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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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**IMPACT OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE ON HUMAN SECURITY IN KENYA: A
CASE STUDY OF KIBRA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT (2007 – 2017)**

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for any academic award in any other university.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my children Alvin Gathumbi Kamau and Aviana Wangari Kamau and my dear Mum Winnie Wangari Gathumbi.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

UN	United Nations
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
KANU	Kenya African National Union
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
AIDs	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
KAMATUSA	Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to examine the impact of electoral violence on human security in Kenya, with key focus on Kibra informal settlements. Specifically the study aimed at providing an overview of historical and contemporary perspective of electoral violence in Kenya, to understand the nexus between electoral violence and human security in Kenya and specifically in Kibra informal settlement, and to examine the role of government and non-governmental institution in enhancing human security in Kibra slums during the electoral period. The study also consisted of primary data which was analyzed by using qualitative data. Qualitative data was based on the strength of arguments presented by participants. Based on purposive sampling guided to select interviewees based on the experience and expertise Secondary data consisted of observations of various researchers in the fields of human security informal settlement and electoral violence studies. Most of the secondary data will be collected from academic journals, online sources; most of the secondary data will be derived from the UN habitat, United Nations, Development Programme Human Development Report. Data analysis method that was used in the study was qualitative data analysis. Most of the data that was collected was derived from focused group discussions. These consisted of youth women who live in the informal settlements. The study established that the human security is the protection of life, emerging understanding of community vulnerabilities. In addition the study established that election violence is the violence which results from disputed elections where a candidate is denied an outright win making his or her supporters plunge into violence and property destruction. The study further found that government needs to improve on political security where human rights and democracy are guaranteed, health security where people are able to have access to universal health care, personal security where right to life is guaranteed, environmental, community economic and food security, human security and electoral violence. Once these issues are addressed in Kibra people will live in harmony and cohesion. In addition the study established that the government was far way behind as issue of unemployment persists. People in Kibra Slum continue to live in apt poverty as they struggle to bring food on the table. On role of the government institution and the NGOs the study established that several non-governmental organization have also helped in building social amenities like football grounds which help in creating opportunities and reconciliation among communities that have been involved in electoral violence. These non-governmental also have helped in building of vocational institution that assist in imparting skills to both youth and women which help in reducing levels of poverty among youth and women in informal settlement. Civil society has also played a major role in enhancing human security during the electoral period in Kibra informal settlement. The Kenya Human Rights Organization is one of the civil society groups that have assisted in promoting political security among residents of Kibra slum. The organization has been in the forefront of seeking justice for the internally displaced person and persons who lost their property during the post-election violence. The study concluded that the NGOs in Kibra had been in the forefront of seeking justice for the internally displaced person and persons who lost their property during the post-election violence. The human rights has been assisting resident by giving them legal advice to enable them seek justice as victims of electoral violence and these has enabled the achievement of political justice. The study further concluded that the Key thematic areas that the government needed to address in Kibra slum included political security where human rights and democracy are guaranteed,

health security where people are able to have access to universal health care, personal security where right to life is guaranteed, environmental, community economic and food security, human security and electoral violence. In relation to the human security and electoral violence it is emerging as a commendable administrative practice that whenever there is notorious conduct that touches on issues of law and order, special units are set up in the police force with a specific mandate to deal with the specific crime. This is done either on permanent or adhoc basis. In the same spirit, it is recommended that special units in the police force be established during electoral periods to deal with matters of electoral mal-practices. To avoid creating administrative impasses in the flow of commands, the unit will remain under the overall command of the Commissioner of Police. The Commissioner of Police may through an administrative understanding with the Electoral Commission of Kenya procure specialized 'in-service' training of the officers under the unit on the electoral process and electoral laws. This will create special expertise in investigating trends of election violence and the persons involved. It is also advisable that the entire police force be trained on electoral matters so that the law enforcement agencies get imbued with their impartial role in handling issues of a political character.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Electoral violence and human security are key issues that have dominated the global sphere for several decades. Violence can be defined as an act of force exerted to impact physical harm or injury on another person. However, scholars have broadened this definition to accommodate the psychological aspect of violence. McLean and McMillan define violence as direct and indirect physical attack injury or psychological abuse of a person.¹ Electoral violence can be defined as a subcategory of political violence that is primarily distinguished by its timing and motive.²

Human security is a concept that was developed by several leading scholars such as Mahbub al Haq, a leading economist who introduced the concept in the 1994 Human development Report. In this report, human security focused on individual rather than state security as a norm that had dominated the global sphere for over four decades of cold war period.³ These seven key thematic areas which Mahbub focused on include, Political Security, Health Security, Personal Security, Environmental, Community Economic and Food Security⁴. In the context of this study, human Security and electoral violence are interrelated issues which affect each other in various ways.

The End of cold war led to a new era of democratization in Africa as opposed to the single party era that had dominated the African politics since the early 1960s. The new inception

¹McLean and MC Millan A. (2003). *Concise Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

² Igbuzor O. (2009). "Violence in Nigeria" Ban bakils (2016). Electoral violence and 2015 Geneva/election in Nigeria.

³ Colier P. 2009 , *War guns, and votes democracy in dangerous places* (ed) New York Harper.

⁴ Stiftung E. E. 2001. *Political and electoral violence in east Africa*. Oxford UK centre for Conflicts Research

of multiparty system led to rise of competitive politics among several African countries. For example Kenya experienced several periods of electoral violence since the inception of multi-party politics in 1991. A clear example is in the 1992 and 1997 General elections in which electoral violence affected several parts of the larger Rift Valley Province. In the successive elections of 2007 which the former Election commission of Kenya was alleged to have mismanaged the electoral process incidences of violence toward the electorate both pro-government and opposition supporters led to massive loss of lives and displacement of over 600,000 people.

Kenya has a rich history of informal settlements that are located in major cities around the country. Kibra is an informal settlement that has hosted several urban immigrants who migrated from their local counties to settle in the capital city Nairobi. The immigration begun during the colonial period and most of the immigrants worked for colonial master in the city affluent settlements. During successive elections, Kibra has suffered from electoral violence after the introduction of multi-party system in Kenya and this has affected the attainment of human security in the area⁵ Electoral violence has led to massive human suffering in Kibra slum contributing to the near collapse of the economic security of Kibra slum hence leading to increased levels of poverty and a surge in criminal activities.⁶

⁵ Report of the commission of inquiry into post-election violence October 2008.

⁶ Human development centre human development report for south Asia 1999. The crisis of governance (Karachi: Oxford university press (2000).

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

Electoral violence is a special type of political violence characterized by electoral related destructive tendencies which may be physical, structural and psychological threats to human security. The end of cold war in the early 1990s led to a new wave of democratic practices in the African continent. Kenya embraced the multi-party politics in the early 1990s after having a one party rule for over three decades. The introduction of multi-party led to the formation of several political parties which were contesting for the presidency. Once the presidential elections were announced in 1992 the country was plunged into violence as the parties failed to agree on the results.

Electoral violence has led to several challenges especially in Kibra. These challenges include loss of income which has led to the near collapse of the Kibra economy; environmental degradation which has severely affect the inhabitants of Kibra slum; cases of rape have been on the increase due to electoral violence hence this has affected personal security of vulnerable groups in the Kibra informal settlements. Eviction of persons believed to be outsiders has also affected the political security of Kibra slum inhabitants. The above issues have had a great impact on the attainment of human security in Kibra slum hence this study seeks to examine the role of institutions and policies of managing electoral violence in the vast Kibra slums with an intent of improving the overall human security of this major informal settlement which is considered to be the largest slum in sub-Saharan Africa.

1.3. Research Questions

This study sought to answer key questions that will inform the study.

- i) What is the historical and contemporary perspective of electoral violence in Kenya?
- ii) What is the Nexus between electoral violence and human security in Kenya and specifically in Kibra informal settlement?
- iii) What is the role of government and non-governmental institution in enhancing human security in Kibra during the electoral period?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to examine the impact of electoral violence on human security in Kenya, with key focus on Kibra informal settlements. Specific objectives of the study were to;

- i) Study the historical and contemporary perspective of electoral violence in Kenya.
- ii) understand the nexus between electoral violence and human security in Kenya and specifically in Kibra informal settlement
- iii) Examine the role of government and non-governmental institution in enhancing human security in Kibra slums during the electoral period.

1.5. Literature Review

Literature review of this study was subdivided into different subsections literature will focus on the concept of human security. Literature focused on historical of electoral

violence in Kenya and emerging issues. Literature also focused on the role of government and non-governmental institution in enhancing human security in Kibra slums.

1.5.1. Human Security: A Conceptual Analysis

The idea of human security represents a powerful but controversial attempt by section of academic and policy makers to broaden the meaning of security. Earlier scholars like Bernard Bodis defined security as securing as a donative value being meaningful only as far as it promotes and maintain other values which have been or are being realized thought worth security. This definition focuses on the traditional perspective of security which viewed national security as the only key issue.⁷

The concept of national security dominated the global arena for over four decades of the cold war. The traditional security paradigm only focused on state and military power state security individual had no space in this school of thought. The end of cold war ushered in a new era of how security issues were to be handled. The collapse of the Berlin wall led to call of rethinking security matters.⁸ The collapse of Berlin war led to the increase of several satellites states which experienced intra-state conflict. A clear example in the collapse of the Tito led Yugoslavia which led to formation of over six new states. The Formation of these new states led to massive human suffering amongst the former habitants of Yugoslavia This led to the 1991 Stockholm innovation on global securing and governance conference which proposed the widening of security issues from the traditional perspective

⁷ Brendan bodis Strategy as a science of world politics 1949 – pg 477

⁸ The Stockholm initiative on global security and governance” common responsibility in the 1990s. a paper published by prime ministries office government of Sweden Stockholm 1991 pp 12-18.

of state centered security paradigm to a more individual focused perspective on security to help reducing massive human suffering that had been experienced in the cold war era.

Several scholars have attempted to define concept of human security but the most outstanding contribution came from Professor Mahbub Ul Haq a Pakistan economist who contributed immensely to the development the human development report 1994 where human security was defined as security that involves individuals. The United Nations development programme report was divided into several key thematic areas which include economic security which was to ensure that all human being have an assured basic income to enhance sustainability, food security which ensures that all times people have access to food, health security which guarantees protection from diseases. Environmental security which ensures people of all walks of life have access to a sustainable and secure environment. Community security which protects people from losing their traditional values and final Personal security which ensures individuals are human right violation.⁹

Several worlds' leading Nations have been key proponents of the United Nation Human Development Report 1994. The inception of human security had led to two leading countries which have had different contending views on human security. The Japanese government has been a strong advocate of the concept of human security. The issue of human security has been a cornerstone of its foreign policy since the early 2000's. The human security approach from the Japanese perspective focused on the freedom from want approach. For example the Japanese government has been funding initiatives of rebuilding

⁹ Human development centre human development report for south Asia 1999. A crisis of governance (Karah Oxford University Press 2000).

key amenities in informal settlement that were destroyed during the post electoral violence of 2007/2008.¹⁰

The Canadian government has also a strong advocate of this concept. The Canadian government has adopted a freedom from fear approach which includes freedom from sexual violence, the income gap between rich and poor, internal conflict, transnational crime, environment degradation Ethnic conflict, state repression, child abuse, economic underdevelopment, promotion of international justice unstable protectionist international trading system anti-personnel land mines and Globalization which has led to increase of environmental degradation which are among key issues that have contributed to election violence in Kenya. Canadian government has been instrumental in funding and supporting the international criminal court to try and get justice to victims of electoral violence.¹¹ An example is the extradition of former Liberian president Charles Taylor was facilitated by Canadian foreign affairs. The Canadian government has continued to advocate for fair trade rules through lobbying The world leading economies in supporting the 2001 World trade organization Doha round of talks that will help improve trade capabilities of the countries that are considered to be least developed and this will be instrumental in improving the welfare of individual across Africa which has been affected with electoral violence of the last two and half decades.¹²

The concept of human security has also had a fair share of criticism critics argue that human security is a board concept that cannot be addressed by only giving financial aid practical

¹⁰ Fukushima "Human security and Japanese foreign policy in human security in east Africa 52 no. 2 (1997).

