)

Table 5: Selected Outcomes stratified by Town.

2.15. Factors that increase the probability of becoming a victim of violence

The tables below show the Odds Ratio (OR) for Nakuru, Naivasha and Molo town, and the confidence interval at 95 % as well as p-values. This allows for analysing what factors increase or decreases the probability of becoming a victim of violence

In Nakuru, women may have a higher risk of being exposed to violence, whereas in Naivasha men have an increased risk of being exposed to violence than women. Both in Nakuru and Naivasha, individuals in 25-34 and 34-44 age brackets, have a lower risk of being victims of violence than the younger age group 18-24. However, none of these associations were statistically significant. In both towns, the older group (44+) where at a greater risk than the youngest group (18-24), however this changed after additional control for marital status, education and occupation. This tendency also changed for the age group of 25-34, going from 4% lower risk to 3% higher risk after controlling for

covariates. In Molo, all the age groups tended to be more at risk of violence than the youngest age group between 18-24 years. The covariates therefore accorded for some of the association between age group and violence exposure. The descriptions are a depiction of the risks if they had been statistically significant.

In Nakuru and Naivasha, it appears that unmarried/single individuals are at a higher risk of being exposed to violence. In Naivasha and Molo the divorced were more exposed than married respondents, however this tendency was reversed in Nakuru. The widowed were more exposed in Naivasha compared to the married. This tendency was also the other way around in Molo, whereas in Nakuru there was only a slight raised risk for the widowed. Having a higher education level corresponding to secondary or above was related to a 10% decrease in risk in both Nakuru and Naivasha compared to respondents with an education level under secondary. In Molo, there was not a distinguished difference between the groups.

Table 2A: Nakuru Town		
	OR [CI 95%]	P-value
Gender		
Male	1	1
Female	1.15 [0.82-1.61]	0.44
Age		
18-24	1	1
25-34	0.96 [0.64-1.43]	0.82
34-44	0.71 [0.41-1.23]	0.22
44+	1.35 [0.78-2.33]	0.28

Table 2B: Naivasha Town		
	OR [CI 95%]	P-value
Gender		
Male	1	1
Female	0.78 [0.53-1.15]	0.21
Age		
18-24	1	1
25-34	0.77 [0.48-1.23]	0.27
34-44	0.45 [0.24-0.85]	0.01*
44+	1.08 [0.61-1.94]	0.79

Table 2A*: Nakuru Town		
	OR [CI 95%]	P-value
Gender		
Male	1	1
Female	1.24 [0.87-1.77]	0.23
Age		
18-24	1	1
25-34	1.03 [0.64-1.66]	0.90
34-44	0.78 [0.41-1.49]	0.46
44+	0.86 [0.28-2.63]	0.78
Marital status		
Married	1	1
Divorced	0.82 [0.31-2.14]	0.68
Widowed	1.05 [0.40-2.75]	0.92
Single	1.37 [0.90-2.06]	0.14
Education		
Under secondary	1	1
Secondary and above	0.90 [0.59-1.37]	0.62
Occupation		
Unemployed	1	1
Employed	1.2 [0.76-1.88]	0.44

Table 2B*: Naivasha Town		
	OR [CI 95%]	P-value
Gender		
Male	1	1
Female	0.76 [0.50-1.15]	0.19
Age		
18-24	1	1
25-34	0.90 [0.53-1.53]	0.70
34-44	0.55 [0.26-1.16]	0.12
44+	0.60 [0.16-2.15]	0.43
Marital status		
Married	1	1
Divorced	1.80 [0.79-4.13]	0.16
Widowed	2.82 [0.89-8.93]	0.08
Single	1.49 [0.92-2.34]	0.11
Education		
Under secondary	1	1
Secondary and above	0.90 [0.56-1.44]	0.65
Occupation		
Unemployed	1	1
Employed	0.83 [0.43-1.41]	0.48

Table 2C:		
Molo Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value
Gender		
Male	1	1
Female	0.83 [0.47-1.48]	0.53
Age		
18-24	1	1
25-34	2.08 [0.997-4.34]	0.05*
34-44	1.43 [0.60-3.42]	0.42
44+	1.59 [0.62-4.11]	0.34

Table 2C*:		
Molo Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value
Gender		
Male	1	1
Female	0.83 [0.47-1.50]	0.54
Age		
18-24	1	1
25-34	1.86 [0.84-4.12]	0.13
34-44	1.19 [0.45-4.12]	0.73
44+	1.64 [0.40-6.74]	0.49
Marital status		
Married	1	1
Divorced	1.66 [0.54-5.11]	0.38
Widowed	0.49 [0.10-2.43]	0.38
Single	0.49 [0.92-2.34]	0.77
Education		
Under secondary	1	1
Secondary and above	1.02 [0.58-1.81]	0.93
Occupation		
Unemployed	1	1
Employed	1.15 [0.52-2.57]	0.73

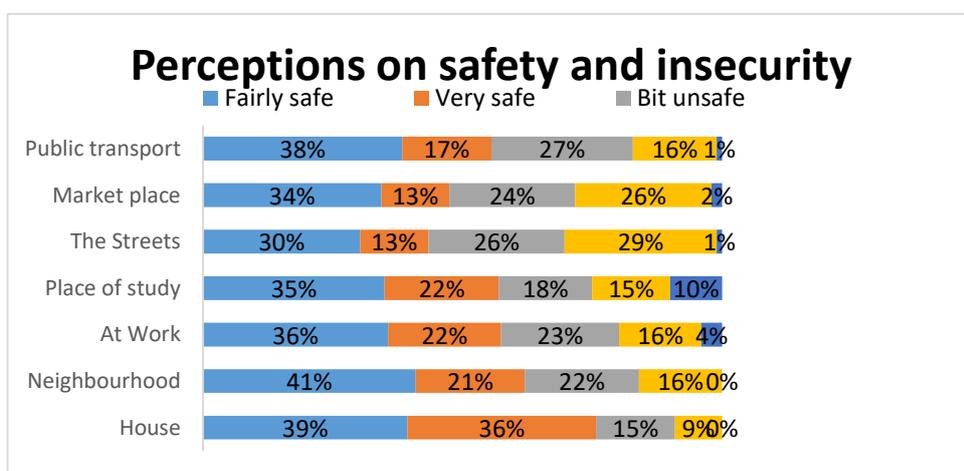
Table 6: Probability of becoming a victim of violence

Being employed seemed to be associated with a higher risk (15-20 %) of violence exposure compared to unemployed respondents in Nakuru and Molo. In Naivasha on the other hand, employment was a protective factor of violence, as employed had a 17 % lower violence exposure risk compared to their unemployed counterparts.

2.16. Safety and prevalence of violence in Nakuru

When asked about their perception of violence, most people revealed that they feel generally safe in their homes and about 78 % of household members had not experienced violence during the last six months. This is consistent with the response that the majority had never considered moving to another neighbourhood due to violence or safety reasons. The gender comparison further revealed that women generally felt safer than men. The detailed responses of participants regarding perceptions on safety are shown in Fig. 1.

Figure 1: Perceptions on safety and insecurity



At least a third of respondents indicated that they felt safe at various places, including public transport, markets, open streets, educational institutions, work places and their own neighbourhoods and homes. People felt most safe in their own homes and most unsafe in the open streets. This intuitively makes sense because it people are likely to feel safest in their own homes, where they are most familiar with conditions. It also intuitively makes that people would not feel very safe in the open streets in the night as it is reasonable to expect that criminal activities are likely to be undertaken at night as darkness offers cover to criminals.

Victims of violence:

Most people thought that the bulk of victims are youth and women though there is a perception that girls are disproportionately targeted; and men are more victimised in Nakuru Municipality’s Kaptembwo neighbourhood; which could be attributed to the high number of gangs perpetrating violence in this area, as was revealed through interviews and focus group discussions. The major gang operating in Kaptembwo is Gaza, which engages in violent crime, robbery, extortion and political violence. There are

also turf wars between Gaza and other gangs including Confirm, which mainly operates in Bondeni.⁹⁸

Perpetrators of violence

Gangs and neighbours were identified as major perpetrators of violence by 23 % and 14 % of respondents respectively. Among the demographic groups, young people are also major perpetrators, according to 24 % of survey respondents.

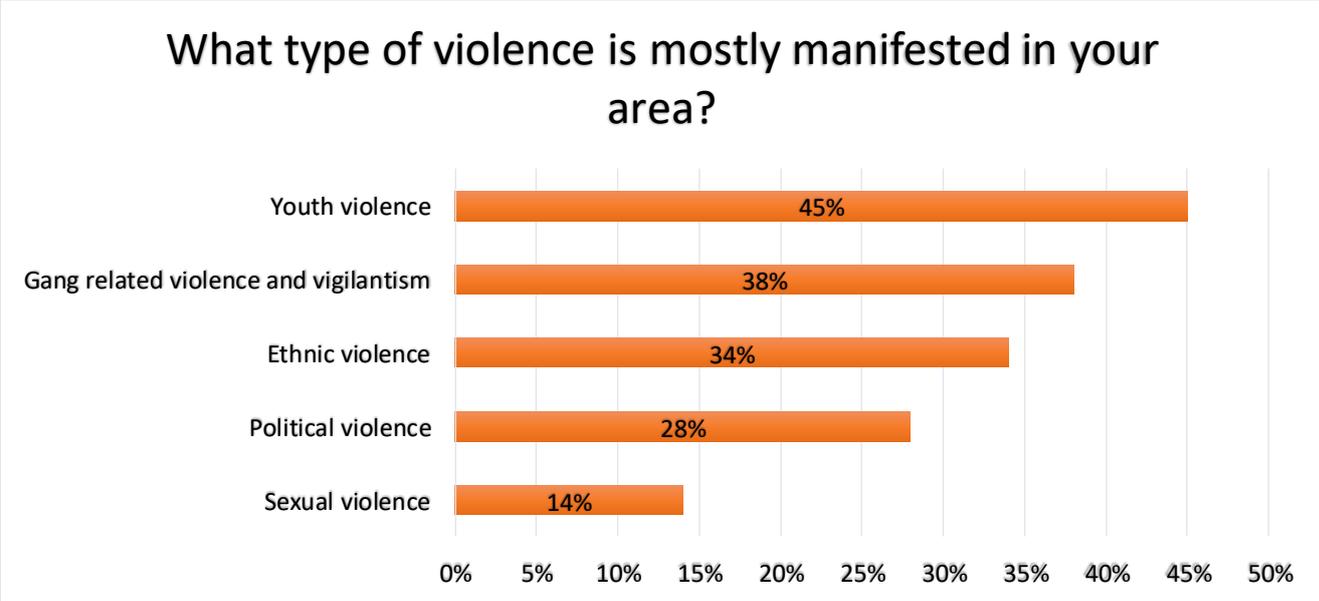
Causes of violence

When people were asked to identify the most important causes of violence, they noted several causes, the most important of which was unemployment (81 %), poverty (75 %) and alcohol and drugs (65 %). The main causes of violence within families include alcohol and substance abuse (73 %), marital discord (62 %), poor parenting practices (61 %) and low socio-economic household status (59 %). These views are similar to the responses from the qualitative research where respondents highlighted the importance of unemployment and idleness, especially amongst the youth, as a key driver of violence in the area. For some of the respondents, especially from Naivasha Sub-County also noted that even those who are working, especially in the flower farms, do not earn enough money to meet their needs and may therefore resort to crime. Many of those who participated in this study also noted the issue of alcohol and drug abuse as a trigger for domestic violence. A trader from Naivasha noted this as a big concern indicating that he sells more alcohol than foodstuff in a day. Some respondents also noted infidelity between spouses, which causes tensions in the family. Other respondents highlighted the issue of poverty as driver of violence in these neighbourhoods. Some respondents for instance observed that the lack of money within the families contribute to disagreement between couples in marriages.

Nonetheless, it is important to remember that many of these issues that are being highlighted as major causes of violence explain only one part of the drivers of violence in poor urban neighbourhoods. That is, the respondents focus largely on the structural factors that underlie violence such as material deprivation and unemployment as seen in figure 3. A few of the triggers such as drug and alcohol abuse are also noted but there is little regard to the agency of the individuals perpetrating the violence and those being victimised. It is therefore important to emphasize that this analysis should be viewed in context alongside other dynamics of violence highlighted in the sections that follow.

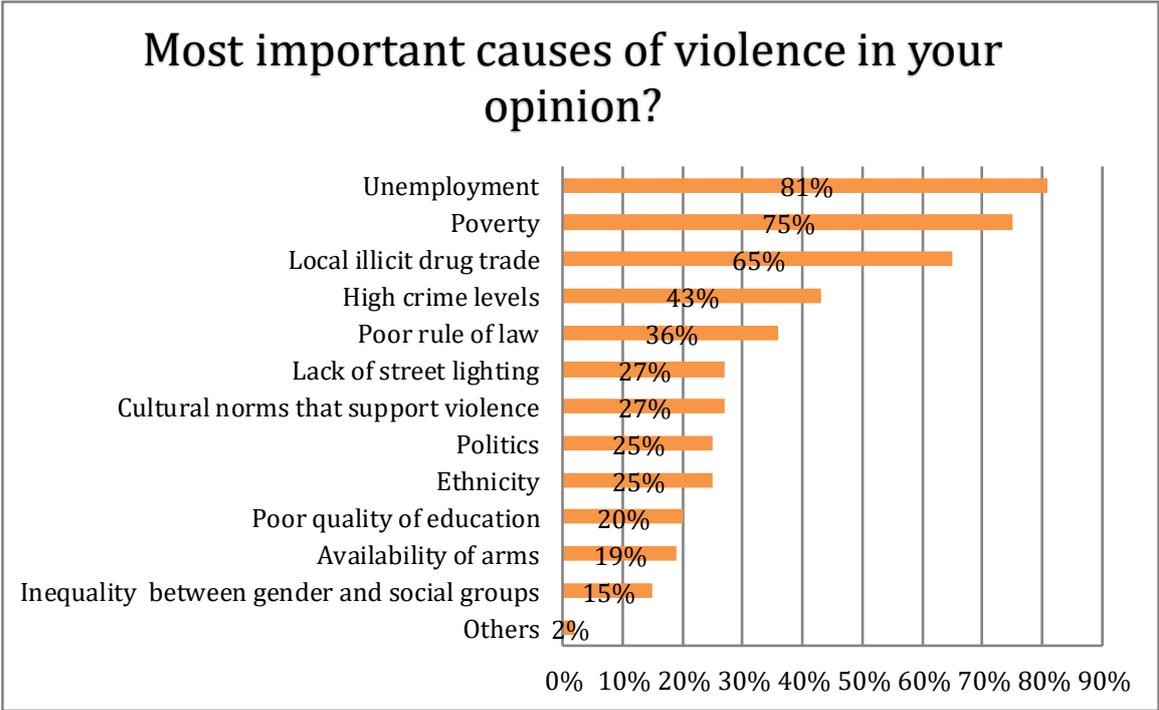
⁹⁸ Interview with senior member of Nakuru County Peace Committee; and senior officer in Kaptembwo Police Station.

Figure 2: Most prevalent types of violence



As the figure above shows, violence perpetrated by youth and gangs is perceived to be most prevalent in Nakuru County. This makes sense as the profile of most violent criminals in Kenya, and indeed across the world, tends to be people drawn from the youth category. Political and ethnic violence have affected Nakuru in each of the four general elections held in the country since 1992, and it is therefore not surprising that a large proportion of respondents, 34% and 28%, respectively, cite these types of violence as prevalent in the country.

Figure 3: Most important causes of violence



Unemployment and poverty were cited by survey respondents as the leading factors for violence in Nakuru country. The link between joblessness and poverty has been clearly established in many academic and policy studies in Kenya as well as globally. The drug trade is also cited as a leading cause of violence. This is not surprising as it is well-established globally that drug dealers enforce the rules of their trade and gain the initiative by resorting to, or threatening rivals, and even their clientele, with violence.

2.17. Prevalence and Dynamics of Violence in Nakuru County

The study revealed that violence is a major concern for residents of Nakuru County. Most respondents to the study felt that violence was becoming more prevalent. On the most common types of violence in the county, 46 % of victims had suffered physical assault, 32 % were threatened and intimidated while 26 % were violently robbed or mugged. Sexual and gender-based violence appears widespread in the County as the most common type of violence among households, according to 76 % of respondents. Child abuse was also cited as prevalent by 19 % of respondents, though it appeared more prevalent in Molo (at 29 %). As such the data revealed five major types of violence namely: (1) SGBV, (2) violence against children, (3) violent crime, (4) police violence and (5) political and ethnic violence. Nonetheless, the study also revealed that the types of violence are distributed differently among the various neighbourhoods in the study.

2.17.1. Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

Key informants and FGD participants reported that sexual assault is a leading to broken families, spread sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS, trauma and even death. This kind of violence was seen to mainly target women and children, with 25-40-year-old men (husbands or other men) as the main perpetrators. However, some cases of men being victimised were also noted. For instance, police officer from SGBV department in Kaptembwo told the story of a man who was assaulted by his wife:

“The husband was misusing money and eating food when the children had not eaten...the woman poured hot water on him and he was hospitalised for five days. He pleaded with the police not to arrest his wife because she was the breadwinner.”⁹⁹

The respondents indicated that the perpetrators are often known to their victims. This type of violence was found to be present in all areas of the county included in the study.

⁹⁹ Interview with police officer in SGBV department, Kaptembwo Police Station

Also common is sexual violence against children, by men. Respondents in Nakuru Town expressed worry over the increase in child rape cases.

Victimisation appears to be closely linked to space, home or street, and gender identity of the victim even though men remain the main perpetrators in both cases. Our respondents noted that the main forms of SGBV within the home included domestic violence and sexual assault. A few cases of men sexually assaulting their own children were highlighted. In one case, a respondent highlighted how a man violated his two-year-old daughter.¹⁰⁰ Female house-helpers were also noted to be victims to male sexual assault within the homestead. There were also a few cases of young men raping their own mothers, which were highlighted during the interviews. Children are the most vulnerable outside the home. Several cases of children being sexually assaulted after being lured with gifts from relatives and strangers were cited. Some of the respondents also noted cases of prostitutes being assaulted by young men¹⁰¹. The use of abusive language and threats of sexual assault against women especially among matatu operators, was also highlighted as another common form of SGBV. A senior official in the Nakuru County Transport Department pointed out that:

*“Sexual violence against women is a major issue. Conductors touch them or talk to them in ways that amount to sexual harassment.”*¹⁰²

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)¹⁰³, was also highlighted as a common form of SGBV especially in Naivasha. Some social groups, for instance the Wakorino religious formation, was identified as perpetrating this practice.

When asked to identify the major causes of SGBV, respondents identified the usual factors that have been highlighted in previous studies including alcohol and drug abuse and infidelity in marriages and general moral decay in society. Some respondents reduced the causes of the violence to material conditions within the family. While some argued that violence results from tensions caused by material lack or inequality caused by increased access to financial resources for women through the growing micro-finance institutions. From the conceptual framework, it is important for us to note that these perspectives however take away the agency of the victims and perpetrators. Additionally, it appears that this latch on to other external discourses since it is obviously not true that all cases of material lack lead to domestic violence. Another interesting observation is that while people are often able to identify different types of SGBV, they often only speak about domestic violence when it comes to identifying causes.

¹⁰⁰ FDG, Bondeni Women.

¹⁰¹ Interview with representative of NGO working on resource conflict in Nakuru Town.

¹⁰² Interview with official, Nakuru County Transport Department, Nakuru Town

¹⁰³ There is an ongoing debate over the use of the term FGM, as opposed to the more culturally-correct Female circumcision. The respondents, however, referred to the practice as FGM.

2.17.2. Violence against children

In addition to aforementioned sexual abuse and assaults towards children, respondents across the study highlighted violence against children as prevalent. More than half (54 %) of the study population identified it as a problem in their neighbourhood. This type of violence appeared to be particularly serious in Molo Town, with 66% of the respondents identifying it as a problem, though the prevalence is still high in other areas.

Violence against children was noted to have negative social effects including negative impacts on the victim's health that spill over to the community. The victimised children suffer trauma and other psychological problems which often leads to them dropping out of school. Violence also contributes to juvenile delinquency with children who run away from home ending up in the streets.

Respondents indicated that children across all ages are victimised at home especially by parents (and step parents), siblings and relatives. As noted by the Chief of Naivasha Town location:

*"The defilement of children (both boys and girls) rising, particularly by closer members of the family."*¹⁰⁴

It was also noted that children are sometimes vulnerable to sexual violence by neighbours and other adults because their parents neglect them and are not keen on them.¹⁰⁵ Others also pointed out that some mothers expose their children to sexual violence when they are involved in prostitution and bring their clients home.¹⁰⁶ Respondents also pointed out that some parents and guardians exploit their children for economic gain and. A key informant pointed out that:

"Children are exposed to sexuality at a young age, sometimes pressured to enter into prostitution by parents to help make ends meet."

Outside the home, the perpetrators of violence against children are also known to the children. They often include teachers at school and members of religious groups. A respondent revealed that:

*"Murder of children is especially high in Karagita; five children went missing and later found dead. Church leaders and other grownups are implicated in this. This is common in Karagita and Kihoto."*¹⁰⁷

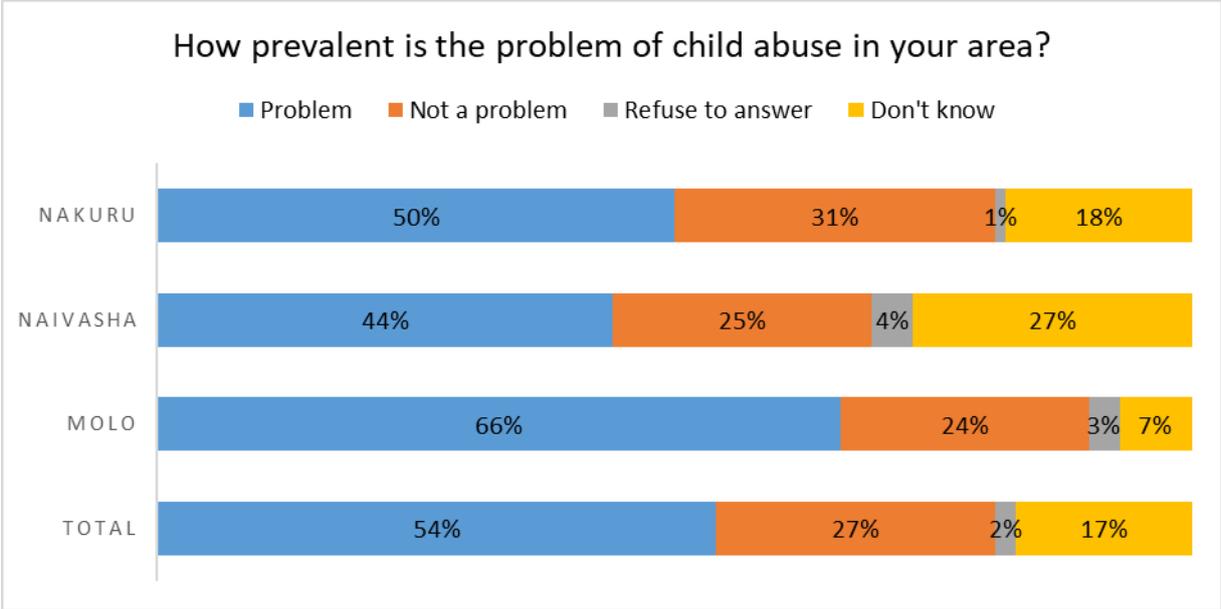
¹⁰⁴ Interview with senior national administration official, Naivasha Town Location.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with nurse, Naivasha District Hospital.

¹⁰⁶ Focus Group Discussion with women in Bondeni

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Director of NGO working on Conflict management in Naivasha

Figure 4: Prevalence of child abuse



A key dynamic of this type of violence to note is that, it can occur over long periods of time unlike the other types of violence. Children can be victimised repeatedly before the abuse becomes a matter of concern. There are two possible reasons for this. First, physical abuse of children is sometimes seen as permissible by the society. It's often seen as a part of the 'disciplining' process necessary for proper development of the children, which has to be carried out by the responsible adults (parents, teachers or relatives). Secondly, children rarely report such cases, which can partly be explained by their dependence on parents. This will often lead them to fear further victimisation for reporting. As such, these issues come into the fore only in extreme circumstances. Some of the respondents noted cases of children being denied food for long periods of time.

When asked what they perceived the root causes of such violence to be, more than 70% of the respondents attributed it to drug and alcohol abuse by parents and about 60% on poor parenting. Others identified poverty which, they claim, resulted in stress and tensions in the home, often leading parents to treat children more harshly and possibly violently than under less stressful circumstances. As stated by a police officer in Nakuru, "Most cases of violence against children is economically related. Either because of the stress experienced by the parents in eking a living unleashing this stress on their children or children left on their own as parents look for resources leaving them vulnerable to violence in the neighborhood. There are not too many reported cases of economically endowed persons meting violence on their children."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Police Officer in GBV Desk, Nakuru Town.

2.17.3. Violent Crime

For analytical ease, we have categorised several types of violence including theft, robbery, mugging, kidnappings, extortion and car-jackings under the tag of 'violent crime'. A violent crime is when someone physically hurts, with or without a weapon, or threatens to hurt someone.¹⁰⁹ These violent crimes occur on a regular, even daily basis across the country, a pattern replicated in Nakuru County.

Violent crime affects people from all walks of life whether they are motorists, tourists or businessmen. For instance, respondents to this study noted that gangs and cartels extort matatu operators regularly. Furthermore, several key informants noted that violent crime has negative effects on economic growth and development of an area since insecurity discourages investment.

The perpetrators of violent crime are as varied as their victims. Nonetheless, most of the respondents to the study noted that gangs are the main perpetrators of violent crime in Nakuru County. This was especially highlighted in Bondeni area, Kivumbini and Kaptembwo. Respondents noted that the different areas are controlled by different gangs, which often have some members roaming the streets to identify potential targets.¹¹⁰ Some of the respondents noted that these gangs often operate in collusion with street children, rogue police officers and matatu operators who provide them with information on the movement of their targets.¹¹¹ The Chair of a matatu SACCO¹¹² in Nakuru Town, for instance revealed that:

"since there is no clear framework or criteria for employment in this sector, many criminals join in and corrupt and make the sector criminal and violent; many crew member work in league with other criminals, robbers, drug dealers, rapists, Police."

Furthermore, human rights groups have reported that:

"Some police have been assisting the criminals with weapons and they share the loot."¹¹³

When the respondents were asked to identify the main causes of this type of violence, they tended to fall back on the same standard arguments. About 80 % identified poverty and unemployment (93 % in Bondeni area in Nakuru), while 65 % attributed it to alcohol and drug abuse. However, explaining the causes of this type of violence away as caused by socio-economic factors that are beyond the control of the perpetrators amounts to denying them agency which reduces our ability to understand the complexities of this type of violence. This is precisely what Moser and McIlwane warn us against. In fact, it is easy to point out that not all young unemployed and poor young men turn to crime.

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.victimsupport.org.uk/crime-info/types-crime/violent-crime>.

¹¹⁰ Interview with chairman of a Matatu Sacco in Nakuru Town.

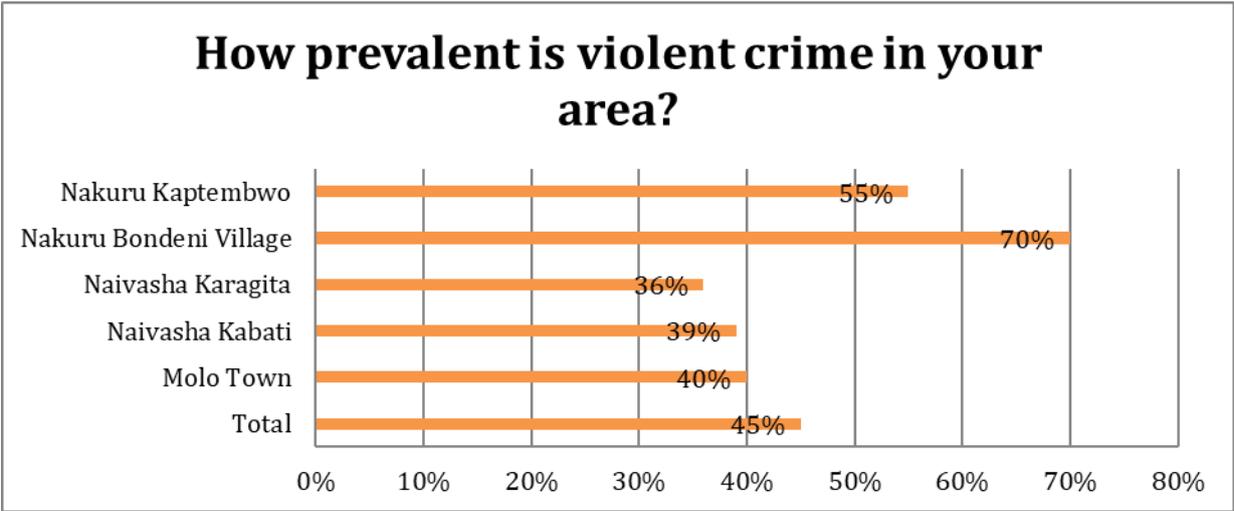
¹¹¹ FGD with CBOs and CSOs in Bondeni.

¹¹² Savings and Credit Organization.

¹¹³ Interviews, Nakuru Human Rights Defenders Network.

Notably however, the respondents noted two potent explanations for the prevalence of crime in Nakuru County. The first was the availability of small arms, which embolden criminals during robberies, muggings and car jackings. The arms are said to come from neighbouring Baringo County,¹¹⁴ where they are commonly used by cattle rustlers. The second, emphasized at FGDs in Nakuru Town, is corruption in the Police force, where rogue officers are accused of colluding with criminals – specially with gangs such as Confirm in Bondeni and others in Kivumbini and Kaptembwo areas - to provide information about potential victims.¹¹⁵

Figure 5: How prevalent is violent crime in your area?