¹¹ Axworthy, *Canada and Human security*. The need for Leadership International Journal 52 no. 2 (1997).

¹² Bosuld and Worthes human security in practice Canadian and Japanese experience. *A Canadian perspective Austria journal of international affairs* vol 54-2000.

implementation is of critical importance. Proponents of traditional security like Barry Buzan who is a key proponent of traditional security paradigm argues that human security negates the crucial role played by state as the primary security provider to individual.¹³The issue of data has also been raised by critics of human security they argue that data that was collected by proponents of human security school of thought is not sufficient in addressing key issues affecting individual and state.

1.5.2. History of Electoral violence in Kenya and Emerging Issues

Violence can be defined as an act of force exerted to impart physical harm to another person. However, it's important to note that this definition doesn't capture the three key components of violence. Several scholars have further developed the definitions of violence. Violence can be defined as the direct and indirect physical attack injury of psychological abuse of a person.¹⁴

The concept of violence has been broadened from the paradigm of physical and psychological to a structural dimension. Johan Galtung a leading conflict scholar developed structural violence dimension which includes a position of injustice which has several components. Like creating economic misery, marginalization and inequality. A clear example can be demonstrated during the twenty four years rule of His Excellency Daniel Moi where several opposition's strongholds faced marginalization from government resources. For example appointment of senior government officials, was a

¹³ Bosold and Worthes, Human security in practice Canadian and Japanese Experience. *A Canadian perspective Australian Journal of International Affairs* Vol 54 (2000).

¹⁴ Mclean and McMillan 2003. *Concise dictionary of politics*. Oxford University Press.

preserve of his ethnic community hence denying several communities that supported the opposition opportunities in the public service.¹⁵

Political violence has also another type of violence which is aimed at denying people their basic rights as enshrined in their respective constitutions. For example, a basic right to vote. Electoral violence which is the key focus of these study is a special type of political violence characterized by election related destructive tendencies which may involve the above mentioned components of violence which are physical psychological and structural. Several scholars have defined electoral violence for example Igbuzor O. a leading Nigeria scholar defined electoral violence as an act of violence perpetuated in the heart of political activity, political activity in the case include all three key stages of election pre-election which includes voter registration , civic education, and election campaign.¹⁶ The election state which involve actual voting and counting and management of results, and Post-election period which include the swearing process.

During the three processes the use of excessive force to disrupt the key exercise like voter registration, use of dangerous weapon to intimidate voter during the voting process and intimidation of election manager who include the commissioners and returning officers are the key issues that inform electoral violence. This study intends to look into way of reducing electoral violence that has impacted on the overall development of inhabitants of informal settlements and also help come up with strategies to curb electoral violence in the three key stages of an electoral process in Kenya.

¹⁵ Galung Johau 1989. Violence Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Researcher* 167-192.

¹⁶ Ojo E.O. (2007). Elections An exploration of theoretical postulations. *Journal of African Elections* s(2(4-13).

Kenya held its first multiparty election in 1992 in which the incumbent government led by his Excellency Daniel Toroitich won the election. However during the successive polls that followed there were pockets of violence in areas that were perceived to be opposition zones. Supporters of the ruling party used violent means to evict supporters of the opposition parties from major informal settlement in several leading cities in Kenya. However the trend of violence was experienced in the slum areas during the election were between two main contenders His Excellency Mwai Kibaki and Former Prime Minister Retired Honorable Raila Odinga led to a series of violence among Kenya slum dwellers. These violence led to the displacement of over 600,000 people and over 1300 persons were feared dead due to the post-election experienced during these period. Most of these displaced persons were urban slum dwellers who were earning less than a dollar and were perceived to the supporting the party of the incumbent who was believed to have rigged the December 2007 election.

The patterns of electoral violence have continued to be witnessed in the successive elections of 2013 and 2017 after the incumbent was declared winner after first round of voting. These violence was experienced in Mathari and Kibra slum which are densely populated and are perceived to be opposition strong holds. These patterns of violence are also witnessed in major counties like Kisumu in which several youth were killed in the 2017 elections including a six month baby who was short by a stray bullet.

Electoral violence has been on the increase during the pre and post-election period because the slum dweller are promised better life and access to public resource hence these makes the youth who are the larger population result to violence to the unmet electoral promises.¹⁷

¹⁷ Bayne Sarah 2008. *Post-election violence in Kenya* An Assessment for the UK government.

Human security and electoral violence are two issues that are interrelated and have a great impact on human security. Human security as previously observed in this study involves the wellbeing of human kind. Human security which involves seven key thematic areas is adversely affected by electoral violence.

The attainment of the seven Key thematic areas requires a peaceful environment hence the electoral violence that has been experienced in informal settlement like Kibra has led to the displacement of several slum dwellers which has affected the economic progression of the slum. For example during the 2017 election which was nullified by the supreme court of Kenya led to the high prices of basic commodities which were boycotted by the slum dwellers.

The human security of Kenya urban settlers is affected due to the relocation of several charitable and non-governmental organization which help in the attainment of universal health care for all. This has led to the deterioration of the wellbeing of slum dweller thus increasing the mortality rate of Kenya urban slum dweller. The political security of Kenya urban slum dwellers has been under threat due to the harassment of political party supporter by several arms of security. The 2017 elections were faced by serious allegation of violation of basic human right like right of association among slum dwellers.¹⁸

The government was accused of using excessive violence to disperse political party's supporters in slum areas hence these threatened the political security of the Kenya Urban Informal Settlements areas. Electoral violence has also led to degeneration of environment of Kenya urban informal settlements. The displacement of persons due to post-election

¹⁸ Konrad Adenauer Foundation Krieger and Waki Reports on 2007 elections. <http://www.kcs.de/wf/doc/kas-16094-1522-2-35pdf53,56>.

violence has led to over population among the slum inhabitants hence posing a threat to the environment.

A clear example is with the Nairobi River which has continued to experience solid waste dumping due to the increased population in slum areas due to the electoral violence. The degeneration of the environment has severe effects of the wellbeing of inhabitants of the slums.

Several key issues have emerged that have continued to propagate electoral violence in Kenya and Africa. One of the major issue that has consistently contributed to electoral violence in high youth unemployment. Kenya has a 40% unemployment rate which has largely contributed to the persistent electoral violence in every election calendar. Politician from both divides and opposition and government have continued to use the large population of unemployed youth to attain their political goals. During the electioneering period of 2017. Both the ruling party Jubilee and National super alliance used the unemployed youth to perpetuate violence.

The other major issue that has contributed immensely to electoral violence is ethnicity. For several decades it has been believed that if your tribesman captures power the benefits will trickle down to your own ethnic group since the first multiparty elections which was held in 1992 majority of Kenya's have been voting along ethnic lines and these has been a major contributor of violence. A case in point is in the 2007 in which supporter of the party of national unity were evicted from the larger Rift valley due to their support of their own tribesmen.¹⁹

¹⁹ 2007/2008 post-election violence cost a new Rodd for preventive action: report from first global conferences in preventive action" east west institute June 14 2011. Ww.ewl.info/idea/now. read-preventive action

Electoral violence has continued to manifest due to lack of implementation of the 2010 constitution and failure of key institutions in implementing their mandate. A clear example is in the Kaparo led commission the National cohesion and integration commission whose mandate is to check on hate mongers who spread hate speeches during the campaign periods. The failure of the commission has led to rise of violence among electorate who have different opinion to the incumbent. Institution like independent electoral and boundaries commission failure to conduct a free and fair election has led the increased incidence of violence. A clear example can be demonstrated with the release of the results of presidential election which had anomalies hence the led to pockets of violence in counties that were perceived to be opposition strongholds.²⁰

The other major issue is insecurity lack of property security arrangement has led to the eruption of electoral violence every election cycle. Several counties are unable to access polling station due to insecurity. A clear example is in Baringo County where several stations were inaccessible both by electorate and election officials due to insecurity. These insecurity issues have led to increased chances of electoral violence in Kenya and Africa in general, insecurity has also led to high profile political assassinations in the period to election's. The assassinations are perceived to trigger electoral violence hence disrupt the electoral process.

The other major issue that has persistently contributed to the electoral violence is the emotive issue of land. The Kenya government failure to deal with land issue has largely contributed to the persistent electoral violence in every election cycle. A clear example is the violence witnessed in the Rift valley in the build of the 2007 election which was

²⁰ Laakso Lisa 2007. *Insights into electoral violence in Africa*. In based Eudmann and Mchler 2007, pp 224 – 252.

triggered by the inability of the then government of Mwai Kibaki in addressing the historical injustices of poor land distribution policies by the independence government. The land issues has also dominated the coastal counties a clear example of violence due to land issue is in Lamu county where the inhabitants are raising issues of unique distribution of land to the indigenous inhabitant of Lamu county.

The other key issue that has contributed to electoral violence is the rise of vernacular stations. Most of the vernacular stations have been found to have contributed immensely to the 2007/2008 elections. Majoring of vernacular stations were used by leading politicians to spread messages of late Edwards communities perceived to be supporting the opposing candidate. A clear example can be observed with the international criminal court were a radio presenter was charged with war crimes due to his role in spreading hate messages using his local dated.²¹

1.5.3. Role of Government and Non-governmental institutions in enhancing human security in Kibra informal settlement during electoral period

The term informal settlement is often used to preference to that of a slum. Informal settlement can be defined as a contagious settlement where residents are characterized as lacking proper housing easy access to water, sanitation and secure land ownership. Nairobi has over sixty six informal settlements that are spread across the county. Kibra is an informal settlement located in the south west and the land is predominantly owned by the government. Kibra is considered to be one of the largest informal settlement in Sub-Sahara with a population of 200,000 people per square Km (Amnesty International 2009) Non-

²¹ Kenya red cross 2008 Kenya” Electoral violence operations update (no to 2008) 31 jan 2008.

governmental organization have been of critical importance in enhancing human security in Kibra informal settlement.

Several scholars have attempted to define non-governmental institutions scholar Lewis defines non-governmental organization as independent, non-profit making voluntary organization operating at local level and engaged in poverty reduction at local level. Non-governmental organizations have been of critical importance of provision of vital services that have been lacking and the informal settlement. For example during the electoral period of 2007 the Japanese international cooperation played a pivotal role in providing shelter and basic human needs to families in the informal settlement. These major non-governmental organizations have also been of critical importance in promoting reconciliation meeting between major ethnic communities that were affected by the electoral violence witnessed in the informal settlement. For example the Kenya human right commission and Human rights watch have been in the forefront of educating women and youth on the importance of peaceful voting to avert recurrence of violence that has been witnessed in the sub-Saharan largest informal settlement.²²

The Kenyan government has also been of critical importance of enhancing human security in Kibra slum. The election of the Jubilee government in 2013 led to new imitative of slum upgrading which was intended to improve the quality of life and also help in reduction of poverty among the Kibra resident.²³ The Kenya government introduced the national youth service programme under the ministry of devolution which was aimed at empowering youth groups and women. These programmes had several impacts because it led to creation

²² KSF 2010- Changing Life in the Kibra Slum, Kibra Slum Foundation

²³ Ibrahim S & Hulme D. 2010. *Has civil society helped the poor*. A review of the role and contribution of civil society to poverty reduction. Brook world poverty institute working paper no. 114.

of employment and income generating programme that helped youth and women in access cash and empowering the economic status.

The Kenya government has also been at the fore front of slum upgrading through the Kenya slum upgrading programme under the supervision of the ministry of housing. This programme was piloted in Kibra with an aim of improving the living conditions of the slum inhabitants. The programme was aimed at improving the general human security right from economic security through provision of opportunities. Environmental security through provision of an inhabitant place of living through proper housing and sanitation. Community security was also achieved through public participation the Kenyan government has come up with initiatives that have involved all communities to avoid recurrence of electoral violence through non-participation.²⁴

The Kenyan government has also been instrumental in funding civic education programmes conducted by the independent electoral commission body. These civic education are aimed at promoting peaceful elections among the resident of Kibra. These initiatives mostly involve the youth of all tribes that inhabit Kibra slum hence these has been of critical importance during the electoral period.²⁵ The subdivision of the larger Kibra constituency to smaller constituencies has also helped in reducing electoral violence. The smaller constituency represent the various interest of the larger slum and also critical in the subdivision of constituency development fund which help in reducing electoral violence because all resident of larger Kibra slum are well represented on development agenda which have a positive impact on human security.

²⁴ Mulcaty M. and Chu, M. 2009. Kibera Soweto east a case study of slum upgrading.

²⁵ Oxfam G.B. 2009. *Urban Property and Vulnerability in Kenya*. Nairobi.

The Kenyan government has also improved the political security of the slum. These has been achieved by deploying more administrative officer at the local level and the opening of several police and administration police post that help in addressing disputes and maintenance of peace and order. The Nyumba Kumi initiative which is spearheaded by the national government has helped in improving the personal security of the Kibra residents. The people participation in their own security has also been of great importance in the reduction of electrical violence.

1.5.4. Knowledge Gap

The above literature has been of critical importance in identifying that human security and electoral violence are two interrelated issue. However, the literature lacks significant contribution on the effects of electoral violence in informal settlements most of the studies have focused on electoral violence from national point of view therefore the study seeks to focus on how electoral violence impact on informal settlement which consist of more than 50% of urban dwellers in Kenya.

Several studies that have been done have focused on hot spots that are affected by elections in Kenya. The hotspots which include Rift valley and Nyanza but little has been done on electoral violence and human security in Kibra slum. Most literature only focuses on how to upgrade slums but this study will focus on how prevention of electrical violence can contribute in the realization of human security of over 50% of urban informed settlements.

1.6. Justification of the Study

There is a plethora of literature on human security and electoral violence. This study will focus on the interplay between human security and electoral violence with a focus on Kibra informal settlement which is believed to be on a steady growth in the Kenya.

The above study will seek to develop a deeper understanding on human security and electoral violence in Kibra informal settlement. These study will also be of critical importance in contributing to the field of academia by providing secondary data that can be used by scholars in understanding field of international relations, conflict management and also help fill the gap in the available literature.

The study also seeks to help policy makers come up with recommendation that will help improve the overall human security of in Kibra informal settlement with an aim of achieving sustainable goals and address key issues that contribute to electoral violence.

1.7. Hypotheses

To achieve the objectives of this study and provide variables that are testable the study will use the following hypotheses.

- i) Electoral violence is a key determinant of human security in Kenya as indicated in the Kibra slum informal settlement.
- ii) Electoral violence has contributed to human insecurities in Kenya and specifically in the Kibra informal settlement.
- iii) Government and non-governmental organizations are key determinants of human security in Kibra informal settlement.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study was derived from International conflict management discourse. The theory of relative deprivation is best placed to inform the above study. The term relative deprivation was formed by scholars William Schumann and Tedd Gurr in the early 1970's and relative deprivation can be defined as the perceived discrepancy between people value expectation and value capability value expectations refers to the good that people desire to have . For example an average human being desires to own a home luxurious car, freedom to express him or herself. Value capabilities according to Tedd Gurr refers to the goods and condition that individual are already have or they are within ones reach. For example basic needs like food shelter and clothing which an individual is capable of affording them.

Ted Gurr argued that there are three types of deprivation. The first type of deprivation is decremental deprivation in which the value capabilities decline thus leading to anger and discontent among the individual. A clear example is the decline of purchasing power of the majority of people due to rise in unemployment. The second type of deprivation is aspirational deprivation which involves the rise in value expectation²⁶

The means that the expectations of people rise but they are enable to achieve these expectations. The third type of deprivation as postulated by Ted Gurr is progressive deprivation in which value expectation continues to grow but the value capabilities

²⁶ Taussing Rubto 2011- *Pirate trials international criminal court and Mob justice; Reflection in post-colonial sovereignty in Kenya* (51-74).

continue to decline. A clear example is the cost of basic good like milk continue to rise and the incomes continue to decline hence leading to frustration among the population.

The above theory can be used to explain the impact of electoral violence on human security. This is because the electioneering period people expectations especially on the informal settlement are high hence these promises of better housing access to employment, access to better health are never fulfilled hence leading to violence. The above theory is able to explain by the gap between value expectation which in the study in the ideal seven types of human security are not achieved through the democratic process in Africa and Kenya.

1.9. Methodology of the Research Design

Research design can be defined as a systematic or strategic approach that a researcher using to conduct a scientific study.

The above study used both primary and secondary data.

a) Secondary data

Secondary data consisted of observations of various researchers in the fields of human security informal settlement and electoral violence studies. Most of the secondary data will be collected from academic journals, online sources, most of the secondary data will be derived from the UN habitat, United Nations, Development Programme Human Development Report.

Primary data

The study also consisted of primary data which was analyzed by using qualitative data. Qualitative data was based on the strength of arguments presented by participants. Based

on purposive sampling guided to select interviewees based on the experience and expertise. Key informants in this interview included local administrators of informal settlements, youth leaders' women and community leaders who are the most affected by electoral violence.

1.10 Data analysis

This is a critical part of the process. Data analysis method that was used in the study was qualitative data analysis. Most of the data that was collected was derived from focused group discussions. These consisted of youth women who live in the informal settlements. The groups were selected based on age, experience and opinion based on various issues to be discussed in regard to electoral violence. The other method was semi and open ended questions that were distributed among the above mentioned categories. These questions helped in getting an in-depth understanding of the impact of human security and electoral violence in Kibra informal settlement.²⁷

1.11. Scope and Limitations of the study

The below study is likely to encounter several challenges which include adequate financing this is because the study is not sponsored by any organization and also the state of insecurity in the informal settlement will limit the amount of data to be collected.

The geographical scope to limited within Kenya and most of the information will be collected in the Nairobi County. Slum due to the time constrain. However, the information intend to be used in other states within Africa especially sub samara Africa.

²⁷ Abel G Mugenda, Social Science Research: *Theory and Principles* pg 196.

The researcher intends to carry out a comprehensive research to help achieved the objective of attain a master's degree in international conflict management.

1.12. Ethical Approach

The study will only be used to achieve academic goals and the information gathered will be only shared at academic forums.

1.13. Chapter Outline

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter provides an introduction and basic structure for this research.

CHAPTER TWO

An overview of historical and contemporary perspective of electoral violence in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

The study will seek to understand the nexus between electoral violence and human security in Kenya and specifically on Kibra informal settlement.

CHAPTER FOUR

Examine the role of government and non-governmental institution in enhancing human security in Kibra slum during the electoral period.

CHAPTER FIVE

Provide the data analysis, summary and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN KENYA

2.0. Introduction

Several scholars have made attempts to define electoral violence. Electoral violence is derived from the general notion of violence. According to Mclean and McIllian (2003) violence can be defined as the direct or indirect physical attack injury or psychological abuse of person. Johan Galtung also pointed that violence could take a structural dimension which is a position of social injustice which may include creating economic misery repression and alienation.²⁸ Electoral violence can be defined as a special type of violence that is characterized by electoral related destructive tendencies which may be physical, psychological or structural.²⁹ Igubuzor a conflict scholar further define electoral violence as act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities which include pre-during and post-election periods.³⁰

2.1. Historical and contemporary perspective of electoral violence in Kenya

Kenya is a country situated in the eastern part of Africa with an estimated population of over 4 million. Kenya is governed using a presidential system where the president is head of state and government in the last eight years Kenya changed its constitution and adopted a devolved system of governance. Kenya has forty seven counties which are headed by

²⁸ Mckean L and Mac Millar A 2003. *Course Dieting of Politics*. Oxford University Press.

²⁹ Joham Galtung 1969 Violence Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research* (167-192)

³⁰ Igubuzor O. 2009 Violence in Nigeria.

governors. The counties make their own assemblies which are responsible in the day to day operation of the counties.

Kenya gained its independence in 1963 after an armed struggle between the British and the Mau Mau rebel group. After gaining its independence from the British colony Kenya adopted a multi-party system in which the ruling party Kenya African national Union which had majority formed the first African government headed by his Excellency Jomo Kenyatta. Despite having the majority the other parties had also a large following due to their policies of regionalism. However in the late 1960's Kenya its first electoral violence after Jaramogi Odinga. Kenya's first vice president formed Kenya people Union to challenge the rule of the incumbent.³¹ The Kenyatta government vested violence toward the leaders and supporter of Kenya peoples Union and even change the constitution to make Kenya a one party state.³²

The End of Cold War ushered a new era in African politics. Majority of African government which enjoyed massive support their foreign master due to their ideological stand continued to dwindle. The new world order as began to take centre stage, many African countries which were at large one party states begun facing pressure from the western world to embrace democratic practices. Kenyan government led by his Excellency Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi embraced the dejure. Multi-party system with a fixed presidential term of a maximum of two five year presidential term. The first multi-party elections were held in 1992 in which the incumbent was declared winner despite claims of

³¹ Odhiambo, Mhai c. 2003. *The rise and Fall of Kenya Autocratic State in Kenya*. Heinrich bull Foundation Nairobi.

³² Mugoya BC (2010). *Devolution and Conflict resolution assessing the potential rule and capacity of country government* – institute of federalism.

election malpractices. The win by incumbent led to rise of electoral violence among the Luo, Kisii and Kikuyu tribes who were considered outsiders by the Kalenjin tribe which largely dominated the rift valley province.³³ The 1992 violence led to displacement and loss of livelihoods of several communities who had inhabited the rift valley province or over three decades. It is estimated over 300,000 people were internally displaced and 1000 people died from the violence aftermath the 1992 election. In 1997 general election also experience wide spread violence. The incumbent His Excellency Moi won the election with a slim majority however cases of electoral violence were experienced in areas that were perceived to be KANU zones. Over 400,000 people were displaced and 2000 reported dead. These displacements was spread country wide especially in the rift valley and coast province which were considered KANU strong holds.³⁴

The 1997 general elections led to an increased call of reforms that were aimed at changing elections laws which were considered to be favouring the incumbent. The Kenyan government allowed the formation of inter-parliamentary parties groups which was tasked to bring electoral reforms that were aimed at streamlining the electoral process to prevent recurrence of violence among the electorate.