2.17.4. Police violence

Evidently, Nakuru County is no exception to the prevalence of police violence that has been noted to be prevalent across the country. Police in Kenya are documented to misuse their power to harass and threaten citizens, which has resulted in severe distrust of the Police by the public. In some cases, the police go to the extreme of summary executions, extra-judicial killings and enforced disappearances. Respondents to our study noted that the police often intimidate and extort money from matatu operators, businessmen and hawkers. This is often done through threats to charge the victims with unsubstantiated offences. Those who fail to give in to the demands are usually locked up arbitrarily or even physically harmed. The head of a matatu SACCO in Nakuru explained that:

“The police are also involved in extorting money from and intimidating matatu crews; those who fail to give bribes are locked up arbitrarily. At night you have regular (not traffic) police arresting conductors who are carrying the day’s money, most times they may be roughed up, not necessarily beaten, but will be locked up”
¹¹⁶,

¹¹⁴ Interview with regional coordinator of an FBO working in Nakuru County
¹¹⁵ Focus Group Discussion, Kaptembwo Men.
¹¹⁶ Interview with Chair of Matatu SACCO, Nakuru; and FGDs by CSOs and CBOs in Nakuru Municipality.

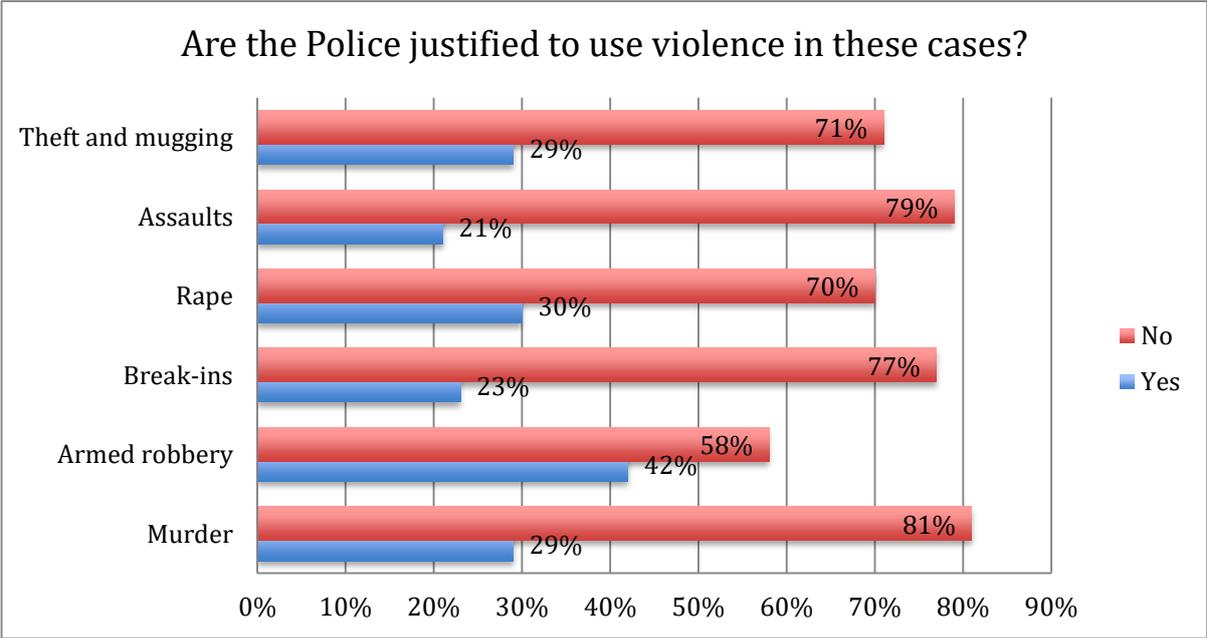
As highlighted above, some of the respondents from Kaptembwo and Bondeni in Nakuru municipality, noted that the police collude with gang members in identifying victims, attacking and covering up for the gangs whenever the cases were reported. The respondents also highlighted that police violence is also witnessed during public protests and demonstrations. Although these are usually peaceful, the police are known to stop them with disproportionate force, using tear gas, beating and locking up protesters.

40 % of respondents felt that the Police use unnecessary violence/force when responding to incidents of violence. However, this perception varied according to the type of violence that the Police were responding to. While more than 70 % were against Police using violence in cases of murder, break-ins, rape, theft and mugging, the change was significant in the case of armed robbery as more than 40 % felt that the use of violence by the Police was justified. It is likely that more people justify police violence in cases of armed robbery rather than murder, because most people have more of a direct experience with violent robbery, than they have with murder.

Respondents identified the culture of corruption and impunity as the main reasons for the prevalence of police violence. They noted that this environment only serves to encourage these law enforcement officers to engage in abuse. They cited a sense of entitlement by the police, as the latter often felt they had a right to extort civilians, even turning violent in the process. This was especially the case in Nakuru Town, where 60 % of the respondents expressed mistrust of the Police. Others attributed Police violence and executions to frustrations among the officers by the Judiciary giving bail to repeat offenders who, often seek revenge against the Police.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Interview with Executive Director of an NGO working on issues of Internally Displaced Persons in Nakuru.

Figure 6: Use of violence by Police in response to incidents of violence



2.17.5. Political and ethnic violence

Nakuru County is one of the hotspots of inter-political and ethnic violence in Kenya. The county has witnessed several bouts of inter-political and ethnic violence since the early 1990s.¹¹⁸ The wounds from this violence are yet to heal, respondents in this study expressed concern that the factors leading to the political violence that rocked the country in 2007/8 are still present, in an environment clouded in poor inter-ethnic relations and lack of tolerance.

34 % of respondents in the present study identified inter-political and ethnic violence as a major type of violence in the County. This was even higher in specific areas: 45 % in Karagita (Naivasha Municipality) and 44 % in Kaptembwo area (Nakuru Municipality).

There are material dimensions to the inter-political and ethnic violence that has been witnessed in the county. Respondents identified conflicts over natural resources, particularly land – in Molo Town - and fish landing beaches – in Naivasha. In the case of land in Molo Town, for instance, respondents noted claims of double registration of land titles especially in the Kibagundi area. They traced this tension back to the 1992 political

¹¹⁸ For further reading on electoral violence see, for instance, Human Rights Watch, *Divide and Rule: State-Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993); Mwangi Kagwanja, *Killing the Vote: State Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya* (Nairobi, Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1998); Human Rights Watch, *Ballots to Bullets: Organized Violence and Kenya’s Crisis of Governance*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2008; Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, *On the Brink of the Precipice: A Human Rights Account of Kenya’s Post-2007 Election Violence*, Nairobi: The Commission, 2008.

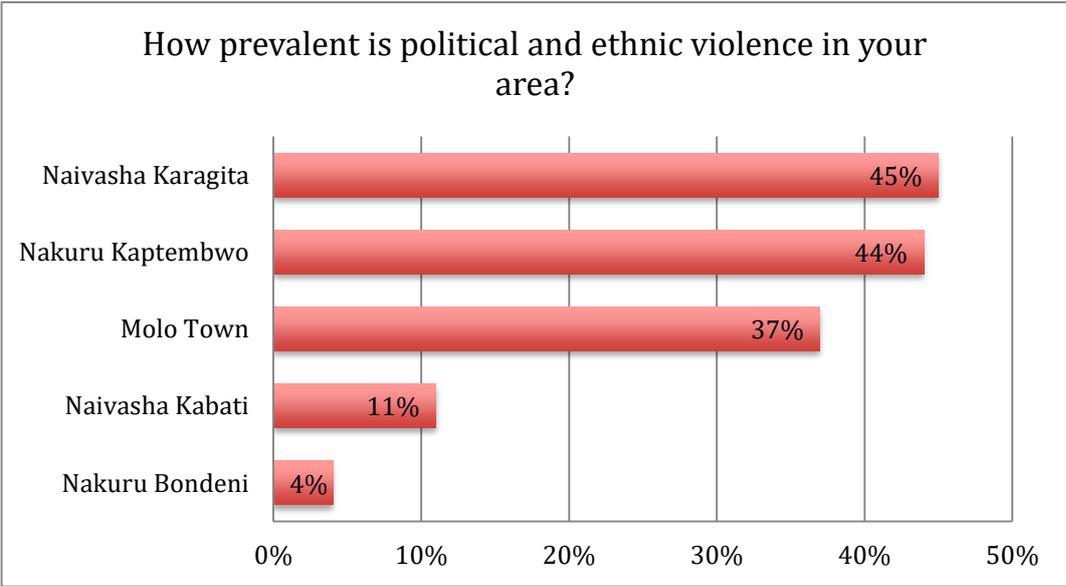
violence, which led to the displacement of some members of the Kikuyu community and the occupation of their land by the Kalenjin to date. Some respondents highlighted ongoing favouritism of certain communities by the County government. Men in an FGD in Bondeni pointed out that:

“Ethnic tension and violence are linked to political violence such that there is a feeling among certain communities that certain political actors favour certain ethnic communities in Bondeni when it comes to distribution of resources.”

Others also noted that there are often ethnic dimensions when it comes to providing job opportunities and public projects, adding that it fuelled ethnic tension.¹¹⁹ There were some respondents who highlighted the marginalisation of certain communities by the County government in respect of jobs and other opportunities. A respondent in Naivasha identified that:

“Political and ethnic violence is caused by discrimination against certain ethnic groups. Some tribes are not given jobs in flower farm companies.”¹²⁰

Figure 7: Prevalence of political and ethnic violence



The other material dimension of this conflict is when violent crimes are mapped on to ethnic cleavages. For instance, our respondents identified theft of livestock, and break-ins into shops as often resulting in inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo. Since the two main communities in Molo Town, Kalenjin and Kikuyu, are generally divided along distinct

¹¹⁹ Interview with a Community Mobiliser and DPC member, in Molo Town.

¹²⁰ Interview with Director of an NGO working in Nakuru Town .

lines of economic activities with the latter tend to be businessmen and the former animal and crop farmers, theft cases often take an ethnic dimension.

Some of the respondents identified politicians as the main perpetrators of acts of inter-political and ethnic violence as they often mobilize support on ethnic lines and fund gangs to execute such acts. Others noted that the elders of the various ethnic communities also serve to instil ethnic animosity in young people. This serves to shape perception of the other, occasioning a situation where behaviour is mapped into ethnic stereotypes. As such, young people seek vengeance for the loss of loved ones or property against a community escalating inter-ethnic tensions and violence. People expressed concern on the risk of violence erupting with regards to the forthcoming elections, citing possible major cases as incitement by politicians (64%), politicization of ethnicity (69%), verbal assault towards other ethnic groups (54%) and rumours about vote rigging (56%).

2.18. Response mechanisms

This section highlights the responses taken at individual, community and State levels to counter each of the types violence that were found to be prevalent in Nakuru County. The section adopts the three-level mitigation framework discussed earlier in the paper, examining the actions taken by individuals, the community and the State in preventing and countering violence.

2.19. Social capital and sense of belonging

Any intervention aimed at reducing violence will depend on a good understanding of the organisation of the community. This involves noting the types and number of groups that people are members of as groups are often the first source of intervention in case of violence. The survey revealed that the groups that attracted the highest membership were religious groups (34% of respondents), men, women and youth groups (34% of respondents), community associations (10% of respondents) and sports groups (7% of respondents). None of the respondents indicated being involved in the Nyumba Kumi initiative. It also revealed interesting insights on age difference in group membership. Most of those who indicated that they were members of the religious groups and community associations were 45 years and older. Young people represented the highest category among those who did not belong to any group, though they also made up a bulk of the membership in sports groups. Nonetheless, even their participation in these sports groups is limited with only 12% of 18-24 and 7% of 25-34 indicating that they were members of these groups.

The study also sought to identify where the residents of Nakuru had sought assistance over the previous twelve months. The study revealed that Men, Women and Youth groups as well as religious groups were the most important source of assistance and information for the residents of Nakuru County. One-in-four of the respondents had received assistance from their men, women or youth groups, with women (28 %) benefiting more than men (21 %). Most of the beneficiaries were those aged 45-54 (36 %). An almost similar number (23%) of the respondents had received support from religious organisations, with women (26%) still benefiting more than men (20 %). The older groups over 55 (37 %) and 45-54 (31 %) benefitted more from the religious groups than the younger ones 18-24 (21 %) and 25-34 and 35-44 both standing at 22 %).

About a third of the respondents (34 %), indicated that they had received support from their family. Friends (30 %) and neighbours (30%) were also noted as significant sources of assistance for Nakuru residents. The importance of family, friends and neighbours as sources of support run across both genders and across the county.

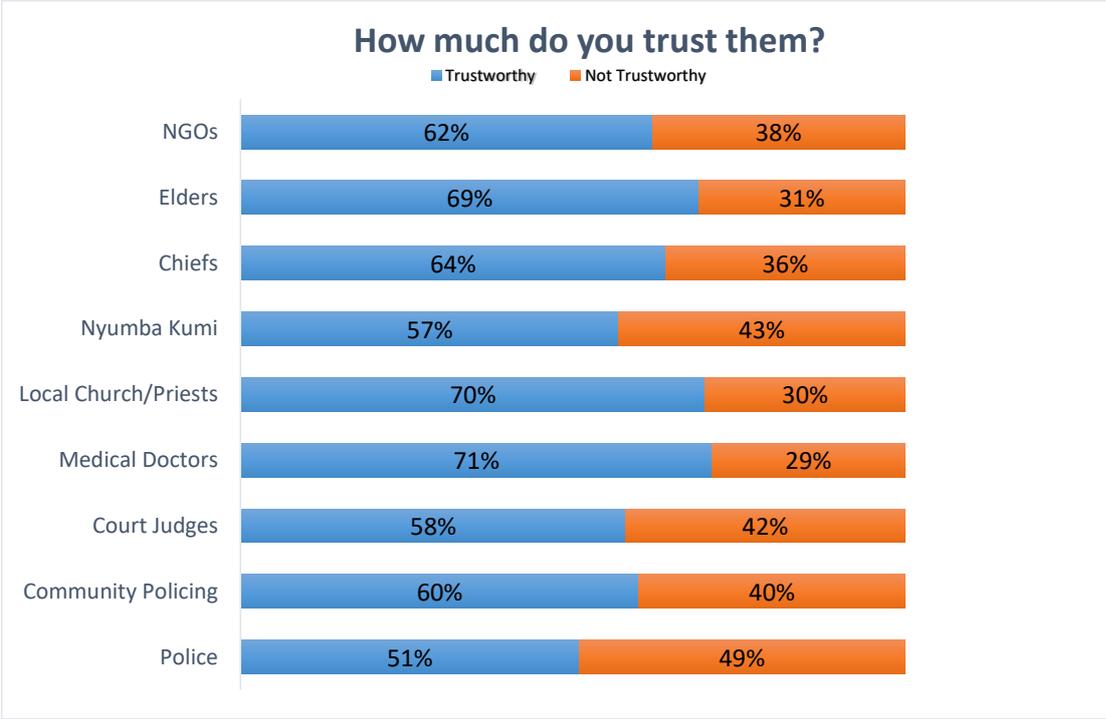
2.20. Effectiveness of Current Response Mechanisms

Many respondents noted that neighbours (35 %) and family (19 %) came to their rescue whenever they experienced violence, while only 9 % acknowledged having received Police assistance. This highlights the fact that people rely more on their neighbours and families when they are victimised. The variance between neighbours and family response may be due to intervention of neighbours during cases of domestic violence.

The study also sought to identify what mechanisms the people trust to address the challenge of violence. The most trusted – as shown in the figure 9 – are medical doctors (71 %),¹²¹ religious leaders (70 %), elders (69 %) and NGOs (62 %). The Police were identified as the least trusted (51 %).