These reforms also led to the formation of alliances a clear example is the Kenya African national union and the National Development party which aimed at having an all-inclusive government and address injustices among opposition supporters. The other major alliance that was formed to fight the over thirty years rule of Kenya African National Union is the Rainbow Alliance. This alliance was led by then opposition leader Mwai Kibaki who

³³ Klopp *3M ethnic clashes and winning elections*. The Kenya electoral disposition journal African studies 473-514.

³⁴ Muigai G – *Ethnicity and Renewal of competitive politics in Kenya in: Giokman Het Ethnicity conflict and democratization African studies association*. press Oxford.

eventually won the 2002 election by over sixty two percent of the majority vote. These elections had few incidences of violence because the loser of the election Mr. Kenyatta conceded defeat.

The formation of a National Rainbow Alliance renewed hopes of transparency and democratic Kenya. However, after the naming of the cabinet by his Excellency Mwai Kibaki several leaders of the coalition government accused the incumbent of not honoring the memorandum of understanding that had been agreed on prior to the 2002 elections.

The Non-implementation of the memorandum of understanding led to a fall out within the rainbow coalition and the rise of the Orange Democratic Party. The formation of the orange Democratic Party by the former Roads Minister led to the defeat of Kibaki government in the 2005 constitutional referendum.³⁵ The formation of orange Democratic Party posed a serious challenge to the government of Kibaki hence leading to one of the most competitive elections in the history of Kenya. The 2007 elections were contested between the party of National Unity and Orange Democratic Movement.³⁶

The Electoral Commission of Kenya announced Mwai Kibaki as the winner and these led to one of the worst post-election violence in the sub-Sahara Africa. The violence which was meted against supporter of both sides led to the displacement of over 600,000 people and loss of lives for over 1500 people. The massive displacement also affected the Kenya economy which was growing at a rate of seven percent to one percent.³⁷

³⁵ Taussing Rubto 2011- *Pirate trials international criminal court and Mob justice; Reflection in post-colonial sovereignty in Kenya* (51-74).

³⁶ Troup DN – 2003- *Kibaki triumph – Kenya General election 2002*: Royal Institute of International Affairs Briefing paper (3).

³⁷ Tsuda M 2010 – *The experience of National Relations Alliance Political parties in Kenya 1999 to 2007*. Discussions paper No. 222.

The 2007 election led to the formation of Grand coalition government which included both parties involved in the 2007 elections. The Grand coalition government was created to help in the reduction of injustices among several leading communities. During the five year tenure of the grand coalition government several initiatives to seek justice to post-election violence were initiated. The invitation of the International Criminal court was one of the major step taken by the coalition government to seek justice of the post-election victims. The International Criminal court which worked closely with the Waki Commission indicated six suspects to the international court. The international criminal court suspects were part of the 2013 general elections.

The 2013 general elections also experienced several pockets of violence in areas perceived to opposition zones. Supporters of the former prime minister. Its Excellency Raila Odinga protested the election of Uhuru Kenyatta as the president of the Republic of Kenya. The last general election in 2017 had also a fair share of electoral violence several opposition supporter protested against the electoral commission which they believed was biased toward their candidate. The announcement of Uhuru Kenyatta as the winner of the August election led to violence in parts of Kisumu, Siaya, Migori, counties.

These electoral violence led to the death of several people especially in slums and areas that the opposition had massive support. The annulment of the election by the Supreme Court of Kenya led to violence among supporters of the ruling incumbent. Electoral violence was also experienced during the repeat election of October where opposition supporter boycotted the repeat election which they believed was rigged and had several anomalies as identified by the Supreme Court.

2.2. Commissions of Enquiry in Electoral violence

During the over 55 years of Kenya's independence it is imperative to note over thirty Commission of enquiry have been formed to deal with broad issues that have affected the Kenya's electorate. Most of the issues that have led to the Formation of commission of enquiry include assassination, corruption, ethnic cleansing Land grabbing, and Electoral violence. This study will look into several commission that were formed to address issues of electoral violence. A clear example is the Kiliku commission which was led by former Changanwe Member of Parliament Honorable Kennedy Kiliku. The commission was formed after the 1992 general elections to investigate the ethnic clashes which had been experienced during the after the election.

The Kiliku led commission came up with several finding which implicated senior politicians among the ruling Kenya African National Union Elite. During the 1997 elections which also had a fair share of electorate violence the Akiwuni commission led by Hon. Justice Akilano Akiwuni was formed to investigate the causes of electoral violence. The commission came up with the names of persons responsible and also recommended legal action. However, due to the high profile of individual reports of the finding of both Akiwuni and Kiliku commission were never implemented.³⁸

The aftermath of 2007/2008 electoral violence the Kihaki led coalition for a commission of inquiry led by Justice Philip Waki who was tasked to investigate the post-election violence. The Commission made tremendous progress in finding the root causes of electoral violence and its recommendations were adopted by the international criminal

³⁸ Kiage P. 2004, Prosecutions a panacea for Kenya Atrocities? *East African Journal Human Rights Democracy* (104-119).

court prosecutor Mr. Ocamp. The Ocampo led prosecution team relied heavily on the Waki report to help come up with evidence against the six suspects who had been identified as key perpetrators of electoral violence in the 2007/2008 election.³⁹

The Waki commission led to the formation of Truth and Justice Commission a replica of Truth and Justice Commission formed in south Africa after the over fifty years of apartheid. The commission led by Ambassador Bethwel Kiplagat was formed to help look into all issues that had led the electoral violence. Among issues that the commission was tasked to look at are Historical injustices, poor land distribution policies, unfair distribution of public resource's, the commission also came up with recommendation that helped in the formation National cohesion and Integration Commission to addressing issues of hate speech and ethnic defusing and help in addressing issues of reconciliation amongst communities that have been affected by electoral violence in Kenya.⁴⁰

2.3. Role of Militias in electoral violence

Since independence Kenya has had several political alliances among leading politicians to Kenya. An example of such alliances is the Famous rainbow coalition which was an alliance among leading politicians in Kenya which helped them in acquiring political power. The other major alliance is the famous Kenya African national union and National Development party led by His Excellency Daniel Toroitich and Former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. Since the inception of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1991 politicians resorted in sponsoring or creating political gang to achieve their objectives. An example of political gang that was used during electoral violence is the Mungiki (a kikuyu word for

³⁹ Kimundi E 2011. *Post-election crisis in Kenya and Implications for the International criminal court development as a legitimate institutions Eye ICC (1) (79-109)*.

⁴⁰ African centre *European Democracy (2007) A study of Commission inquiry in Kenya*.

multitude).⁴¹ This is one of the largest criminal gang which started in the early 1980s. The gang was formed by some of former Mau mau rebels to address historical injustices that had affected former Mau mau fighter who were subjected to poverty after Kenya got its independence. Mungiki has been described as a mafoso – style shakedown and has a reliable source of income mostly derived from the unregulated transport industry. In the last three elections Mungiki have been sued to by presidential candidates to achieve their agenda. For example in the 2007/2008 Mungiki was alleged to have played a pivotal role in retaliation attacks against non-kikuyu living in central rift valley.⁴²

There are other militias that have emerged during election. For example the Taliban (a Luo militia).⁴³ Baghdad boys Jeshi la Mzee led by former Cabinet Minister Mr. Fred Gumo , Jeshi la Embakasi led by former Embakasi member of parliament David Monje Chinkororo a Kisii group which was sponsored by former cabinet minister Simeon Nyachae. All above mentioned group have played a critical role in the post-election violence in Kenya. Most of the criminal gang are formed on tribal basis and normally activated during the electoral period to help their leaders in achieving their political ambitious.

2.4. Role of Impunity in electoral violence in Kenya

Prior to the 2007/2008 electoral violence the culture of impunity had gained its roots in Kenya. Most of the major crimes committed by senior politicians which include Grand corruption. Gross human rights violation. For example the Goldenberg scandal, the Anglo leasing scandal post-election violence, over the last twenty size years have never been

⁴¹ Kagwanja MP 2007. *Facing Mt Kenya or facing Mecca?* The Mungiki Ethnic violence and politics of Moi succession in Kenya. 1987 – 2022 African affairs (02:25-49).

⁴² Ramusser J 2010 – Outwitting the professional politics? Mungiki narratives of political deception and their role in Kenya. *Politic Journal of East Africa Studies* 4(7) (433-449)

⁴³ Biegun J 2008. The advert unholy alliances coalition government in afer math disputed elections and electoral violence in Africa. *A case study of Kenya LLM Dissertation University of Pretoria.*

charged in a court of law. The culture of impunity has led to increased violence during the electoral period for example. The 2017 general election several leading politicians continued to spread hate messages both in public and social media and no action was taken against them. The culture of impunity has affected our judicial system which are unable to impart justice among the elite for example in Uasin Gishu County where the sitting governor used violence to intimidate non Kalenjins living in his county yet no action was taken against him. The culture of impunity has also contributed in the lack of reconciliation among communities for example several internally displaced persons from communities that are not in power were left out in the compensation hence these contributed to continued violence in the subsequent election in 2013 and 2017.⁴⁴

The culture of impunity has also affected the earlier mentioned commission of inquiry .most commission of inquiry are compromised hence the finding are not conclusive enough to implicate those involved for example the Ndungu report which had come up with solutions to land issue which is a major issue tht has contributed to electoral violence was never implemented due to impunity.

2.5. Role of Electoral bodies in electoral violence in Kenya

Since independence Kenya has held several elections. In the post-independence of elections management was under the office of the attorney general hence elections were controlled by the executive between the periods of 1964-1990.

The inception of multiparty politics in Kenya led to a new dawn in the management of elections in Kenya. The executive was given power to elect an electoral body headed by a

⁴⁴ Kimani JW and Kisemei MC 2010. *Impunity and Politics of Commission of Inquiry* ICCP publications.

member of judiciary. This led to the formation of electoral commission of Kenya led by the former Chief Justice Chesoni. The electoral commission of Kenya managed election for a period of 25 years. During these period Kenya experienced the worst electoral violence and these was contributed to the poor management of electoral process. A case in point is the 2007 election which the then chairman Justice Samuel Kivuitu admitted that he wasn't sure of the 2007 election. These admission was a major trigger to the subsequent violence witnessed in Kenya in 2008.

The Electoral commission of Kenya was succeeded by the Independent Electoral and boundaries commission which was selected by several stakeholders with a view of reducing chance of recurrence electoral violence. However the independent electoral commission was unable to manage the 2013 elections which had issues of results manipulation and technological failures hence they also contributed to sporadic violence experienced in the 2013 elections. Despite reforms and change in management of the electoral body the 2017 elections also experienced violence due to allegation of tampering of the information technology department of the electoral body. The management of the results which were not in compliance with the returning officers form 34B led to the nullification of the 2017 elections by the supreme court of Kenya. The electoral commission that have managed the multiparty system have played a pivotal role as trigger of violence due to the notion of biasness toward the executive and ruling party.

2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion it imperative to note that the post-colonial governments in Kenya inherited works institutions which were affected by poor leadership and governance. This eroded democracy and plunged Kenya into electoral violence. The environment of one part state

in early years of post-independence natured an environment conducive for electoral violence. Electoral violence in Kenya has been greatly affected by issues of impunity and electoral injustice hence these needs to be addressed to help in mitigating recurrence of electoral violence in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN KENYA

3.0. Introduction

Human security concept can be traced to the 1994 publication of human development report. According to Mahabub al Haq, human security can be defined as security that focuses on individuals. Human security covers seven key areas that are important to individuals and they include economic security, food security, personal security, community security, political security, health security and environmental security. Electoral violence can be defined as a special type of violence characterized by election related destructive tendencies which may be physical , psychological and structural aimed at intimidating having blackmailing political entity before during and after election with a view of devastating an electoral process.

This chapter seeks to discuss human security and electoral violence in Kenya. With a view of analyzing emerging issues. This chapter will also examine the conceptual analysis of human security with a view of looking into different schools of thought. The study will also give a historical overview of Kibra slum and its current human security issues.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Albert 10 2007, *Reconceptualizing electoral violence in albert 10 and Maircod* (eds) Perspective on 2003 election Nigeria Abuja – IDASA and starting Holding Publishers.

3.1. Human Security: A Conceptual Analysis

Human security can be defined as the protection of the vital care of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and fulfillment. Human security can be distinguished from traditional security which had dominated the global sphere for several decades. Traditional security whose key proponents such as Hans Mongethau believe that state is the referent object and state should be protected from possible threats of revolution, interstate war, proliferation.⁴⁶ However human security which emerged after the end of cold war emphasized on individual security which emphasized on protection against disease, land mines, human rights abuses and unemployment.

Human security can trace its roots to the Neo-Marxist critique of the early 1970's which was embedded in enlightenment liberalism. However scholars like Thomas Hobbes believed that individual security was the responsibility of state. Hobbes argued that individual relinquished the rights to state because it was the sole protector. Critiques of Hobbes school of thought believed that state could not provide individual security hence these lead to the development of the United Nations human development report 1994.⁴⁷

Mahabub al Haq a leading Pakistan economist formulated the human development report 1994 define human security from seven key areas which include economic security this means that individuals are assured of basic income usually from productive work as financed from a public safety net.⁴⁸ This was aimed at reducing the level of poverty that had increased over the years. Health security involves guaranteeing individuals a minimum

⁴⁶ Challenges and opportunities for defining and measuring human security disarmament forum 3 (June 2004)

⁴⁷ Commission on Human security human security Now (United Nations Publications 2003 (4).

⁴⁸ Mahalab al Haq, *New imperatives of human security*, RGICS PAPER OF Rajive Gaudhi institute for contemporary studies 199 pg 1.

protecting from disease and unhealthy life styles. Environmental security means protecting individual from long and shattering man made threats in nature for example destruction of indigenous forest like the Mau complex water catchment area.⁴⁹ Personal security protecting people from physical violence, food security ensures individual have physical access to basic food to enhance their survival political security ensuring people basic rights are protected for example right to vote, freedom of expression, and finally community security which involves protecting people from losing their traditional values from ethnic violence for example government are required to protect traditional kingdom to preserve culture and heritage.⁵⁰

3.2. Debates informing human security

There has been several schools of thought that have emerged since the inception of human security on the global sphere. There are two main schools of thought that have given different view of human security. Former foreign minister of Canada argues that human security should be broadened and include securing against economic privation and an acceptable quality of life which give individual a guarantee of fundamental human rights.⁵¹ The Canadian approach emphasizes on the respect of rule of law government are required to comply with court orders, address several equity issues and address governance. The Canadian school of thought was formed on the basis of eradicating freedom of fear that has led to the rise of authoritarian regimes around the world which have little respect to human security.⁵²

⁴⁹ Human development report 1994, op cit.

⁵⁰ Human development centre- Human development report for scouts in 1997 a rising governance : Oxford University Press 2000

⁵¹ A perspective an human security chairman summary by seen Norway 20 may 1999

⁵² Department of foreign affair and international trade government of Canada 1999 security for people in a changing world

The Japanese school of thought is an important debate in the discourse of human security. Since the inception of human development report 1994 successive Japanese administrations have been at the fore front supporting human security. The 1997 financial South East Asia crisis that affected major economies in south East Asia were the launching pad of Japanese human security notion through its overseas development association. The Japanese foreign minister His Excellency Obuchi adopted a multifaceted approach to security. Among key issues that were addressed by the Japanese government included global warming which was and is currently affecting the world. Other issue that informed Japanese human security approved include transnational crimes such as illicit drug trafficking the mass increase of refugees, violations of human rights, infectious diseases, like HIV, AID, tuberculosis , anti, personal Land mines terrorism and child trafficking.⁵³

The Japanese government defined human security from the perspective of freedom of want unlike the Canadian school of thought which defined security for a perspective of freedom of fear. The Japanese government has played a key role in supporting institution that play a vital role in human security.⁵⁴ For example the establishment of United Nations trust fund for human security which has a budget over 150 million dollars. The Japanese government has also been of critical imported in forming the community's human security which main arm is to protect lives in way the entire human freedom.⁵⁵

The other major debate informing human security can be derived from the European Union. European Union is a regional organization comprising of several European countries.⁵⁶The

⁵³ Bosold and Wethes, Human security in practice (Canada and Japanese experiences . International polices and society 2005

⁵⁴ Evans Human security and East Asia *ASA journal of East Asia studies* 2004.

⁵⁵ Fukushima – Human security and Japanese foreign policy in human security in East Asia international conference of human security in East Asia 16—17 2003.

⁵⁶ The International commission on intervention and state sovereignty. The responsibility to protect November 5, 2005.

European Union developed a doctrine during the September 2004 conference.⁵⁷ This doctrine was aimed at protecting individuals through law enforcement with the occasional use of force. The European Union proposed the use of civilian and military in their interventions. The document developed after the Japanese and Canadian debates was aimed at broadening European Union Human security approach from the European region to other regions. The human security approach from the European perspective was to contribute to the protection of every human being and not only limited to the Unions borders.

The European Union approach was aimed at focusing on violence thus limiting itself on border issues that affect human security. However, the European Union approach has been instrumental in the formation of international criminal courts that has helped in bringing justice to victims of electoral violence in Kenya. The European Union approach has helped in the deployment of investigators and legal experts to help address issues affect human rights which are at the core of human security.⁵⁸

3.3. Human security and electoral violence in Kenya

After Kenya gained its independence in 1963 there have been several transformation both political and that has affected Kenyans. Electoral violence can be defined an act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities which include pre, during and post-election periods, this activities include use of force to disrupt political gathering use of weapons to intimidate voter or causing bodily harm to any person involved in the electoral process.

⁵⁷ Press Release “ Europe needs a human security doctrine December 19 2005.

⁵⁸ Human security doctrine for Europa 9.

Electoral violence and human security has led to several emerging issues which include unemployment, land, ethnicity, historical injustices, insecurity, impunity, corruption and bad governance and internally displaced persons.

3.3.1. Internally Displaced persons

The displacement of persons in Kenya is an issue that began during the colonial period. The colonial government divided the country into Eight provinces and several districts. The displacement was in the quest of getting the fertile white highlands which were used by the white settlers for commercial purposes. However, after independence several people were displaced by the Mau Mau war were relocated to other areas like Lamu and North Rift.⁵⁹

The second phase of internally displaced person began after introduction of multi-party in early 1990s. The general election of 1992 was followed by massive violence of persons perceived to be outsiders in regions that were predominantly occupied of Government supporter. The election led to the emergence of internally displaced person in Kenya. The displaced person moved back to their places of origin hence leading to influx in population thus affecting, food environmental and economic security of the host communities.

The issue of Internally displaced persons has continued to be experienced every election cycle in Kenya. For example in the disputed 2007 election we had over six hundred thousand internally displaced persons mostly in major towns in Kenya like Nairobi, Eldoret, Kisumu, Naivasha, Nakuru and Mombasa. These numbers have continued to be witnessed in the last two general elections and thus this has affected the humans security

⁵⁹ Cyclical Political violence and displacement IDMC

of both the internally displaced persons and host communities.⁶⁰ For example the internally displaced persons who were relocated to Naivasha continue to face lack of access to health care, unemployment, lack of food due to congestion and limitation of resource.⁶¹ The internally displaced person also has limited assets to justice for example since the 2007/2008 election several internal displaced persons are yet to be compensated despite several assurance by both Kibaki and Uhuru administrations.

This displacement affects all aspects of human security. I.e. people don't have any reliable sources of incomes which means loss of livelihoods and economic insecurity issues. That may lead to little to spend on food and access to nutritious food meaning the emergence of food and health insecurity.

3.3.2. Unemployment

The first years of Kenya post-independence government the Kenyan economy experienced massive growth. The growth rate of Kenya economy was at 9% per annum thus many opportunities were created. After the world oil crisis of 1973 the Kenya economy begun to face a decline which led to rise of unemployment in Kenya. The 1980' the International financial institutions introduced the Structural adjustment programs which were aimed at reducing government expenditures and also putting stringent economic measures which led to massive job losses both in public and private sector.⁶² The structural adjustment programs led to the decline of Kenyan economy to a growth rate of 1-2 per cent these unemployment which is at forty percent has been a breeding ground of electoral violence

⁶⁰ P. Kamungi, *Internal displacement and land question in Kenya in Nguzoza Haki Kenya National commission on human rights*, 209

⁶¹ Brooking Institution – University of Bern Project on internal displacement IASC Framework on Durable solutions for internally displaced person 2010.

⁶² Muhula Raymond (2009) *Horizontal inequalities and ethnic a regional politics in Kenya* – Kenya studies Review Number / 2009

in Kenya. Several Kenyan politicians have used the unemployed youth to cause violence among their political opponents. A case in point is the mungiki group which consists of over 95% of unemployed youth. The group has been used to terrorise several ethnic groups that are not in support of the incumbent.⁶³

Unemployment has also contributed to the decline of human security. For example in Kibra slum where most of unemployed youth live. Most of the inhabitants of the slum are unable to access affordable health care, decent employment food, personal and political security. Cases of rape murder are rampant during the electoral period and yet several people are unable to access justice due to lack of resources.⁶⁴

3.3.4. Historical injustices

Historical injustices can be defined as harms and wrongs committed by individuals groups and institution against other individuals. Since independence in 1963 Kenyan had a sense of great expectation. The first post-independence government promised access to better life and reduction of inequalities that had been experienced in the 60 year rule of British colony. However, three years into independence the government had adopted repressive policies from their colonial master hence leading to injustices among the northern frontier district. The same was experience in the distribution of resources. Both the Moi and Kenyatta administration deprived resources to region perceived to be anti-government. The twenty four year rule of Moi helped in creating a sense of injustice among major ethnic grouping that never supported his administration. The change of constitution by both Moi and

⁶³ Rotchild Donald) 1969) “ Ethnic inequalities in Kenya” *Journal of modern African studies* no. 4 (Dec 1969) 689=7111

⁶⁴ El Amudy Abubikar 2012 *Memorandum on Historical land injustice in Lamu Presented to the truth justice and reconciliation commission 2012.*

Kenyatta government led to the rise of an imperial presidency which used its power to fizzle out any quest for justice by civil society and opposition groups. For example during the 80s several leaders were either determined or assassinated due to their political stand.⁶⁵

The election of Kibaki led coalition led to a new era of hope among Kenya. The Kibaki led coalition had promised to address historical injustices that had been experienced in the last forty years. However, the Kibaki government adopted, politics that led to further marginalization of minority groups. For example appointment of government officials was a preserve of his ethnic communities hence this became one of the main reason for the 2007/2008 post-election violence.