¹²¹ This is probably mostly relating to Sexual and Gender Based Violence as well as Violence against children

Figure 9: Level of trust in violence prevention actors/mechanisms

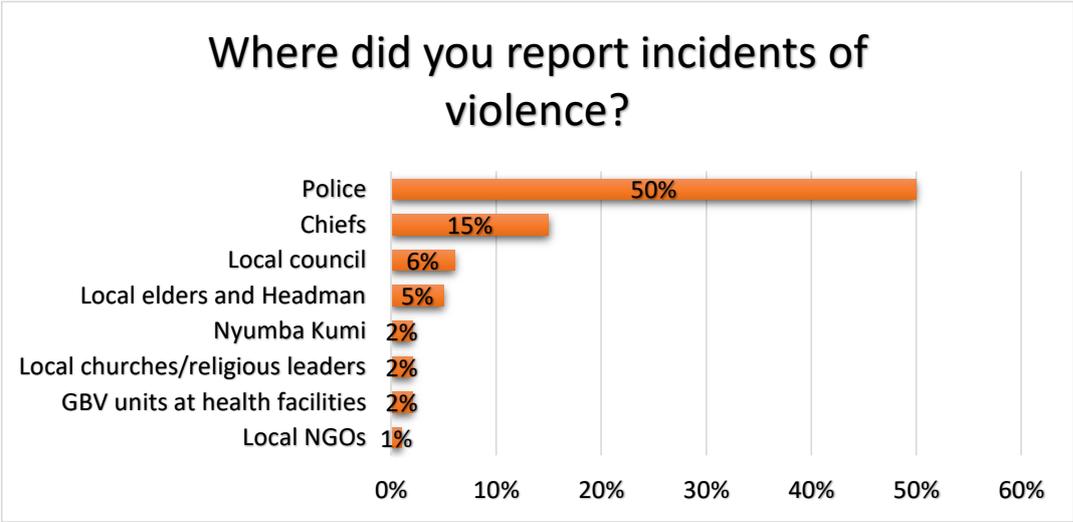


As noted earlier, Kenyans appear to have a lot more trust in the police than in other institutions within the criminal justice system.¹²² Notably, many of them report incidences to the police, expecting them to resolve the issues rather than taking the matters to court. As such, the police clearly form an important part of the acceptable response mechanisms to violence. Local Chiefs were also noted as key actors in response to violence as shown in the figure below. Further research would be helpful to establish exactly what sort of crime and violent incidences that residents of these neighbourhoods report to the police.¹²³

¹²² See Wairuri, 2015; *ibid*.

¹²³ Extant literature suggests that people will report major incidences such as infant rape, violence robberies and homicide to the police.

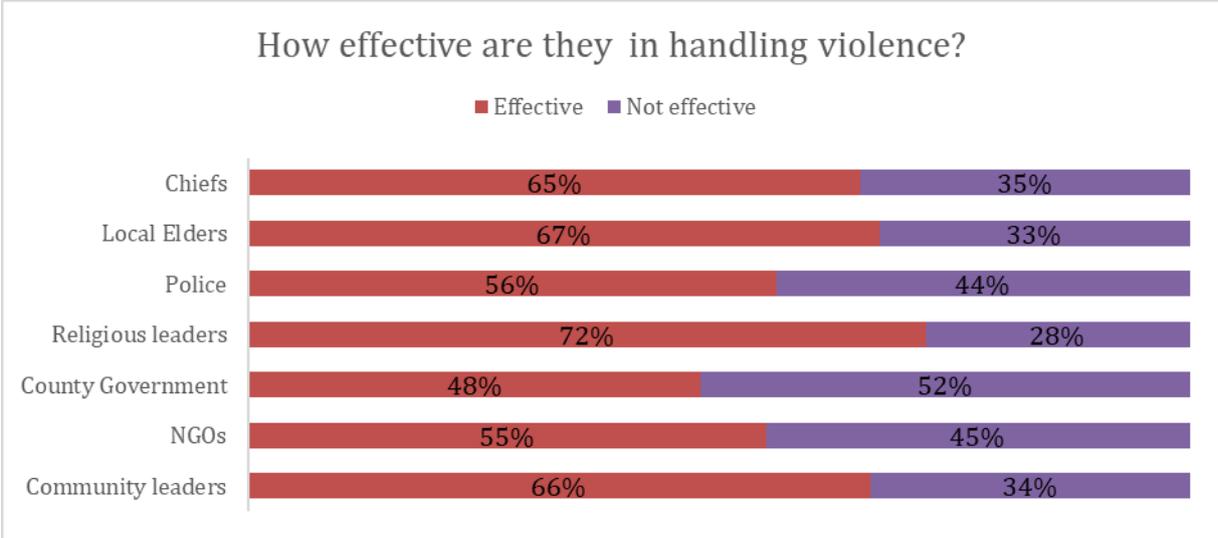
Figure 10: Reporting violence incidents



Unsurprisingly, religious leaders who are highly trusted by the members of the community were also identified as the most effective in dealing with violence.¹²⁴ Local leaders and chiefs who were also highly trusted by members of the community were also seen as quite effective. This indicates that the local communities have a high preference for local, grounded institutions to address their challenges with crime and violence. Interestingly, the community is split almost halfway in their opinion of the police both in terms of trustworthiness and effectiveness. Proper appreciation of the nuances of how residents interact with the police would help to improve understanding of these views deeper. Interestingly, while 62 % of the respondents found NGOs trustworthy a slightly lower number (55 %) found them effective in dealing with issues of crime and violence.

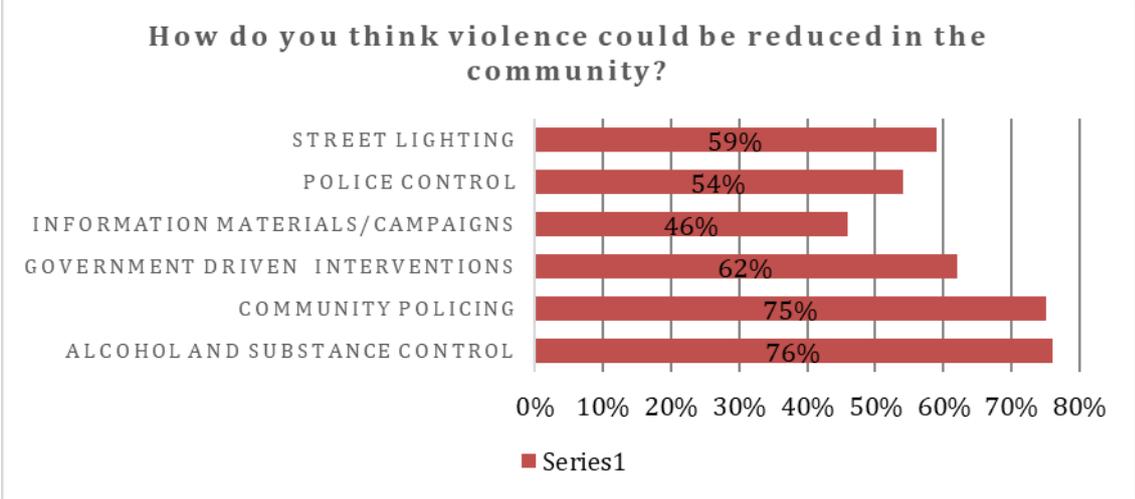
¹²⁴ Though it is not clear for what type of violence.

Figure 11: Effectiveness of violence intervention actors/mechanisms



On the reduction of violence, respondents proposed various response mechanisms. 75 % proposed community policing as the main mechanism at community level. At State level, 62 % proposed government-driven interventions such as alcohol and substance control, Police control and street lighting. Within the family, people felt that education (62 %), parental support (61 %) and proper living conditions (60 %) are important for preventing violence.

Figure 12: Mechanisms for violence reduction



2.20.1. Effectiveness of Current responses to SGBV

Most of our respondents, confirmed expectations from the literature that victims do not always report SGBV cases. They noted that the victims, mainly women and children fail to report these cases for fear of being kicked out of their homes or victimised/stigmatised by neighbours and relatives. Some individuals in Naivasha also failed to report incidents of SGBV due to influence from religious leaders (pastors of certain churches), who asked their congregations to forgive perpetrators.¹²⁵

Our study found several mechanisms, which the communities have adopted to deal with the issue of Sexual and Gender Based Violence. Most notably, there are efforts by several Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), dedicated to tackling SGBV, particularly in Naivasha. Some of their efforts include creating awareness in schools, setting up safe houses and offering psychosocial support to victims of SGBV. Young Men Champions in Ending GBV (YMCEGBV) in Naivasha has a program, which creates awareness through mentorship programs in schools and dialogue with girls on areas of SGBV. However, residents expressed concern that there are not enough mechanisms to protect abused women and children. According to a police officer in Kaptembwo:

“Women and children [are the most common victims of violence in the community]. They are abused and chased from home but there are no shelters for abused women. There are no places to go.”

The respondents noted several other school programs aimed at sensitizing children about defilement and other forms of abuse and encouraging them to report as soon as they witness or experience this. They noted that these initiatives are effective as children are more aware. Some even noted that the children are now more likely to report cases of violence to the Police, teachers and other adults. They conduct forums, dubbed Kahawa Forums to which they invite senior police officers to discuss ways of mitigating issues of security. In partnership with the Federation of Women Lawayers of Kenya (FIDA), they have also started programs to help victims of violence seek proper legal procedures and follow up of cases in the court. There is also Amani House, a safe house for GBV victims which has been set up by the Agatha Imani House organisation. Additionally, the Naivasha Gender Based Violence Network, which comprises ordinary citizens, hospital workers and gender-desk officers from the Police, offers psychosocial support and other response services to victims of SGBV.

Respondents showed support for the use of mob ‘justice’ as a response to incidents of sexual violence. In the case of rape, for instance, 66 % felt it was justified to resort to mob ‘justice’. Most of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the traditional response mechanisms by the state ranging from intervention by Chiefs at the

¹²⁵ Interview with Chairperson of a youth group in Naivasha.

local level, especially for domestic violence cases, and arrest and prosecution of perpetrators by the Police. They accused the Chiefs and the police of ineffectiveness and corruption. They highlighted cases where perpetrators of SGBV were released after they allegedly bribed authorities.

The respondents also discussed the new approaches developed by the government in attempt to address insecurity, including the Nyumba Kumi initiative, a form of community policing. The respondents noted that the Nyumba Kumi had been applied across all areas under study, but with different levels of success. Whereas respondents in Molo Town had a positive outlook of the initiative, those in Naivasha and Nakuru mostly claimed it was ineffective. This was particularly notable in Bondeni and Kaptembwo areas where more than 50 % of respondents felt that the Nyumba Kumi committees were untrustworthy. In the latter, some respondents accused certain members of Nyumba Kumi committees of colluding to protect perpetrators of violence that they knew and were related to. However, in some parts of Molo Town, the initiative seems effective as these committees have been instrumental in stopping cases of domestic violence.

Finally, the County government has also developed its own mechanisms to help tackle the challenges related to SGBV. Most notably, they have established and equipped a full wing for handling SGBV cases at the Provincial hospital to provide treatment and counselling services for SGBV victims. The County government has also established sexual violence committees at sub county level bringing together various government ministries and officials to explore further ways to tackle SGBV. Another notable effort is the establishment of a gender desk in the Police service, which, in addition to investigating and following up cases to the end, also attends community awareness forums.

2.20.2. Effectiveness of responses to Violence against children

At the Individual level, the study found that most children often do not report cases of violence. Many of these cases of abuse are only discovered after a long period by neighbours or relatives, or when they are highly dramatic in nature, such a when a child gets burnt. This failure to report is underpinned by fear of being harmed further by the perpetrators of the violence upon whom the children often depend on - mostly parents, guardians, neighbours or teachers.

Respondents highlighted that the community level interventions are mainly carried out by NGOs, but were nonetheless noted to have much less interest than the SGBV, as highlighted above. They noted that the Mid-Rift Human Rights network is working to raise awareness across the county and provide training on community policing.

At the State level, the respondents noted that the police responses take the traditional approach of rescuing victims of such violence and taking them to Children's Homes and prosecution of perpetrators. The challenge, however, is that most cases are not reported, given that they occur within the privacy of a home or school. The other challenge, which

is particularly, more pertinent is that the children may not want to be separated from their parents. As such the legal approach of charging the parents and taking the children away may not be fully acceptable. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why many such cases are not reported. Expressing the inadequacies of mechanisms to protect abused children, a police officer said:

“Children who are abused at home are sometimes rescued by police and taken to children’s homes; some are taken to borstal schools even though they are not delinquent, the fear is that they will run from normal homes”¹²⁶

2.20.3. Effectiveness of Current responses to Criminal violence

The survey revealed that 78 % of the population in Nakuru County do not report incidents of crime witnessed or experienced and of the 22 % who do, only half report to the Police and a few to the Chiefs.

The respondents to the study noted that individuals have come up with their own coping mechanisms to deal with the risk of victimisation. In response to the common theft of motor bikes from Boda Boda operators, the latter avoid taking clients after dark and to well-known crime spots. As is the case elsewhere in the country, some businessmen and citizens across the selected study sites often hire private security services (from private firms or the Police)¹²⁷ at their business premises and homes.

At the community level, several mechanisms for responding to insecurity have been developed. For instance, due to the common theft of motor bikes, the Boda Boda operators have come up with a system in which they escort one another whenever working late or maintain contact with colleagues - as a tracking system - while taking clients to presumable violence-prone destinations. Also, a local non-state actor in Nakuru Town developed Mulika Uhalifu, a mobile phone program, which enables individuals to report cases of violence by sending a simple message to a given number that is linked to various Police station heads. The respondents acknowledged that the program has been effective in increasing reporting and Police interventions¹²⁸. Another mechanism has been the growth of Matatu SACCOS, which have helped to improve the financial stability of their members. The respondents noted that this has created meaningful opportunities, which have kept the youth away from crime. As one respondent attested:

“the matatu SACCOS ... brought in a better business framework and ethic.” The respondents noted that the SACCOS make their own investments which offer a return that benefit members through dividends and low interest loans.”

¹²⁶ Interview with police officer on GBV Desk, Kaptembwo

¹²⁷ Interview with Businessmen in Naivasha Town.

¹²⁸ Interview with senior county administration official, Nakuru.

Community members also resorted to ‘mob justice’ in dealing with cases of violence, though this was often a spontaneous response. Interestingly, whereas 80 % of respondents in the survey were against mob justice in general, more than 75 % claimed it was justified in responding to cases of murder or armed robbery and over 65 % justifying the act in cases theft and mugging.