Historical injustices have continued to contribute to electoral violence in Kenya several efforts by government to address the historical injustices. Several communities have endured massive human insecurity due to historical injustice for example the northern frontier districts continue to face lack of basis infrastructure like hospitals school roads due to historical injustice and these has contributed to the deterioration of human security in these region. Slum inhabitant like Kibra also face human insecurity due to historical injustices lack of adherence to employment policies his led to lack of opportunities to slum dwellers hence these affects their ability to access employment health facilities.⁶⁶

3.3.5. Land

The issue of land has been in Kenya since the inception of colonial rule in Kenya. During the colonial period use of violence to acquire land was frequently used by colonial master.

⁶⁵ Kenya Leah (2009) *Social Policy Development and Governance in Kenya. AN evaluation and rofile_ Education in Kenya.*

⁶⁶ KHRC 2011 Justice delayed a status report on historical injustices in Kenya.

The British colony argued that Africans didn't have a legal ownership right to land. Land issue continued to dominate Kenya politics since independence in 1963. The Kenyatta administration initiated land purchase programs to assist indigenous Africans to purchase land from the white settlers .however, the land ownership companies were owned by Rich African who managed to purchase ninety five percent of land.

Land issue has dominated the past general elections in Kenya. A clear example is in the 1992 general election where several communities living in the Northern part of Rift valley were evicted from their legally acquired land. For example in the Metetei farm in Tinderet Former Nandi district. Land purchased by Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luo and Kisii was illegally acquired by the predominantly Kalenjin community.⁶⁷

The successive general elections that followed the issue of land continued to dominate elections. for example in the 2008 election members of the Kikuyu community were evicted from rift valley on accusation that they had been illegal allocated land by the Kenyatta administration. This evictions also informed the 2013 general election where the former prime minister was accused of evicting the Kalenjin community from the larger Mau forest. The evictions have greatly affected the ability of these communities to achieve human security for example people were evicted from the Mau were unable to achieve economic security because over 90% of the population depend on agriculture for a living hence lack of land has largely contributed to their human insecurities which has contributed to a cycle of violence every election cycle. The land issue has also threatened the political and personal security of many Kenyans a clear example is in the MT Elgon land conflict

⁶⁷ Ibid

where several people have been killed and raped due to violence related to land ownership between various communities.

3.3.6. Issues of Governance and Corruption

Kenya has been independent for the last fifty five years in which we have had successive administrations. The Kenyatta and Moi administration ruled Kenya for thirty nine years, the first ten years after independence Kenya was described as a stable economic with a good record of governance. However, during the last five years of Kenyatta administration accusation of bad governance and corruption began to take Centre stage. The Moi administration took over and it had a good start but after four years the government of Moi began mismanaging the Kenyan economy leading to the decline of major sectors supporting the economy.⁶⁸ The appointment of Moi cronies to major parastatals and ministries led to a steady decline of the economy and conditions of living. The introduction of multi-party democracy had little impact on improvement on governance during this period Kenya was affected by the Goldenberg scandal which is one of the major corruption scandal in Kenya.

The Moi administration continued to constrain any efforts by opposition in ensuring adherence of good governance. The administration continued to detain activist and media outlets were affected. For example citizen group was shut down for being perceived to be anti- government. The government continued to allow misuse of public funds through corruption hence affecting human security and contributing to electoral violence. For example during the Moi administration access to hospitals and education was beyond reach

⁶⁸ Nzomo M 2003. *Civil society in Kenyan political transition 1992-2002 in Oyugi Wanyande P (eds) the politics of transition in Kenya from KANU to NARCL Heimlich Bill found from pp 100-211.*

of many poor Kenya hence the contributed to fertile ground of formation of militia gangs that were used by politicians to achieve their political goals through violence.⁶⁹

The successive administrations of Kibaki and Uhuru have continued to exhibit bad governance and corruption. Mega corruption cases like Anglo leasing, National youth service, have contributed to the lack of human security because money meant for improvement of youth to help reduce human insecurity has been diverted to corrupt deals. The Kibaki and Uhuru government have also reduce media freedom by introducing stringent laws that have affected access to information.

3.3.7. Ethnicity

This is a major emerging issue that has affected human security and electoral violence in Kenya. Ethnicity is viewed as mobilization of group sharing a language culture and ancestry. The ethnic structure of Kenya as per national population census of Kenya comprises of forty three tribes but none of the group are larger enough to dominate the political sphere.

Ethnicity has been used by leading ethnic group to control executive power and this can be derived from Kenya history. After independence where several major ethnic group were divided along ideologically differences for example Luos and Kikuyu who supported a centralized system were in Kenya African National Union and Luhya, Kalenjins and several ethnic groups from the coastal region who supported regionalism were in the Kenya African democratic union.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Murunga (2007. *Rethinking African democracy in diamond L and Plainer from eds*. Global resurgence of democracy John Hopkins Press pp 70-82.

⁷⁰ National cohesion and integration commission 211. (Ethnic audit of Kenya civil service.

Ethnicity has largely contributed to electoral violence over the years because major communities have been fighting to control executive power which is perceived to benefit the ethnic group in power. For example the 2007/2008 Kikuyus and the Luos were fighting to control the presidency with the notion of reaping benefits of jobs lucrative contracts one their Kinsmen's acquires power. Ethnicity has also contributed to human insecurity in Kenya. Since the inception of humans security discourse in the early 1990s little has been achieved due to entrenched ethnicity.

Most of opportunities in government in successive administration in Kenya has favoured the ethnic community in power hence leads to increased unemployment, killings, lack of access to basic infrastructure like hospitals, because all resources are geared toward the ethnic community in power. Ethnicity has also led to the deterioration of environment this can be clearly demonstrated by the Mau issue where Kalenjin communities have allocated land illegally hence lending to encroachment of the water tower thus affecting the environmental security not only Kenya but the other riparian states along river Nile.⁷¹

3.3.8. Impunity

This has been an emerging issue over the years. Since the inception of self-rule previous and current administrations continue to have impunity towards the constitution of Kenya.

The era of multi-party has witnessed several general elections in which violence is witnessed yet the successive governments have done nothing to enforce rule of law. A clear example in the commission of inquiry right from the Kennedy Kiliku commission which was tasked in to investigate the 1992 electoral violence despite its recommendations no

⁷¹ Republic of Kenya 2009 National Population census ministry of planning national development and vision 2030.

one was charged in a court of law. The culture of impunity has led to the repeated cycle of violence in Kenya. For example despite Kenya making positive steps to address the question of ethnicity politicians and leaders across board continue to disregard the use of hate speech against person with a different opinion leading to the growth of culture of impunity.

The culture of impunity has greatly affected progress to attain human security goals of a society free from fear and want as envisioned by the United Nations development report. Funds meant for improvement of economic, health and political security are misused because the persons tasked to manage the funds know that they won't be charged in a court of law hence these has contributed to massive poverty that has been witnessed in Kenya.⁷²

3.4. Role of Council of Elders in Electoral Violence in Kenya

Elders are considered to be people who are custodian of tradition in several communities in Kenya. In Kenya several communities have council of elders who are normally consulted when the community is in need of guidance. In Kenya among the Kikuyu community after period of warrior hood men became legible to become members of council of elders known as Kiama. Kiama was the custodian of ancestral land and keepers of social cohesion.

The role of elders in electoral violence has not only taken local level but also in the regional level African union has recognized the key role played by elders and it has introduced a panel which includes several statesman who were either former leaders with reputable leadership skills. The panel of the wise is an integral part of African union conflict management division that help in resolving conflict a clear example is in the 2007-2008

⁷² Klopp Jacqueline M – Kenya Unfinished Agenda. *Journal of International Affairs* vol 62 2009 (143-158)

election where the panel of the wise dispatched Graca Machel former first lady of Mozambique to Kenya to try and resolve the electoral violence that had claimed over 1600 death and 500000 displaced.

Elders play an integral part in the electoral violence in Kenya. Since the inception of multiparty politics in 1992 several administration have used council of elders to try and mitigate violence. A clear example is the KAMATUSA group which consist of elders from Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu which started negotiations with council of elders from Kikuyu to try and mitigate electoral violence in epicenters of conflict. Elders from these groups have been meeting regularly alliances that have led to a period of peace in the 2013 and 2017 general elections.⁷³

Elders also play a major role in reconciling major warring factions, for example the Njuri Ncheke which is a respected Ameru council of elders was used to try and reconcile the current governor his Excellency Kiraitu and Honourable Peter Munga and this help in averting recurrence of electoral violence among the Ameru Community. Council of elders have also been instrumental in taming hate speech among leaders of various community. The national cohesion and integration commission has involved elders in trying to help reduce impact of hate speech among communities with different opinions.⁷⁴

Council of elders have been instrumental in mediating communities that have gone through period of electoral violence especially in major informal settlements elders from the Luo

⁷³ Jeffery Dixon *What causes civil wars? Integrating quantitative research funding international studies*. Review (2009) 707-35.

⁷⁴ Jacqueline Klopp Patrick Githinji Keffa Kimoya *Internal displacement and local peace building in Kenya challenge and innovation special report 2501* (US institute of peace September 2010).

council and Kikuyu council have been preaching importance of upholding peace among the warring communities.

3.5. Role of Church in Electoral Violence in Kenya

Since Kenya gained its independence in the early 1960 church has been integral part of Kenya politics. During the Kenyatta administration church was considered to be pro-government but after Moi took over in the late 1970's. Churches began to have different opinion as opposed to the government. A clear example is the former church province of Kenya led by archbishop Manasseh Kuria and Henry Okullu began criticizing the way government detained activist without trial. These efforts by renowned clergy men led to the change of constitution and introduction of multi-party politics.

Kenya held in first multi-party election in 1992 and since then Kenya has experienced electoral violence. Kenya church has continued to play an integral role of assisting victims of electoral violence by providing basic needs like shelter food to victims of electoral violence as it has been witnessed in several parts of the country where victims have been affected.⁷⁵

The church has also played a major role in reconciling communities that have differed politically. Churches have used their umbrella body National commission of churches of Kenya to reunite Kenya's and also help in bringing reforms that will address electoral injustices for example the National council of churches of Kenya played an integral part in the selection of commissioner who would manage the electoral process in Kenya. The church has also played a major role in financing programs that help in civic education that

⁷⁵ Kobia S (1993). The Quest for democracy in Africa National Council of churches of Kenya.

help in making public aware about the importance of upholding peace during the electoral violence in Kenya.

Despite positive efforts by church in reconciling different political leaders some churches have contributed to the electoral violence in Kenya. Churches that have a large percentage of one ethnic group continue hosting leaders who have used plat forms to spread hate messages which in turn has led to spread of electoral violence especially during the electoral period.

3.6. Role of Media Electoral Violence in Kenya

Media was introduced in Kenya in the late 19th century by missionaries and British settlers. Media was introduced for two major reasons, provide news to missionaries, and settlers and provide communication channel for white settlers who had settled in different part of the country.

During independence media ownership was taken over by the Kenya government which formed the Voice of Kenya which was the mouth piece of the Kenyatta administration. The media was used to promote government projects and also advertise important messages to the public. Toward the end of cold war the government allowed the inclusion of private practitioners in the media sector hence the Kenya television network begun its operations and this led to the revolutionizing the media from state owned to influx of several private owners.⁷⁶

The entry of private media owners was an integral part of growth of media. The private media owner begun owning station that used vernacular language to communicate to the

⁷⁶ Dercon S & Gutierrez, Romero, R . (2012). *Triggers and characteristics of 2007 Kenya electoral violence world development* 40 (4) 731 - 744

masses. A clear example is Kameme Fm, Kass Fm, Ramogi Fm, among others.⁷⁷ These stations played an integral part in electoral violence in Kenya. For example former radio presenter Mr. Sang used Kass Fm to spread messages that were perceived to motivate his Kinsmen in evicting persons believed to be non-Kalenjins from the larger rift valley province.

However, other media outlets like radio Africa group used its vast audience in preaching messages of reconciliation and peace aftermath the electoral violence. This trend has continued to be experienced in the larger rift valley where organization run by the Catholic Church continue to preach importance of reconciliation and having harmoniously.⁷⁸

Media has experienced rapid growth in Kenya and in recent time's use of social media platforms have been of integral importance in informing electoral violence. The last two general elections have experienced use of social media in relaying hate messages among persons with a different opinion. The use of social media to portray effects of electoral violence has contributed to the rise of retaliation attack among different supporters of major political parties. Despite having institution in curbing spread of hate messages through social media platforms this has been a tool that has continued to pose a challenge in electoral violence.

The electoral body history can be traced back to independence. After Kenya gained its independence in 1963. The constitution established the electoral commission of Kenya whose commissioner were to be appointed by the executive. However, the electoral

⁷⁷ Hallin, DC & Manans, P. (2012)/. *Comparing media systems three rules of media and politics.*

⁷⁸ Fischer, J. 2002- *Electoral conflict and violence.* A strategy for study and prevention IFES white paper.

commission of Kenya was unutilized and the role of managing elections was mandated to the powerful office of the attorney general.⁷⁹

The period between 1969 to 1991 Kenya was a one party state hence elections were conducted by the attorney general office and supervised by the office of the president under the provincial administrator inherited from the British colonialist. The repeal of section 2 A of Kenya constitution led to the activation of article 41 which led to the appointment of Chesoni led commission to manage the 1992 multiparty elections.

The Chesoni led commission managed the first multi-party election which experienced several incidences of violence due to mismanagement of the electoral process. The Chesoni led commission was accused of Rigging and favourism of the incumbent who was the appointing authority thus led to violence in Kibera slum which had overwhelming supported the opposition candidate.

In 1997 the electoral commission of Kenya had several reforms which included nomination of additional commissioner from key stakeholders. The appointment of a fairly balanced electoral body was viewed as a step towards combating violence due to electoral outcomes. However the 1997 elections experienced violence in parts of the country that supported opposition candidate.⁸⁰ The electoral commission managed the 2002 election which led to the formation of Kibaki led government. The electoral commission of Kenya was mandated to manage the 2007 which led to massive violence due to its mismanagement of the elections. The electoral commission of Kenya was unable to verify several disputed results

⁷⁹ Managing conflict: The role of electoral dispute resolution mechanism in Africa. Electoral reform in Africa challenges, and opportunities the Kenyan section of International Commission of Jurist.

⁸⁰ Kriegler J.et al (2017). Kriegler report on the general elections held in Kenya on 22 Dec 2007.

of the 2007/2008 elections hence they led to violence. The violence led to over 1300 deaths and 600,000 people were displaced hence they led to the reforming of electoral body.

The 2008 Krigler report recommended the disbandment of the electoral commission of Kenya and formation of an interim independent boundaries review commission. This new institution was mandated not only to manage elections but also to come up with reforms which were aimed at reducing the recurrence of electoral violence.⁸¹

The 2010 promulgation of Kenya's constitution led to the formation of independent boundaries commission. The commission has been instrumental in the management of the 2013 and 2017 elections.⁸² Despite several efforts of improving its efficiency through use of technology the commission has played a role in recent electoral violence. For example the introduction of electoral laws in the run up to the 2017 elections led to massive violence.

The independent boundaries commission has also been accused of favouring the incumbent through manipulating its information systems which triggered violence in several parts of the larger Kibra slum.⁸³ The commission has also played a role in electoral violence through clearing candidates with questionable supporters of the aggrieved candidates. The independent and commission boundaries has also not been effective in voter education hence this has led to recurrence of violence during election period.

⁸¹ Stiftung E. E. 2001. *Political and electoral violence in east Africa*. Oxford UK centre for Conflicts Research.

⁸² Christopher Mueli "Historical perspective of elections in Kenya in Institute for education in democracy. The electoral environment in Kenya *A research project Report IED 1998* (33-25).

⁸³ Enactment of Section 2 A in 1982 constitutional and legal context for elections in Kenya (IED) 1997.

3.7. Conclusion

Human security and electoral violence are two aspects that have dominated Kenya political sphere for the last fifty five years of independence. The above mentioned issues that have been mentioned in this chapter which include land, historical injustices, bad governance, corruption are major triggers of electoral violence and hence the Kenya government together with other stakeholder need to address the above named issues to ensure the country is devoid from issues of electoral violence and human security. The role of above mentioned actors like church, media and council of elders also need to be enhanced to enable a violence free society and assist in achieving, human security goals as envisioned in the United Nation Development Program report of 1994.

CHAPTER FOUR
ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND NGOs IN ENHANCING HUMAN SECURITY
IN KIBRA

4.0. Introduction

Chapter three provided an overview of human security and role of different actors in electoral violence. However its importance to note the role of government and non-governmental institution is critical in understanding the nexus between human security and electoral violence in Kenya.

Human security and electoral violence are key concepts that affect Kibra informal settlement. The chapter will give a historical overview of Kibra slum, and also highlight issues that inform electoral violence and human security in Kibra.⁸⁴ The role of on-governmental and government institution in enhancing human security. During the period between 2007-2017 will also be examined. The chapter will also highlight some key causes of electoral violence in Kibra slum and their effect on human security.

4.1. Overview of Kibra Informal Settlement

During the colonial period in the early 1900s the British colony allowed Nubian ex-soldiers from the First World War to settle with their families. In a military exercise ground in the outskirts of Nairobi. The growth of Kibra informal settlement was a result of segregation policy adopted by the British colonial master in the early 1900s. The colonial masters

⁸⁴ Akuma A and Olima N. The dynamics and implications of residential segregation in Nairobi, *Habitat International* 2007 (1) pg 87-99.

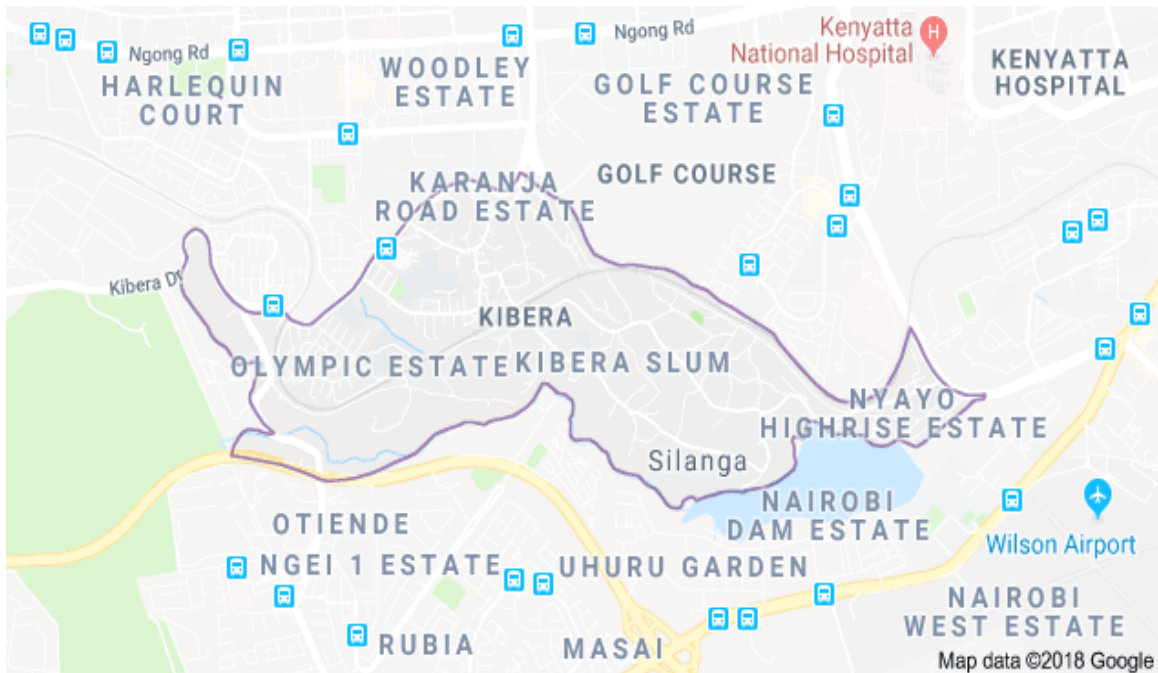
established Kibra as a settlement area for the African work force that was employed as subordinate staff in the homes of colonial masters.⁸⁵

Kibra slum begun experiencing massive growth in the mid 1950's. This is because Africans from the rural areas began migrating to the city in search of formal employment in her majesty government. The emigrants were largely from eastern, western, Nyanza and central provinces. After independence the expansion of Kibra slum continued despite efforts by the Kenyatta administration in improving the slum to a decent residential areas the massive rural-urban migration continued due to demand of unskilled labour who couldn't afford expensive houses occupied by middle class. This massive migration has contributed to Kibra being one of Africa's largest slum with a population of over 1.2 million living in 660 acres piece of land which is owned by the government.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Pamoja Trust an inventory of Slum in Nairobi. Maxtux Consultant 2009.

⁸⁶ Bodewee C: Parish Transformation in urban slum: voices of Kibra in Kenya Pauline's Publication Africa 2005 pg 36.

MAP OF KIBERA SLUM



4.2. Issues Affecting Electoral Violence and Human Security in Kibra Informal Settlement

Located in the Southern part of Nairobi County with an estimated population of over 1.2 million people. Kibra is considered one of the largest slum in Africa. Kibra slum is sub divided into fourteen villages which are Kanda, Olympic, Soweto, Gatwekera, Raila, Karanja, Kisumu ndogo, Makina, Mashimoni, Laini Saba, Silanga, Lindi and Soweto East. Kibra represent almost all ethnic tribes in Kenya with Luos having a population of over thirty percent of Kibra informal settlement.

Kenya gained its independence from British colonial masters in the early 60's and Kenya experienced relatively small cases of electoral violence in the first post-independence administration. However the emergence of multi-party politics after Moi had changed the constitution allowing formation of different political party led to series of electoral violence

both in the country and Kibra informal settlement. During the period the Kenyan government had adopted the structural adjustment programmes imposed by international monetary fund in a bid to revive the economy. The programmes led to major cuts in government spending especially in social programmes like health in which cost sharing was introduced I public hospitals as opposed to free health care, the reduction of government sponsored kitty towards poor students mainly from the slum affected their students hence these measures led to violent protest toward government due to high cost of living.⁸⁷

Several issues have emerged since the 2007/2008 post-election violence that led to the death of over 1600's Kenyan and displacement of 500,000 people. The electoral violence largely affected Kibra slum due to its vast population. The electoral violence affected the achievement human security and this issue to several emerging issues.