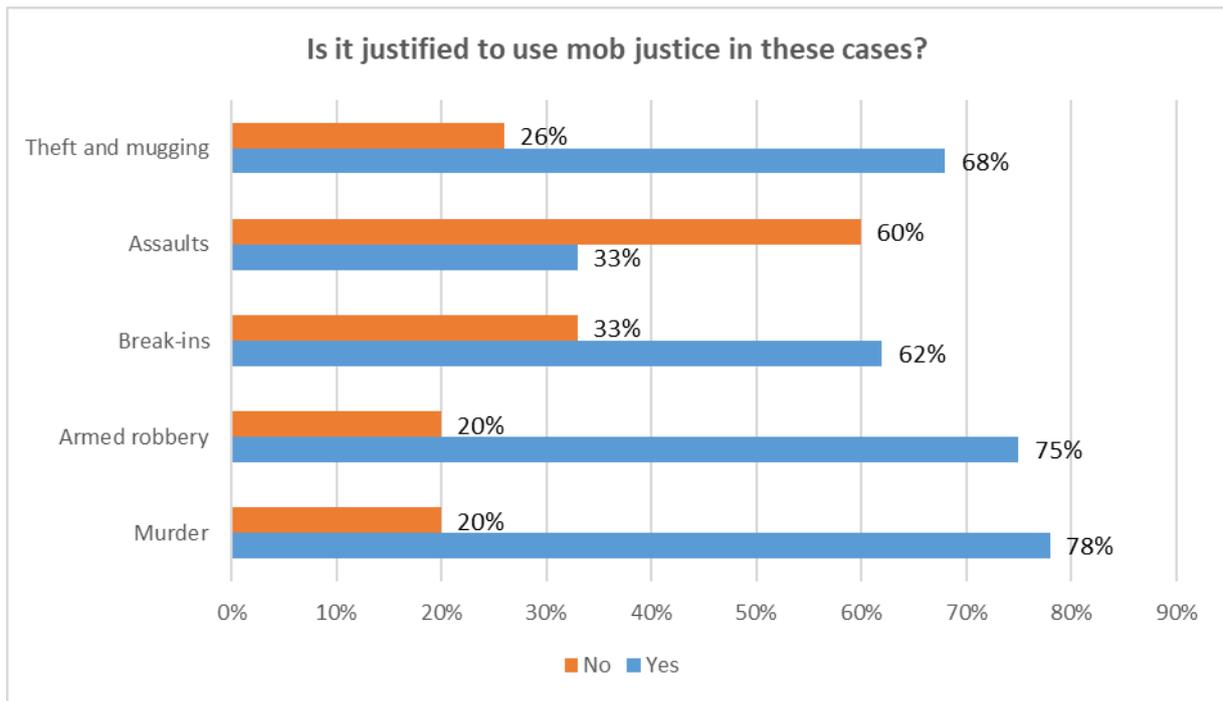
At the state level, the respondents commented on efforts of the police including new initiatives such as Community Policing and Nyumba Kumi at the national level. Respondents also observed that the Police force increased its patrols in the central business district and residential neighbourhoods police arrests and prosecution of perpetrators has been on the rise and in Nakuru Town. There is also more frequent rotation of officers to limit their opportunities for engaging in corruption and colluding with criminals and gangs.

Respondents from Naivasha, noted that the Community Policing program, in which 64 % of respondents expressed trust, has been useful in improving the timeliness of the response of police officers to public reports of violence. They noted that the Community policing committee meets regularly, sometimes with Police officers, and present evaluation reports on what issues were reported and how they were dealt with. The residents of Molo Town, expressed satisfaction with the Nyumba Kumi initiative. They observe that they conduct neighbourhood patrols and surveillance mounted which have resulted in successful investigations and arrest of cattle thieves.

They also noted efforts by the County government, including street lighting project in towns that have made public spaces safer at night. Respondents in Nakuru Town, however, noted that the initiative is being undermined by gangs who have been vandalizing some of the lights¹²⁹.

Figure 13: Use of mob ‘justice’ in response to violence

¹²⁹ Noted in FGD for Men in Bondeni area.



As the figure above shows, a large percentage of people believe that it is justified for the public to engage in mob violence against criminals as a way of addressing crime. This mirrors the broader national pattern of support for mob violence, which is partly the result of the public’s frustration with ineffective responses to crime by the police. Moreover, individuals involved in mob violence are rarely arrested and punished, and this engenders impunity and the perception that it is justified for the public to take the law into their own hands.

2.20.4. Effectiveness of Current responses to Police violence

Key informants cited Nakuru as one of the counties trying very hard to improve police-citizen relations and interactions.¹³⁰ Most respondents, across the County, indicated that citizens are afraid of reporting cases of Police violence for fear of becoming targets themselves, especially by what they termed as ‘rogue officers’. This fear is undergirded by the perception of corruption and impunity by the Police. Respondents noted that the police are known to have links with perpetrators of violence.

At the community level, it is clear that NGOs have been active in campaigning against Police violence for a long time within the county and are trusted by more than 60 % of respondents. The Mid-Rift Human Rights Network for instance, has helped people know about police work and their rights vis-à-vis the police. Several key informants, particularly those working in civil society organizations, noted that these kinds of trainings have resulted in reduction of police violence and brutality in the dealings with citizens.

¹³⁰ Interview with Regional Coordinator for FBO in Nakuru

Respondents noted the state level interventions, including the frequent rotation of officers to limit their opportunities for engaging in corruption and colluding with criminals and gangs.

2.20.5. Effectiveness of Current responses to Political and ethnic violence

At the individual level, the respondents expressed the importance for individuals to be more tolerant towards members of other ethnic groups or those with different political opinions. However, given the complexity of political violence, they did not provide concrete actions they took to counter this form of violence.

At the Community level, however, several efforts by NGOs and Faith Based Organisations were noted. Organisations such as Mercy Corps, USAID and Peace Caravan, for instance, have played a major role in reducing instances of political and ethnic violence in Molo by collaborating with community leaders to foster peace and harmony. Interviewees and focus group participants noted that these efforts have been effective. They also noted the efforts of the NCKK in terms of offering counselling and spiritual support to couples affected by political violence and also getting\ scholarships for victims who are not able to acquire education. Respondents also highlighted Peace Circles, organised by the Catholic Church in Bondeni to promote peace. The Peace Circles bring together small groups of about twenty people to discuss matters of peace and social cohesion. This program initially started to address post-election violence and inter-ethnic tensions in 2007/8 but has continued.

Respondents highlighted civic education to the public through Barazas to promote understanding and tolerance carried out by Ward administrators in Nakuru Municipality. Some also acknowledged the existence of Peace Committees but complained that these lacked sufficient financial support from the National and County Governments. Peace Committees are reportedly more effective in rural areas than urban; and they are said to work closely with CSOs and churches in identifying and planning interventions. These include peace related events, dialogues and mediation between rival communities, business groups and families involved in violence¹³¹.

¹³¹ Interview with members and leaders of Peace Committees for Nakuru East and West Sub-counties and County-wide.

3. Conclusion and recommendations

This study has demonstrated that urban violence is an issue of concern in Nakuru County, particularly in the poor urban neighbourhoods. This study has shed more light on this phenomenon particularly on the prevalent types of violence and their causes, the perpetrators and victims of the various types of violence and the effectiveness of the current response mechanisms.

Evidently, therefore there are gaps in the current response mechanisms. We have noted these gaps in the study including impunity of perpetrators, a lack of trust in the mechanisms by the victims of violence, inadequate understanding of what constitutes violence and crime amongst the populace (for instance with respect to violence against children), and the failure of victims and witnesses to report cases of violence to the authorities (Police, Chiefs) due to fear of further victimisation. Notably, however, the study also reveals important dynamics with respect to the structure of the communities we have studied, victimisation and response mechanisms that are useful in developing recommendations for programmatic intervention.

This section puts forward recommendations that will help fill the identified gaps and strengthen the existing response mechanisms, for the different types of violence discussed. The recommendations will facilitate better programming for tackling urban violence in Nakuru County. The focus of the recommendations here is primarily on prevention of violence with limited attention paid to interventions after violence has occurred. The proposed interventions are largely based on how to prevent violence by improving the awareness and understanding of the dynamics of violence and how they should be handled amongst the community and hence empowering the community to deal with violence. The view here is on empowering the community to use the existing mechanisms to address violence. There is also need to focus on building on the community trust in the existing institutions such as community organisations, police, chiefs, elders and religious leaders. The interventions will also include comments on reporting of violence within the formal criminal justice system.

i. Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV)

Future programs seeking to address the challenge of SGBV need to take proper cognisance of the community dynamics of this type of violence including the causal and/or trigger factors and the effectiveness of the current response mechanisms. The study noted that the most prevalent forms of this violence include domestic violence, rape, threats and acts of intimidation that mainly targets women and girls. Our respondents identified alcohol and drug abuse, infidelity, material conditions within the family. From the conceptual framework, it is important for us to note that these perspectives however take away the agency of the victims and perpetrators. For

instance, it should be clear that while alcohol contributes to domestic violence, not all people who use alcohol are violent. As such, the focus should be in understanding the underlying factors.

The other key finding with respect to this kind of violence is that victims of SGBV do not always report cases for fear of being further victimised or stigmatised by neighbours and relatives. The study found several mechanisms adopted by the communities to deal with SGBV including creating awareness in schools, setting up safe houses, offering psychosocial support to victims of SGBV and helping victims to seek legal redress. Nonetheless, respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the traditional state response mechanisms including the police and chiefs accusing them of corruption. As a result, many of them expressed support for mob 'justice' as a way of dealing with sexual violence. The County Government of Nakuru has also developed its own mechanisms to deal with SGBV including establishing sexual violence committees at sub county level bringing together various government ministries and officials to explore further ways to tackle SGBV.

Recommendations for programmatic interventions:

- i. Supporting the **expansion of existing awareness creation and empowerment programs** beyond schools to the entire community, especially women and girls to understand the dynamics of violence and how to respond in case of victimisation but also to help men and boys understand what constitutes SGBV
- ii. Improving the **incorporating of the most trusted actors in the communities** in the efforts of creating awareness and empowerment related to SGBV. In this regard, programs to prevent SGBV cases should include doctors, religious leaders and the police.
- iii. Support further **dissemination of information on the legal procedures** relating to sexual violence including the preservation of evidence to facilitate arrest and successful prosecution. The trusted institutions within the community such as religious leaders and elders should be equipped with this knowledge as they could be first points of contact of victims or witnesses of violence.

ii. **Violence against children**

Violence against Children is another predominant form of violence in Nakuru with 54% of our respondents identifying it as a problem. The study found that parents and teachers are the main perpetrators of violence against children though fellow students were also found to be perpetrators of this violence. The violence takes the form of beating, corporal punishment and bullying. It is important to bear in mind that most children are at the risk of repeated victimisation as this is often seen as an acceptable way to discipline children. Another important finding is that children rarely report such cases, partly because they may also see it as normal and also for fear of further victimisation. As such, these issues come into the fore only in extreme circumstances.

The respondents noted that drug and alcohol abuse by parents and poor parenting were to blame. It was evident that this is a neglected area even though some NGOs such as the Mid-Rift Human Rights network are working to raise awareness across the county on this type of violence. The study also noted that the traditional state response of rescuing victims from the parents and prosecuting the parents may not be effective as the children may not want to be separated from their parents.

Recommendations for programmatic interventions:

- i. Support programs carried out by trusted local institutions such as religious leaders that raise awareness about the rights of children and the negative effects of violence against children. Such programs should also include education on parenting skills and other methods of disciplining children. Bringing doctors to speak to parent groups about the long-term effects of violence against children could strengthen such programs.
- ii. Develop school-based programs to empower children to be able to report on cases of violence and abuse occurring to them or to their friends at home, in the neighbourhood or in school including how to protect themselves from victimisation
- iii. Support local level mechanisms of resolving minor cases of violence against children rather than focussing on arrest and prosecution of perpetrators. Interventions by religious leaders, elders and the local chief could be more effective in reducing this kind of violence while keeping families intact, as much as possible. The incarceration of a parent or guardian may have further negative effects on families.
- iv. Provide support to existing child support centres and homes for victims of this type of violence or setting up new ones in partnership with the communities to deal with the most extreme cases.

iii. Violent crime

The study found violent crime to be a major component of violence in Nakuru County. Our respondents indicated that violent crimes occur on a regular, even daily basis across the county affecting people from all walks of life. The respondents further noted that gangs are the main perpetrators of violent crime in Nakuru County, especially in Bondeni area, Kivumbini and Kaptembwo. Respondents noted poverty and unemployment, and alcohol and drug abuse as the main drivers of this type of violence. However, explaining the causes of this type of violence away as caused by socio-economic factors that are beyond the control of the perpetrators amounts to denying them agency which reduces our ability to understand the complexities of this type of violence. But the most potent explanations given include availability of small arms and the corruption of police officers which embolden criminals during robberies, muggings and car jackings. Due to this perception of police corruption, 78 % of the population in Nakuru County do not report incidents of crime witnessed or experience.

The respondents revealed that they have come up with their own coping mechanisms to deal with the risk of victimisation including hiring private security or escorting each other to prevent attacks. Another mechanism that was highlighted is the Mulika Uhalifu, a mobile phone program, which enables individuals to report cases of violence by sending a simple message to a given number that is linked to various Police station heads. Respondents also noted that the growth of Matatu Saccos which have provided livelihoods for most of the youth have contributed to a reduction in crime. Another local level mechanism they noted is 'mob justice'. State driven mechanisms such as Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing were evaluated differently in various areas. Community policing was most popular in Naivasha while Nyumba Kumi was evaluated positively in Molo Town. Most people expressed support for the street lighting project by the County government.

Recommendations for programmatic interventions:

- i. Strengthening of existing community level interventions of dealing with violent crime such as the Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing initiatives. This requires a more fine-grained analysis of why they work better in some places and not others in order to replicate best practices across the county.
- ii. Support the scaling of the Mulika Uhalifu program or such similar initiatives across the county to help in the reporting of violent crime
- iii. Lobby the government to enhance the existing programs of dealing with proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the county
- iv. Work with the existing state mechanisms such as IPOA to enhance police accountability
- v. Support the National Police Service, and other mechanisms, at the local level to enhance patrols, investigate reported cases, arrest and prosecute perpetrators.

iv. Police violence

Similarly, to the national level picture, police excesses and violence were found to be prevalent in Nakuru County.¹³² Our respondents noted that the police often intimidate and extort money from matatu operators¹³³, businessmen and hawkers. Some of the respondents, especially from Kaptembwo and Bondeni in Nakuru municipality, noted that the police collude with criminals. 40 % of the respondents to the household survey indicated that the police use unnecessary violence/force when responding to incidents of violence.

The study found that local NGOs have been active in campaigning against police violence for a long time within the county. These institutions have a high level of trust in the community. It was noted that some of these NGOs, such as the Mid-Rift Human Rights

¹³² See reports by IMLU, 2014; IPOA, 2013; see also reports by KHRC; Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch etc.

¹³³ Interview with Chair of Matatu SACCO, Nakuru; and FGDs by CSOs and CBOs in Nakuru Municipality.

Network, has helped people know about police work and their rights vis-à-vis the police. Respondents noted that these kinds of trainings have resulted in reduction of police violence and brutality in the dealings with citizens.

Respondents noted the state level interventions, including the frequent rotation of officers to limit their opportunities for engaging in corruption and colluding with criminals and gangs. Notably, the respondents did not speak about the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA).

Recommendations:

- i. Support the existing programs by local level NGOs to create awareness about the rights of citizens when dealing with the police to increase demand for fair treatment when engaging with the Police.
- ii. Work with state level institutions responsible for creating police accountability including IPOA, NCAJ, KNHRC to help the residents better understand their roles and how to seek recourse in case of abuse by police officers
- iii. Support local NGOs to fight the impunity of police officers by enabling them to bring cases against rogue police officers so that they can face the consequences of their actions.
- iv. Support community partnerships with the police where such issues can be raised and addressed.

v. Political and ethnic violence

Nakuru is on the counties that have borne the blunt of politically-instigated political and ethnic violence. This type of violence, most common during electoral periods, is the result of incitement of ethnic animosity by political leaders. 34 % of the respondents to our survey identified this type of violence as a major concern. This was even higher in specific areas: 45 % in Karagita (Naivasha Municipality) and 44 % in Kaptembwo area (Nakuru Municipality). Politicians who were identified as the main perpetrators of acts of inter-political and ethnic violence were said to mobilise support on ethnic lines and fund gangs to execute such acts. The elders of the various ethnic communities were also noted to instil ethnic animosity in young people. The respondents expressed concern on the risk of violence erupting with regards to the forthcoming elections, citing possible major cases as incitement by politicians (64%), politicization of ethnicity (69%), verbal assault towards other ethnic groups (54%) and rumours about vote rigging (56%).

The respondents noted that several NGOs, such as Mercy Corps, USAID, Peace Caravan and Faith Based Organisations such as the NCKK have played a major role in reducing instances of political and ethnic violence in Molo by collaborating with community leaders to foster peace and harmony. They noted Peace Circles, organised by the Catholic Church in Bondeni to promote peace, where small groups of about twenty people to discuss matters of peace and social cohesion as effective. Though they didn't

speak much of state level interventions. They noted the use of civic education through Barazas to promote understanding and tolerance carried out by Ward administrators. Some also acknowledged the existence of Peace Committees but complained that these lacked sufficient support from the Government. Peace Committees are reportedly more effective in rural areas than urban; and they are said to work closely with CSOs and churches in identifying and planning interventions. These include peace related events, dialogues and mediation between rival communities, business groups and families involved in violence¹³⁴.

Recommendations for dealing with this type of violence:

- i. Supporting the existing mechanisms developed by local NGOs and Faith Based Organisations to enhance inter-ethnic cohesion
- ii. Lobby government institutions such as the NCIC, National Peace Committees to have a broader and deeper presence in Nakuru County
- iii. Support and encourage the County Government of Nakuru to extend the Barazas on understanding and tolerance beyond Nakuru Municipality to other areas of the County
- iv. Work with the County Government to develop inclusion policies that promote equality of opportunity for all citizens in the County, regardless of ethnic background.
- v. Support national level efforts, executed at the county level to address historical injustice in the most inclusive manner. Most importantly, the resettlement of IDPs displaced by politicised political and ethnic violence in previous elections.
- vi. Encourage community members to report cases of incitement by political leaders and support the prosecution of such leaders in the community.

VI. Intersectoral violence prevention

All the above-mentioned types of violence, can be addressed by focusing work and interventions towards the following:

- I. Participation and Norm change on how to prevent violence perpetration from happening and reducing risk factors for people becoming perpetrators, by participation and change of norms.
- II. Trust-building between police and community, as recommended by the World Bank.
- III. Leadership development for intersectoral coalition building should be strengthened.
- IV. Forward looking we see a need for more studies and research into data on perpetrators as opposed to victim-based.

¹³⁴ Interview with members and leaders of Peace Committees for Nakuru East and West Sub-counties and County-wide.

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5. Annexes

5.1. Annex 1: List of Key Informants

NAKURU MUNICIPALITY-BONDENI, KAPTEMWO & OVERALL NAKURU COUNTY				
No.	Date	Names	Position	Organizational Affiliation
1.	9/2/2017	Bamford Surya	OCS Nakuru Municipality	National Police Service
2.	9/2/2017	Wilkista Akinyi	Program Assistant	Centre for Enhancing Democracy and Good Governance (CEDGG)
3.	9/2/2017	David Kuria	Chair	Nakuru Human Rights Network
4.	9/2/2017	Irene Oloo	Program Manager	RECONCILE
5.	9/2/2017	Rose Mutai, Sub County Ward Administrator	Ward Administrator	Sub-County Nakuru East
6.	20/2/2017	Joel Maina Kairo	County Executive Committee Member (Minister)-Transport and Infrastructure	Nakuru County Government
7.	20/2/2017	Ambrose Oyugi	Community Policing Chair	Nakuru West Sub-County Community Policing Committee
8.	20/2/2017	David Mugo	Community Policing Agent	Nakuru West Sub-County Community Policing Committee
9.	20/2/2017	Nyatete Nyakundi	GBV Officer	Nakuru Municipality Police Headquarters
10.	20/2/2017	Pauline Karimi	Officer	Nairobi Women's Hospital-Nakuru Branch
11.	21/2/2017	Sammy Njuguna	Chair	Molo Community Oversight Forum
12.	21/2/2016	Chief Kaptembwo	Nakuru	National Government Administration Office
13.	21/2/2017	Dominic Wainaina	Chair	Nyumba Kumi Committee Molo Town
14.	22/2/2017	Samuel Njuguna	Headman-Tayari Location,	National Government

			Molo	Administration Office
15.	22/2/2017	Ms. Judith	Nakuru County Ward Administrator	Nakuru County Government
16.	22/2/2017	Peter Kairu	Chair	Nakuru Peace Committee (County Wide)
17.	22/2/2017	Teophila Murage	Coordinator, GVRC	Nakuru Provincial Hospital
18.	22/2/2017	Irene Wambui	Chair	Nakuru Town East Sub-County Peace Committee
19.	22/2/2017	Unique Wanjiku	Member	Nakuru Town East Sub-County Peace Committee
20.	22/2/2017	Keffa Magenyi	Executive Director	Internally Displaced Persons Association of Kenya (IDPAK)
21.	23/2/2017	Joseph Omondi	Executive Director	Nakuru Mid-Rift Human Rights Network
22.	23/2/2017	Mr. Koech	Nakuru South Dep. Commissioner	National Government Administration Officer
23.	23/2/2017	Mr. Mohamed	Chair	DPC Nakuru Town, Elections Monitor
24.	24/2/2017	Mr. Muchiri	Deputy County Commissioner	National Government Administration Office
25.	25/2/2017	Pacila Waigera	Host	Radio Amani
26.	25/2/2017	Patrick Kinyua	Host	Community Radio
27.	27/2/2017	Selina Nkatha	Principal Gender Officer- Department of Youth, Culture, Sports and Social Services	Nakuru County Government
28.	27/2/2017	Dan Ambale	MCA Katembwo	Nakuru County Assembly
29.	28/2/2017	Njogu Wa Githinji	Director	Mission of the Body of Christ International
30.	1/3/2017	Ben Gathogo	Chair	Chair Matatu KANU Street Travelers SACCO
31.	1/3/2016	Grace	Founder	Mulika Mwizi Crime Reporting App
32.	1/2/2017	Catherine Kimeu	Program Assistant/Administrator	National Gender and Equality Commission-

				Nakuru Office
33.	10/4/2017	John Nairuku	Coordinator	National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCKK)
34.	10/4/2017	Solomo Mruti	OCS	Bondeni
35.	10/4/2017	Jane Thuita	OCS	Kaptembwo
36.	10/4/2016	Janet Wasige	Deputy OCPD	Nakuru Town
37.	12/4/2017	Odenda Lumumba	Executive Director	Kenya Land Alliance

NAIVASHA TOWN-KARIGITA AND KABATI, OVERALL VIEW OF NAIVASHA SUB-COUNTY				
38.	22/2/2017	Selina Kariuki	Chief – Tayari Location	National Government Administration Office
39.	27/2/2017	Monica Mwangi	Executive Director	Centre for Eliminating Gender-Based Violence (Naivasha)
40.	27/2/2017	Elijah Mugo	Businessman-Naivasha	Private Sector-Naivasha
41.	27/2/2017	Charles Omwando	Chair	Young Men Champions in Ending Gender-Based Violence (Naivasha)
42.	27/2/2017	Emily Kirago	Nursing Officer-in-Charge	Naivasha District Hospital
43.	27/2/2017	Esther Nyokabi	Chair	Naivasha Town Community Policing Committee; Maendeleo Ya Wanawake
44.	27/2/2017	Peter Mbiyu	Director	Disability Resource Centre (Naivasha)
45.	27/2/2017	Chief Mary	Naivasha Town Location	National Government Administration Office
46.	28/2/2017	John Bosco Kimani	Vice-Chair	Naivasha Town Community Policing Committee
47.	11/4/2017	Isaac Sang	OCS	Naivasha Town

MOLO TOWN				
48.	20/2/2016	Joseph Sang	DPC, Molo (Kuresoi)	-

49.	21/2/2017	Dominic Wainana	Chair, Nyumba Kumi, Molo Town	-
50.	22/2/2017	Joseph Karanja	Community Mobilizer	Forum Syd (Molo)
51.	22/2/2017	Selina Kariuki	Chief Tayari Location, Molo	National Government Administration Office
52.	22/2/2017	Samuel Njuguna	Village Elder, Tayari Molo	-
53.	27/2/2017	Jackson Anguza	Member and Pastor	Sub-County Peace Committee-Molo; Pentecostal Revival Church
54.	28/2/2017	Andrew Kagwa	Local Politician	Molo Town
55.	18/2/2017	OCPD	Molo	National Police Service

5.2. Annex 2 : List of Focus Group Discussions Held

Date	Category of FGD	Place	No. of Participants
8/2/2017	Bondeni CSOs/CBOs Workers	Nakuru Town	8
28/2/2017	Kabati Women	Kabati, Naivasha	7
28/2/2017	Karigita, Youth	Kihoto/Karigita Naivasha	
21/2/2017	Molo Community Leaders	Molo Town	6
22/2/2017	Molo Motor Bike SACCO	Molo Town	8
22/2/2017	Molo Women	Molo Town	8
24/2/2017	Opinion Leaders and Police Naivasha (Kihoto, Kabati and Karigita)	Naivasha Town	16
1/3/2017	Katembwo Women	Katembwo Women	6
1/3/2017	Bondeni Youth	Bondeni	6
2/3/2017	Bondeni Women	Nakuru (at Hotel)	8
3/3/2017	Katembwo Youth	Nakuru (at Hotel)	8
10/4/2017	Katembwo Men/Elders	Katembwo Holy Cross Church	6
10/4/2017	Bondeni Men/Elders	Bondeni Catholic Church	6

5.3. Annex 3: Characteristics of Household Survey Respondents

Town	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
	596 (33.5)	595 (33.4)	589 (33.1)	1780
Gender				
Female	310 (52)	333 (56)	360 (61.1)	1003 (56.3)
Male	286 (48)	262 (44)	229 (38.9)	777 (44.7)

Age	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
18-24	177 (29.6)	136 (22.9)	166 (28.1)	479 (26.9)
25-34	250 (41.9)	256 (43.1)	220 (37.4)	726 (40.8)
35-44	97 (16.3)	113 (19)	120 (20.4)	330 (18.5)
45-54	52 (8.8)	68 (11.4)	48 (8.1)	168 (9.4)
>55	20 (3.4)	21 (3.6)	35 (6)	76 (4.3)

Members in household	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
1-2	228 (38.3)	235 (39.5)	228 (38.7)	689 (38.7)
3-4	230 (38.5)	232 (39)	222 (37.7)	686 (38.5)
>5	139 (23.2)	128 (21.5)	141 (23.9)	406 (22.8)

Toilet facility	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
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Communal	566 (95)	553 (92.9)	564 (95.8)	1684 (94.6)
Non-communal	30 (5)	42 (77.1)	25 (4.2)	96 (5.4)

Education level	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
No education	8 (1.4)	9 (1.4)	11 (1.8)	28 (1.6)
Some primary	32 (5.4)	50 (8.5)	76 (12.9)	158 (8.9)
Completed primary	93 (15.7)	98 (16.5)	192 (32.6)	383 (21.5)
Some secondary	115 (19.3)	118 (19.9)	104 (17.7)	247 (13.9)
Completed secondary	227 (38)	235 (39.5)	143 (24.3)	605 (40)
Above secondary	120 (20.2)	85 (14.3)	63 (10.8)	268 (15)

Average monthly income (Kshs)	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
1,000-5,000	93 (15.6)	111 (18.7)	67 (11.4)	271 (15.2)
5,000-10,000	200 (33.6)	225 (37.8)	242 (41.1)	667 (37.5)
10,000-20,000	170 (28.5)	151 (25.4)	141 (23.9)	462 (26)
20,000-40,000	48 (8.1)	45 (7.6)	60 (10.2)	153 (8.6)
>40,000	6 (1)	7 (1.2)	14 (2.4)	27 (1.5)
Missing				200 (11)

Main source of income	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
Agriculture	2 (0.3)	22 (3.7)	39 (6.6)	63 (3.5)
Business	214 (36)	204 (24.3)	187 (31.7)	605 (34)
Domestic service	18 (3)	11 (1.8)	63 (10.7)	92 (5.2)
Clerical	9 (1.5)	34 (5.7)	7 (1.2)	50 (2.8)
Prof/Technical/Managerial	35 (5.9)	33 (5.5)	18 (3.1)	86 (4.8)
Skilled manual	94 (15.8)	65 (10.9)	69 (11.7)	228 (12.8)
Unskilled manual	50 (8.4)	99 (16.6)	102 (17.3)	251 (14.1)

Unemployed	150 (25.2)	110 (18.5)	97 (16.5)	357 (20.1)
Other	23 (3.9)	17 (2.9)	7 (1.2)	47 (2.6)

Marital status	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
Married	337 (56.5)	329 (55.3)	347 (59)	1013 (56.9)
Divorced	22 (3.8)	33 (5.5)	30 (5.1)	85 (4.8)
Widowed	22 (3.6)	15 (2.5)	32 (5.4)	69 (3.9)
Single	215 (36.1)	218 (36.7)	180 (30.5)	613 (34.4)

Religion	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
Christianity	736 (96.3)	637 (95.4)	316 (94.6)	1689 (95.6)
Islam	8 (1.0)	9 (1.3)	8 (2.4)	25 (1.4)
Traditional religious beliefs	7 (0.9)	13 (1.9)	4 (1.2)	24 (1.4)
Other	13 (1.7)	9 (1.3)	6 (1.8)	28 (1.6)

Ethnicity	Nakuru n (%)	Naivasha n (%)	Molo n (%)	Total n (%)
Kikuyu		126 (21.1)	378 (63.5)	423 (71.8)
Kalenjin		71 (11.9)	15 (2.5)	35 (5.9)
Kisii		99 (16.6)	56 (9.4)	71 (12.1)
Luhya		126 (21.1)	63 (10.6)	21 (3.6)
Luo		140 (23.5)	36 (6)	21 (3.6)
Other		30 (5)	35 (6.2)	20 (3.4)
Missing				

5.4. Annex 4: Key Informant Interviews Questionnaire

Name of organization (Jina la shirika):

Position/Designation (nafasi): Location (eneo):

Consent to participate in the study (Ridhaa)

1. Yes (*Nakubali*)

2. No (*Si kubali*)

1. What are the main types of violence in this area? *Mentioning from the most common to the least*

(Ni aina gani kuu za vurugu zinazopatikana katika eneo hii? Taja kuanzia zile zilizo kawaida zaidi mpaka zisizo kawaida)

2. What do you think are main causes of violence in the area?

(Nini husababisha vurugu katika eneo hii?)

3. Who are the main perpetrators of violence in your community?

(Ni kina nani ambao wanasababisha vurugu katika jamii yako?)

4. Who are the most common victims of violence in this community (*listing from the most common victims to the least*)

(Ni kina nani wanaoadhirika zaidi kutikana na vurugu katika eneo hii?)

5. What are the effects of violence in your area?

(Ni madhara gani yanakumba eneo hili kutokana na vurugu?)

6. How has the situation of violence changed in the last one year, compared to previous year?

(Je, katika kipindi cha mwaka moja uliopita, hali ya vurugu imebadilika kulingana na mwaka uliopita?)

7. Do you see an issue of religious radicalization in your area?

(Je, unaonelea kwamba kuna shida ya kueneza msimamo mkali wa kidini katika eneo hii?)

8. Are there any existing interventions to address violence in in your area? (By government, from your office or community) Are there any interventions from government, county government, NGOs in your

9. What strategies can prevent violence in this area? What can be done on an individual, family and community-level to prevent violence?

(Je, ni mbinu gani zinawezatumika kuzuia vurugu/ghasia katika eneo hii? Ni nini kinawezafanywa na watu binafsi, familia na jamii ili kuzuia vurugu/ghasia?)

10. What recommendations can you give to tackle violence in your area/ region at large?

(Je, unaweza toa mapendekezo gani ya kusaidia kutatua vurugu katika eneo lako?)

5.5. Annex 5: Household Survey Questionnaire

My name is _____ and I represent CHRIPS (The Centre for human rights). We are working with the local NGO Midrift (Human rights network) to collect data about violence in Nakuru, Molo and Naivasha. The information can guide future preventive strategies, and thereby help to reduce violence in your area.

Jina langu ni _____ kutoka Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS), ambayo ni kituo kinacho leta pamoja wataalamu wa aina mbali mbali kuchambua shida zinazo kumba jamii na kutafuta suluhu na kuzi tumia kusaidia kutunga sera.

Tunafanya kazi na NGO ya hapa Nakuru, Midrift(Human Rights Network) na DIGNITY (Danish Institute against Torture) kukusanya takwimu (data) kuhusu mtazamo wa ndani wa vurugu na uzoefu wa vurugu katika miji ya Nakuru, Molo, na Naivasha.

Your answers to this survey will be kept confidential. No one will be informed that you participated in this survey or have access to the information you provided, other than us. Your name will not be used or appear in any part of this research. You have the right to stop the interview at any time or to skip any question that you do not want to answer.

Nakuhakikishia kuwa Majibu yako yote yatakuwa siri. Hatutajulisha yeyote kuwa ulishiriki katika mahojiano haya na hakuna atakeyepewa maelezo utakayotupa. Jina lako halitatajwa wala kutumiwa popote katika ripoti yetu. Kumbuka pia, kuwa una haki ya kukataa kujibu swali lolote ambalo hungenda kujibu.

Some topics may be difficult to discuss with us, but many persons have found it useful to have the opportunity to talk about it. Your participation is voluntary, but your experience will increase our understanding on violence, and we hope that the result of the study will serve to prevent violence in your neighbourhood.

Baadhi ya mada zetu zinaweza kuwa ngumu kujadili nasi, lakini watu wengi wameonelea kwamba huwa muhimu kuzumgumzia kuyahusu. Ushiriki wako ni kwa hiari, lakini =kuelewa kwako kwa haya yata tusaidia kutatua shid ya virugu au fujo au vita katika jamii/mtaa wako.

The interview will take approximately 30 min. to complete. Do you agree to be interviewed?

Mahojiano haya yatachukua muda wa kama dakika ishirini. Unakubali kuhojiwa?

IDENTIFICATION

IP1. Interview No: (*Nambari ya mhojiwa*): _____

IP2. Date of interview (*Tarehe*) (ddmmyyyy) : _____

IP3. Slum where survey is being administered: 1=Nakuru-Bondeni Village____, 2=Nakuru-Kaptembwo____, 3=Naivasha-Karagita____, 4=Naivasha-Kabita____, 5=Molo Town____

IP4. Informed consent (*Ridhaa*): 1=yes (Ndio)____, 0=no (La)____

IP5. Name of interviewer (*Jina la mhojiwa*): _____

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENT

DI1. Gender (*Jinsia*): 1=Male (Mume)____, 2= Female (*Kike*)____

DI2. Age (*Umri*) _____(in years)

DI3. Marital status (*Hali ya ndoa*): 1=Married____, 2=divorced/separated____, 3=Widowed____, 4=Single____

DI4. Education level (*Kiwango cha masomo*): (READ OUT LOUD) (*tariba kwenye masomo*)

0=no education.....

1=Some primary.....

2=Completed primary.....

3=Some secondary.....

4=Completed secondary.....

5=Above secondary.....

DI5. For how long have you lived in this area? _____ (in whole years)
(Umeishi katika mtaa huu kwa muda upi?)

DI6. How many members live in this household? _____
(Kuna wakazi wangapi katika nyumba yako?)

DI7. What type of toilets do you use at your household?
(Je, mnatumia aina gani ya choo katika nyumba yako?)

1. Communal (*inayotumiwa na mtaa wote*)
2. Flashable (*Yenye 'flashi'*)

DI8. What was your main source of income last month? (READ THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OUT LOUD)

(Nini ilikuwa chanzo cha mapato yako mwaka uliopita?)

- 0=None, I was unemployed.....
(*Hakuna, sikuwa na kazi*)
- 1=Professional/technical/managerial.....
(*Mtaalamu/kiufundi/usimamizi*)
- 2=Clerical.....
(*Ukarani*)
- 3=Business.....
(*Biashara*)
- 4=Skilled manual.....
(*Kazi ya mikono inayohitaji ujuzi*)
- 5=Unskilled manual.....
(*Kazi ya mikono isiyohitaji ujuzi*)
- 6=Domestic service.....
(*Huduma za kinyumbani*)
- 7=Agriculture.....
(*Kilimo*)
- 8=Other, specify
(*8= Nyinginezo, eleza*)

DI9. What is the average monthly income in the household _____ (in Kenyan Shillings)

(Je, mapato wastani katika nyumba hii huwa kiwango gani?)

- 1: Kshs. 1,000 – Kshs. 5000
- 2: Kshs. 5,000 – Kshs. 10,000
- 3: Kshs. 10,000-Kshs. 20,000
- 4: Kshs. 20,000-Kshs. 40,000
- 5: Kshs. 40,000 and above

DI10. What religion do you belong to?

(Wewe ni mfuasi wa dini gani?)

1. Islam (*Kiislamu*)
2. Christianity (*Ukristo*)
3. Traditional religious beliefs (*Imani za kitamaduni*)
4. Others: _____ (*Nyingine*)
5. Refuse to answer (*Nakataa kujibu*)

DI11. What ethnic group do you belong to?

(Je, umetoka katika kabila lipi?)

1. Kikuyu
2. Kisii
3. Kalenjin
4. Luhya
5. Luo
6. Somali
7. Others: Specify _____
8. Refuse to answer

SECURITY IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

SN1. How safe do you feel in your own house? (external threats) (READ THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OUT LOUD)

(Je, wahisi kiwango kipi cha usalama ukiwa kwa nyumba yako?)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*) __, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*) __, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*) __, 4=Unsafe __ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN2. How safe do you feel in your own neighborhood? (READ THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OUT LOUD)

(Je, wahisi kiwango kipi cha usalama katika mtaa wako?)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*) __, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*) __, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*) __, 4=Unsafe __ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN3. Have you considered moving to another neighborhood because of insecurity / violence?

(Ushawahi fikiri kuhamia mtaa mwingine nyingine kwa sababu ya vurugu/ukosefu wa usalama?)

0=No (*La*) __, 1=Yes(*Ndio*) __

SN4. In relation to violence, how do you feel while at the following locations after dark? (READ THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OUT LOUD)

(Kuhusiana na vurugu au vita, wewe huhisi vipi katika eneo zifuatazo giza inapoingia?)

SN4.1. Your house (*Katika nyumba yako*)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN4.2. Neighborhood

(*Mtaani*)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN4.3. At work

(*Kazini*)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN4.4. Place of study

(*Shuleni*)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN4.5. The street

(*barabarani*)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN4.6. The market-place(Sokoni)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

SN4.7. Public transportation (*Ukisafiri ukitumia mbinu za kijamii kama matatu*)

1=Very safe (*Salama sana*)___, 2=Fairly safe (*Salama wastani*)___, 3=Bit unsafe (*Sihisi salama sana*)___, 4=Unsafe___ (*Sihisi salama kamwe*)

PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE

PV0.1 Do the police use unnecessary violence to deal with offenders?

(Je, polisi hutumia fujo isiyopaswa au nguvu isiyopaswa?)

1=Yes (*Ndio*)___, 2=No (*La*)___

PV1. Are the police justified to use violence in the following situations?

(Je, Polisi wanapaswa kutumia nguvu/fujo katika hali zifuatazo?)

PV1.1

Homicide.....1=Y
es___, 2=No___

(Uuaji wa binadamu)

PV1.2 Armed robbery..... 1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Wizi wa mabavu)

PV1.3 Break-ins..... 1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Kuvunjiwa nyumba na kuibiwa nyumbani)

PV1.4 Rape..... 1=Y es___, 2=No___
(Ubakaji)

PV1.5 Assaults..... 1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Kupigwa na kuumizwa)

PV1.6 Theft and mugging..... 1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Wizi na uhuni)

**PV2. Is it justified for people in this area to use mob violence/ mob justice?
1=Yes___, 2=No___ (If no continue to PV4)
*(Je, jamii inpaswa kutumia fujo au vita dhidi ya uhalifu zifuatazo?)***

**PV3. If yes, in which of these circumstances?
*(Wanaweza kudhibitishwa katika hali gani?)***

PV3.1 Homicide..... 1=Y es___, 2=No___
(Uuaji wa binadamu)

PV3.2 Armed robbery..... 1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Wizi wa mabavu)

PV3.3 Break-ins.....1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Uvunjaji)

PV3.4 Rape.....1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Ubakaji)

PV3.5 Assaults.....
1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Shambulizi)

PV3.6 Theft and mugging.....1=Yes___, 2=No___
(Wizi na uhuni)

**PV4. How much of a problem is non-consensual sex in marriage in this area?
(Kuna shida ya ubakaji katika ndoa katika eneo hii?)**

1= Not a problem ___ 2. Small problem___ 3. Big problem___ 4. Refuse to answer___ 5. Don't know___

PV5. How much of a problem is child abuse in this area?

Katika eneo hii kuna shida ya watoto kudhulumiwa ? Shida hii ni kubwa au la?

1= Not a problem ___ 2. Small problem___ 3. Big problem___ 4. Refuse to answer___ 5. Don't know___

RISK AND PREVENTIVE FACTORS

RPF1. In your opinion what causes violence in this area? (READ OUT LOUD: tick the five most important)

(Kwa maoni yako nini inazababisha fujo/vita/vurugu katika hi mtaa?)

1=Unemployment.....___
(Ukosefu wa kazi)

2=Poverty.....___
(umasikini)

3=Poor rule of law.....___
(Hakuna mfululizo wa sheria)

4=Cultural norms that support violence.....
(Mila na desturi zinazokuza vurugu)

5=High crime levels.....
(Kiwango cha juu cha uhalifu)

6=Local illicit drug trade.....
(Biashara haramu ya madawa ya kulevya katika jamii)

7=Availability of arms.....
(upatikanaji wa silaha)

8=Inequality (between gender and social groups)
(Ukosefu wa usawa)

9=Lack of street lighting.....
(Ukosefu wa taa za barabarani)

10=Poor quality of education.....
(Hali duni ya masomo)

11. Politics.....
(siasa)

12. Ethnicity
(Ukabila)

13. Others.....
(Nyingine)

RPF2. In your opinion what causes violence in this area within families? (READ OUT LOUD: tick the five most important)
(Kwa maoni yako, nini husababisha vurugu/ghasia katika familia?)

1=Poor parenting practices/child neglect.....
(Hali duni ya uzazi/kutelekezakwa watoto)

2=Marital discord.....
(Ugomvi ndani ya ndoa)

3=Violent parental conflict.....
(Vurugu baina ya wazazi)

4=Low socioeconomic household status /poverty.....
(Umaskini)

5=Friends that engage in violence....._____
(Marafiki wanaojihusisha na vurugu)

6=Alcohol/Substance abuse....._____
(Matumizi na uraibu wa pombe/Madawa ya kulevya)

7=Victim of child maltreatment....._____
(Walioadhirika na malezi mabaya)

8=Psychological/personality disorder....._____
(Shida za kisaikologia au za mtu binafsi)

9=History of violent behavior....._____
(Historia ya tabia za vurugu)

10=Pressure of large families_____
(Shinikizo kutokana na familia kubwa)

RPF3. How do you think we can reduce violence in the community (*tick the five most important*)

(Je, tunaweza vipi kupunguza vurugu/ghasia katika eneo hii?)

1= Community policing; Nyumba Kumi_____
(Usalama wa Kijamii)

2=Government driven violence prevention interventions_____
(Miradi za serikali za kuzuia vurugu)

3=Information materials/campaigns....._____
(Maelezo/Kampeni)

4=Alcohol and substance control_____
(Udhabiti wa pombe na madawa ya kulevya)

5=Role modeling....._____
(Kutoa mifano ya kuigwa)

6=Street lighting....._____
(Kuweka taa za barabarani)

7=Police control....._____
(Udhibiti wa polisi)

8=Other, specify _____
(Nyingine, eleza)

RPF4. In your opinion what prevents violence within the family? Kwa maoni yako ni nini ambayo in saidia kuzuia fujo/vufugu katika jamii (READ OUTLOUD: tick the three most important)

1=Education.....
(Masomo)

2=Parental support.....
(Msukumo/msaada wa wazazi)

3=Information/knowledge about violence.....
(Ujuzi kuhusu vurugu/ghasia)

4=Violence prevention interventions.....
(Miradi ya kuzuia vurugu/ghasia)

5= Proper living conditions.....
(Hali halisi ya maisha)

6= Effective government institutions.....
(Ahirika za serikali zilizo na ufanisi)

7=Other, specify _____
(Nyingine)

EXPERIENCE WITH VIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE TYPOLOGY

EV1. Have you suffered from any form of violence during the last 6 months?
((Je, umeadhirika na aina yoyote ya vurugu/ghasia kwa muda wa miezi sita iliopita?))
0=No (Ndio)___ 1=Yes___ (La) (if no continue to EV5)

EV2. Which type of violence did you suffer most recent? (READ OUT LOUD)
(Uliadhirika na aina gani ya vurugu/ghasia kwa muda mfupi uliopita?)

- 1=Threats/intimidation/harassment (Vitisho)
- 2=Beating (Kupigwa)
- 3=Sexual violence/forced sex (Ukatili wa Kijinsia)
- 4=Robbery with violence/mugging (Wizi wa mabavu)
- 5=Shooting (Kupigwa risasi)
- 6=Other (Nyingine)

EV3. As result of the violence did you experience some of the following consequences/symptoms? (Relate it to the most recent event – READ OUT LOUD, More than one answer is possible)

(Kutokana na ghasia/vurugu uliopitia, ulihisi au kuona matokeo yafuatayo?)

EV3.1 Physical violence (*Vurugu*)

1=Chronic pain (*Uchungu fulani ambao haujaisha bado*).....

2=Scars

(*Kovu*).....

3=Broken

bones(*Kuvunjika*).....

4=Mental/psychological consequences (e.g. night mares, anxiety) (*Kuadhirika kisaikolojia*).....

5=Other, specify

(*Nyingine*).....

EV3.2 Sexual violence (*Ukatili wa kijinsia*)

1=Chronic pain (*Uchungu fulani ambao haujaisha bado*).....

2=Scars

(*Kovu*).....

3=Broken bones (*Kuvunjika*).....

4=Mental/psychological consequences (e.g. night mares, anxiety (*Kuadhirika kisaikolojia*)).....

5=STDs (*Maradhi ya kijinsia*)).....

6=Fistula(*Kuvuja mkojo*).....

7=Other, specify (*Nyingine, eleza*).....

EV3.3 Psychological violence (*Madhara ya kisaikolojia*)

1=Mental /psychological consequences (e.g. night mares, anxiety) (*Kuadhirika kisaikolojia*).....

2=Other, specify (*Nyingine, eleza*).....

EV4. During your experience with violence, who came to your assistance?

(*Ulipokumbwa na ghasia/vurugu, ni nani/kina nani ambao walikusaidia?*)

0=No one(*Hakuna aliyenisaidia*).....

1=Family

(*Familia*).....

.....

2=Neighbours

(*Majirani*).....

.....

3=Police/ community policing/ guardians (*Polisi, polisi wa*

jamii).....
 4=Local Council
 (LC).....

 5=Local church/religious leader (*Walinzi wa dini*).....
 6=Others, specify
 (*Nyingine*).....

EV5. Is there any other member of this household who has suffered any forms of violence during the last 6 months?

(Je, kuna mtu mwingine katika nyumba yako aliyeadhriwa na vurugu kwa muda wa miezi sita iliyopita?)

0=No (*La*)__ 1=Yes (*Ndio*)__ (if no continue to EWV1)

EV4. Which event of violence did he/she suffer? (more than one answer is possible)
(READ OUT LOUD)

(Aliadhirika na aina gani ya vurugu? (Majibu yanaweza kuzidi moja))

- 1=Threats/intimidation/harassment (*Vitisho*)
- 2=Beating (*Kupigwa*)
- 3=Sexual violence/forced sex (*Ukatili wa Kijinsia*)
- 4=Robbery with violence/mugging (*Wizi wa mabavu*)
- 5=Shooting (*Kupigwa risasi*)
- 6=Killing (*Mauaji*)
- 7=Other (*Nyingine*)

EWV1. Have you witnessed any form of violence during the last 6 months within your area?

(Je, umeshuhudia aina yoyote ya vurugu katika eneo lako kwa muda wa miezi sita iliopita ?)

0=No (*La*)__ 1=Yes(*Ndio*)__ (if no continue to EWV 6)

EWV2. Which type of violence did you witness? (More than one answer is possible)
(Ulishuhudia aina gani ya vurugu/ghasia?)

- 1=Threats/intimidation/harassment (*Vitisho*)
- 2=Beating (*Kupigwa*)
- 3=Sexual violence/forced sex (*Ukatili wa Kijinsia*)
- 4=Robbery with violence/mugging (*Wizi wa mabavu*)
- 5=Shooting (*Kupigwa risasi*)
- 6=Killing (*Mauaji*)
- 7=Other (*Nyingine*)

EWV3. When witnessing or suffering a violent incident, what weapons were used in

this area?

(Ulipo shuhudia au kuadhiriwa na ghasia, ni silaha gani zilitumiwa katika jamii?)

1=Physical strength (e.g. rape, defilement, beating, head butt).....
(Nguvu za kimwili k.m. ubakaji, kupigwa)

2=Hot objects (hot knives, ironbox).....
(Vifaa vyenye uwezo wa kuchoma k.m. pasi)

3=Hard/blunt objects (e.g. hammer, piece of metal, wooden object).....
(Vifaa butu k.m Nyundo)

4=Sharp pointed weapons (e.g. knives, pangas, spears, daggers, bicycle spokes)....
(Silaha kali/zenye uwezo wa kudunga k.m. visu, panga)

5=Fire arms (smallarms, gun, AK47).....
(Silaha k.m bunduki)

6. Other
(Nyingine)

EWV4. Do you know people in this area that engage in violence?

(Je, unajua watu ambao hushiriki katika kusababisha ghasia/vurugu katika eneo hii?)

0=No(*La*)___, Yes(*Ndio*)=1___

EWV5. Have you been exposed to violence in your childhood?

(Je, ulipatana na vurugu utotoni?)

0=No (*La*).....___

1=Yes, by a family member (*Ndio, kupitia familia*).....___

2=Yes, by a stranger (*Ndio, kupitia mgeni*).....___

VIOLENCE PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY TRUST

TR1. How much do you trust in the following actors?

TR1.1 Police (*Polisi*):

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR1.2 Community policing:

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR1.3 The military (*Jeshi*):

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR1.4 Court/judges (*Jaji*):

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR1.5 Medical doctors:

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR1.6 Local church/ priest (*Askofu*)

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR 1.7. Nyumba Kumi

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR.1. 8 Chiefs

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR.1.9 Elders (*Wazee wa mtaa*)

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR. 2.0 NGOs

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

TR. 2.1. Gangs and Vigilantes (*Gengi, Jeshi wa mtaa*)

1=Trustworthy (*Huaminika*)___, 2=Not trustworthy(*Hawaminiki*)___

Social capital - SASCAT tool (9 questions)

SC1. In the last 12 months, have you been an active member of any of the following types of groups in your community? (More than one answer is possible)

(Kwa muda wa miezi kumi na mbili zilizopita, umekuwa mwanachama wa vikundi vifuatavyo?)

1. Work related/trade union (*Shirika za wafinyikazi*)....._____
2. Community association /co-op (*Shirika za jamii/chama*)....._____
3. Men/Women's group, youth groups....._____
4. Political group....._____
5. Religious group....._____
6. Credit/funeral group (*Chama/chamaa ya msiba/mazishi*)....._____
7. Sports group....._____
8. Other, specify _____

SC2. In the last 12 months, did you receive from the group any emotional help/counselling, economic help or assistance in helping you know or do things? (More than one answer is possible)

(Katika kipindi cha miezi kumi na mbili iliopita, ulipata msaada wowote wa kihisia, ushauri nasaha, wa kifedha au kukusaidia kujau au kufanya mambo kutoka kwa kikundi uliotaja awali? (Jawabu zainaweza kuzidi moja))

1. Work related/trade union (*Shirika za wafinyikazi*)..... _____
2. Community association /co-op (*Shirika za jamii/chama*)_____
3. Men/Women’s group, youth groups....._____
4. Political group_____
5. Religious group..... _____
6. Credit/funeral group (*Chama/chamaa ya msiba/mazishi*)_____
7. Sports group..... _____
8. Other, specify_____

SC3. In the last 12 months, did you receive any form of help or assistance (eg economic, counseling etc) in helping you know or do things? (More than one answer is possible)

(Katika kipindi cha miezi kumi na mbili iliopita, ulipata msaada wowote wa kihisia, ushauri nasaha, wa kifedha au kukusaidia kujua au kufanya mambo kutoka kwa wafuatao?) (Jawabu zainaweza kuzidi moja))

1. Family *(jamii yako)*....._____
2. Neighbours *(Jirani yako)*....._____
3. Friends who are not neighbours *(Marafiki wasiyokuwa majirani)*....._____
4. Community leaders*(Viongozi au wazee wa mtaa)*....._____
5. Religious leaders *(Viongozi wa kidini)*....._____
6. Politicians *(Wana siasa)*....._____
7. Government officials/ civil service *(Serikali)*....._____
8. Charitable organisations/NGO’s *(Vikundi visiyo kuwa za serikali)*....._____
9. Other, specify(*Nyingine, eleza*) _____

SC4. In the last 12 months, have you joined together with other community members to address a problem or common issue?

(Katika kipindi cha miezi kumi na mbili iliyopia, ulishirikiana na wanajamii wengine kutatua suala linaohusu jamii?)

0=No(*La*)__ 1=Yes(*Ndio*)__

SC5. In the last 12 months, have you reported a problem or talked with a local

authority or governmental organization about problems in this community?
(Katika kipindi cha miezi kumi na mbili iliyopita, umeripoti shida lolote au kuzungumza na viongozi wa mtaani au shirika la serikali kuhusu shida linalokumba jamii?)

0=No(La)___ 1=Yes(Ndio)___

SC6. In general, do you feel that the majority of people in this community can be trusted?

(Kwa jumla, unahisi kama wingi wa watu katika jamii wanaweza aminiwa?)

0=No(La)___ 1=Yes(Ndio)___

SC7. Do the majority of people in this community generally get along with each other?

(Je, wingi wa watu katika jamii hii hupatana kwa wenyewe?)

0=No(La)___ 1=Yes (Ndio)___

SC8. Do you feel as though you are really a part of this community?

(Je, unahisi kwamba wewe ni kwa kweli, mmoja wa jamii hii?)

0=No(La)___ 1=Yes(Ndio)___

SC9. Do you think that the majority of people in this community would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance?

(Je, unafikiria kwamba wingi wa watu katika jamii hii wanaweza kukutendea maovu wangepata nafasi?)

0=No(La)___ 1=Yes(Ndio)___

PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS

PV1. Who are the most common victims of violence in your neighborhood?

(Ni kina nani wanaoadhirika Zaidi na vurugu/ghasia katika jamii hii)

1=Girls (Wasichana)___

2=Boys(wavulana)___

3=Women(Wanawake)___

4=Men(Wanaume)___

5=Youth (Wanaume) (18-35)___

6=Elderly (Wazee)___

7=People with disabilities (Walemavu)___

PV2. What type of violence is mostly manifested in households?

(Ni aina gani ya vurugu/ghasia inayotokea zaidi nyumbani?)

1=Gender Based violence (spouse violence) (Vurugu katika ndoa)

- 2=Child abuse (Unyanyasaji wa watoto)....._____
- 3=Sexual violence (Ukatili kijinsia)....._____
- 4=Other, specify (Nyingine)....._____

PV3. What type of violence is mostly manifested in your area?

(Ni aina gani za vurugu/ghasia inayotokea zaidi katika eneo lako?)

- 1=Gang related violence and vigilantism (Fujo wa jeshi/gengi za mtaa)....._____
- 2=Youth violence....._____
- 3=Sexual violence....._____
- 4=Political violence....._____
- 5=Political and ethnic violence....._____
- 6=Resource-based violence (land-disputes etc.)....._____
- 7=State-authority violence (police, chiefs)....._____
- 8=Other, specify....._____

PV4. When you experienced violence, who were the perpetrator?

(Ulipokumbwa na vurugu/ghasia, ni kina nani walisababisha vurugu hizo?)

- 1=Current spouse....._____
- 2=Former spouse....._____
- 3=Other family member....._____
- 4=Neighbour....._____
- 5=Organized groups/gangs (Gengi, jeshi wa mtaa)_____
- 6=Thief....._____
- 7=Police....._____
- 8=Local administration....._____
- 9=Youths....._____
- 10=Others, specify....._____

REPORTING PATTERNS

RP1. Did you report any of the violence incidents you have witnessed?

0=No (La)___ 1= Yes (Ndio)___

(If no, continue to RP4)

(Je, uliripoti aina za vurugu/ghasia ulizoshuhudia?)

RP2. If yes, where did you report?

(Uliripoti wapi?)

- 1=Police (Polisi)....._____
- 2=Local council (LC)....._____
- 3=Local NGOs....._____

- 4=Local churches/religious leaders (*Kanisani*)....._____
- 5=Gender Based Violence units at health facilities (*Hospitalini*)....._____
- 6=Chiefs
- 7=Local elders and Headman (*Wazee wa mtaa*)
- 8=Nyumba Kumi
- 9=Community Policing
- 10=Gangs and Vigilantes
- Other, specify (*Nyingine, eleza*)....._____

RP3. Was any action taken after reporting?

(Kuna hatua zozote zilizochukuliwa baada ya kuripoti?)

0=No (*La*)___ 1=Yes (*Ndio*)___ 2=Do not know(*Sijui*)___

RP4. How effective are the following leaders and authorities in solving issues of violence? (Read out and tick relevant answer)

(Je, viongozi wafuatao walikuwa na ufanisi kiwango gani katika kutatua vurugu/ghasia?)

- RP4.1. Community leaders 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.2. NGO 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.3 National Government 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.4 Religious leaders 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.5 Police 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.6 County government 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.7 Local elders 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___
- RP4.8 Chiefs 1=Effective___, 2=Not effective___

RP5. Have you sought any help after being exposed to violence?

(Je, ulitafuta msaada baada ya kukabiliana na vurugu/ghasia?)

- 1=No, I have never experienced violence on my own body....._____
- 2=No, I did not feel the need....._____
- 3=Yes, medical help....._____
- 4=Yes, psychological help....._____
- 5=Yes, spiritual help....._____
- 6=Other, specify....._____

REGARDING THE UPCOMING ELECTION

EV1. In your opinion, what are the most likely causes of violence in the forthcoming elections? (Tick three)

(Kwa maoni yako, ni nini ambacho kina uwezo Zaidi ya kusababisha vurugu/ghasia katika uchaguzi wa 2017?)

- 1=Politicizing ethnicity
- 2=Abuses and insults towards one or more ethnic groups

3=Incitement by political leaders to supporters to be violent

4=Rumors about vote rigging

5=Other

6=Refuse to answer

Thank you for contributing to this survey.

Asante sana kwa kuchangia katika hojaji hii.

5.6. Annex 6: Focus Group Discussions Guide

Greetings. My name is [facilitator name] with the Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies. CHRIPS is an independent research organization that conducts research and advises large organizations and governments on how to strengthen community security and respect for human rights.

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this meeting on violence in your community. This focus group is part of a larger assessment CHRIPS and its partner DIGNITY are undertaking to establish the extent of violence in Nakuru County and how it can be addressed. The information gathered will be shared with policy makers with a view to supporting them to develop interventions to address violence.

During this focus group I will ask questions and facilitate a conversation on the topic of violence in your community. Please keep in mind that there are no “right” or “wrong” answers to any of the questions I will ask. The purpose is to stimulate conversation and hear the opinions of everyone in the room. I hope you will be comfortable speaking honestly and sharing your ideas with us.

Please note that this session will be documented by my colleague to ensure we adequately capture your ideas during the conversation. However, the comments from the focus group will remain confidential and your name will not be attached to any comments you make. Do you have any questions before we begin? (*Set ground rules e.g. switch of mobile phones and listen and respect each other's opinions without interruptions*)

Let us do a quick round of introductions. (Prayers in case it is seen by participants as necessary).

1. What is your understanding of violence? *How is violence manifested in this area? Which types of violence are present in this area?*

2. What are the violence trends in this area? Have they increased or decreased in the last one year? *Which settings are most likely to predispose one to urban violence?*
3. What do you are the root causes of violence? *What risks and preventive factors promote violence?*
4. Have you ever had an experience with violence? *What type of violence did you experience? How often does the violence occur?*
5. Who do you think are mostly victims of violence? *How do you classify them as victims? What increases the chances of one becoming a victim of violence?*
6. Who are the most common perpetrators of violence? *Are you aware of where the perpetrators of violence come from? What increases the probability of one becoming a perpetrator?*
7. What channels exist to report violence? *Are people willing to report? Where do they report? How often do they report?*
8. Are you aware of any strategies that are being used to prevent violence? *What are some of these strategies? Are they working? Do you think they are successful? What in your view makes them successful?? Who are the players in violence prevention? Explain how the different sectors are working together to prevent crime.*
9. What would you do recommend to enhance violence prevention in this area?