Kibra being an informal settlement with a population of over one million has been largely affected by unemployment. As earlier mentioned in the theory of relative deprivation, many resident of Kibra have over the year suffered from massive unemployment which is estimated to be over fifty percent. The expectation of Kibra people in every general election since the inception of multi-party politics in Kenya is to elect someone who will address these huge problem that has been affecting the lives of many residents of Kibra. However, their expectation are cut short due to mismanagement of electoral process hence the result to violence. Electoral violence has affected the economic security of Kibra residents because most of the inhabitant are unable to access employment due to lack of

⁸⁷ Justine P War and poverty Michelle and Skaperdas (s) (eds) Handbook of economic of peace and conflict oxford university piece chapter 27 (2012).

opportunities and investors are discouraged, by the destruction of property by Kibra residents hence these has led to a breeding ground electoral for violence due to massive unemployment that has been experienced in the informal settlement.⁸⁸

4.2.1 Marginalization

The other major issue that has affected human security and electoral violence is marginalization of Kibra informal settlement by successive Kenyan administrations.. Since Kenyan gained its independence successive administrations have done little to improve the welfare of Kibra informal settlement. The Kenyatta administration continued the policy of segregation adopted from the colonial masters. The government that were perceived to be pro-government hence these led to the widening of the rich and poor gap. The Moi and Kibaki administration continued with marginalization policy in which there was limited development in the slum areas leading to massive unemployment. The administration of Moi and Kibaki did not give youth and other slum inhabitants opportunities in their government hence these has contributed to the deteriorating human security in Kibra slum.

The issue of marginalization can also be seen in the distribution of resources. Since the inception of multi-party politics the Kibra informal settlement has consistently voted for an opposition Member of Parliament and this has contributed to the denial of resources by successive government. Despite efforts by leaders from the informal settlements the government has done little in improving basic infrastructure like roads, hospital, toilets, and schools. Marginalization has contributed too little progress in issue of human security

⁸⁸ Thomas, H, *Political Violence in Kenya A study of cause responses and framework for discussing preventive action ISS paper 205* (2009).

because over personal security has been affected by low distribution of police officers in the slum area which has led to increase of crime in Kibra informal settlement.

4.2.2 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a major issue that has affected Kibra human security. Since independence successive government have used ethnicity as a tool to manipulate elections. Kibra has been affected because majority of slum inhabitants are perceived to support opposition hence there are deprived their right to access positions and resources and these has contributed to human insecurities and increased violence towards the sitting government. A clear example is in the 2002/2008 in which communities that were perceived to be supporting the Kibaki administration were evicted from the slum due to their ethnicity.⁸⁹

4.2.3 Land

Land is also a major issue that has affected human security and electoral violence. Land is considered a major source of capital in Kenya. However, Kibra informal settlement has been facing several challenges in terms of land ownership. Land issue can be traced back to the colonial administration in which land was unevenly distributed among the colonial elites and these issue was inherited by Kenyan first administration despite efforts by several commission in addressing the land issue especially the Ndungu commission which pointed out irregularities in Kibra land distribution the issue of land has consistently contributed to electoral violence and deteriorating human security because most of the slum dwellers are unable to access credit because of lack of land ownership documents hence these has affect the economic security.

⁸⁹ Human right watch ballots to bullets. Organized political violence and Kenya's crisis of Governance 201 (1) 2008.

4.2.4 Corruption

Corruption is another major issue that has affected electoral violence and human security in Kibra informal settlement. In the recent years the government has introduced policies and initiatives geared towards improving human security and minimizing chances of electoral violence. However, these efforts have been hampered by corruption. A case in point is the national youth service programme which was aimed at improving and creating employment among youth in the Kibra informal settlement. However corrupt officials from both the National youth service and ministry of devolution derailed their efforts thus has contributed to the deterioration of human security because many youth who were employed under these projects are unable to meet their basic need due to misappropriation of funds thus affecting the economic security. Corruption has also affected access to better health among Kibra residents a clear example is the misappropriation of funds allocated for the improvement of the local health centres. These funds are used for personal gain hence this affected health security of resident of Kibra which continue experiencing high infant mortality rate due to lack of basic facilities like an equipped maternity hospitals.

Corruption can also be observed in the handling of electoral process since the inception of multi-party politics the electoral body mandated to manage the electoral process has continued to mismanaged the process due to allegation of rigging and favourism toward the incumbent and this has led to continued violence among Kibra residents due to the perception that the electoral management bodies are compromised by the sitting government.

4.3. Role of Government Institution in Enhancing Human Security in Kibra Slum

The Kenyan government has played a pivotal role in the enhancement of human security in Kibra informal settlement.⁹⁰ Human security as earlier defined is security that concerns individuals. The inception of human security in the global sphere in the early 1990's has both had positive and negative impacts. Human security is sub-divided into seven key thematic areas which play a pivotal role in the wellbeing of human being. The Kenyan government has in the recent years created a conducive environment to assist in achieving the seven key thematic areas of human security.

4.3.1. Judiciary

The judiciary which is one of the key arms of the government has been instrumental in enhancing human security especially in informal settlement. The inception of Kenyan new constitution led to the formation of a stronger and independent judiciary. The judiciary has been in the fore front of providing justice to electoral violence victims for example the judiciary has established courts of law which are accessible to victims of rape and violence during electoral period in Kibra slums. These has helped in improving the political security of slum inhabitants who feel that easy access to the judiciary has enable them get justice in matter which they had little or no hope of seeking solutions.⁹¹

The Kenyan judiciary has also helped in empowering informal settlement to adopt alternative dispute resolution mechanism to resolve disputes. The alternative dispute resolution report which include council of elders, community leaders youth leaders have been of critical importance in reconciling communities and people who have had

⁹⁰ Habitat UN 2012. Urban Planning for city leaders Nairobi Kenya United Nations.

⁹¹ Marx B. Stoker T & Suri T, 2013 (a). The economics of Slum in developing world. *Journal of Economic perspectives* 27-187-210.

differences. These mechanisms are of great importance in achieving personal security of individual living in the Kibra slum.

4.3.2. Interior Ministry

The ministry of interior which is responsible for the security of the nation has also been instrumental in promoting human security. The ministry has undertaken several measures to enhance security of informal settlement. The aftermath of 2007/2008 election led to a change of strategy within the ministry several initiatives to help in reducing chances of recurrence of electoral violence. The introduction of nyumba kumi initiative which involves community policing among local residents has been instrumental in enhancing personal security of slum resident. Community policing involves the local community who are responsible for the security of a given locality. This has helped in reduction of crime among slum dweller because the inhabitants are empowered to give information about any suspicious activities. This initiative has helped reduce recurrence of violence since everyone has a responsibility toward his/her security.

The ministry of interior has also established several police units that are tasked to deal with violence especially in informal settlement. The establishment of rapid deployment unit under the administration police has enabled quick response in cases where violence has been reported hence these have helped in responding to violence which has helped in the improvement of Kibra security.

4.3.3. County government

The county government has also been instrumental in improving access to health care which is a devolved function. The slum has noted massive improvement in the mortality

rate due to provision of quality medical care in several health facilities in Kibra informal settlement. This has helped improve the health security of inhabitants of Kibra. The government through its road agencies has also been critical in improving the infrastructure of Kibra. The government has been funding several road projects which had been neglected over the years and this has been of great importance in improving the livelihoods of many slum inhabitants.⁹² The road improvement programme has boosted local investors who continue to open up small scale opportunities that have helped in reduction of high rate of unemployment which is a major impediment to achievement of human security.⁹³

The formation of independent institution has also been instrumental in enhancing human security in Kibra. The Kenya government has in the last eight years formed several institution that have helped enhance human security in Kibra slum. The national commission of cohesion and integration is one of the major institution that has helped in raising awareness on impact of hate speech and ethnicity. The institution has been promoting programmes of reconciliation among various communities that have had disputes in the post elections. These initiatives which include elders of both communities has assisted in preserving community security and also helped in improving personal security of Kibra residents.

The government through organization like the independent and boundaries commission has assisted in improving human security through creating more constituencies tht have helped in reducing tension and also assisted resident in accessing government facilities /funds. For example before the formation of independent and boundaries commission Kibra informal

⁹² Unhabitat

⁹³ Government Reports

settlement was under the larger Lang'ata constituency and these hampered provision of basic services to the resident of Kibra. The promulgation of the 2010 constitution led to the sub division of the larger Langata constituency to Kibra and Lang'ata. These sub division which was conducted by the independent and boundaries commission has helped in access to resources because Kibra is a constituency on its own constituency development fund which has been instrumental in improving roads, schools, health facilities and creation of employment among workers and youth in the slums.

Government has also been instrumental in improving environmental security of Kibra through its organization like National Environmental Management Authority which has been sensitizing resident of Kibra on importance of keeping a habitable environment for future generation. The institution has been working in conjunction with non-governmental organization with an aim of improving the slum environment. Where initiatives have not only helped in improving the environmental securing but also created opportunities to youth and women. The Kenyan government has also been instrumental in improving human security by enrolling elderly slum dweller in Kibra slum into the social protection programs which provide them with funds that assist in provision of basic needs.

4.3.4. Ministry of Youth Affairs in Enhancing Human Security in Kibra

The government of Kenya has in the past two decades enhanced efforts of assisting the ever growing population of youth in the country. The Kenya begun youth empowerment in the post-colonial government of his Excellency Jomo Kenyatta who established the National youth service in 1964 with its first director being Honorable JM Kariuki. The establishment of this organization was aimed at enhancing skills of youth before Joining Public Universities.

The Department of Youth has undergone several transformations right from being a department under the office of vice president to being a fully-fledged ministry that deals with issues affecting youth who make up to fifty percent of Kenya population. The introduction of millennium development goals in the late 1990's has contributed to government rethinking on how to address several challenges affecting youth. The main challenge that has continuously affected youth in Kenya and Kibra slum is unemployment. The government introduced the youth enterprise development fund in early 2007 with an aim of providing seed capital to enable and hence improve their human security.

The government has over the years come up with initiatives that are aimed at improving the human security of unemployed youth in the slums initiatives like (Kazi kwa Vijana). Jobs for youth programme by the former prime minister were aimed at improving youth access to capital and food. The programme employed more than 300,000 youth mostly from informal settlement and they had an impact of both their economic and food security because they were not only able to access capital but they were also able to provide for their families.

The ministry of youth has in the recent years come up with initiatives of improving the employability of graduation both form university and technical university. This is done through internships and skill gap training that have helped youth in slum and Kenya access employment outside the country. The government has also introduced bursaries and loans to youth attending vocational and technical institutes in a bid to help them access education and hence help in reducing rate of crime in slum areas which in turn improves the personal security which is a key component of human security.

The Ministry of youth has played a critical role in ensuring the youth are able to access thirty percent of government contracts. The Ministry has been encouraging youth to open companies that are able to supply government with basic amenities like stationery, tea, cleaning services, which has led to tremendous creation of employment opportunities among youth. These initiatives has been critical in improving human security of informal settlement since several youth group are able to access government contracts through initiatives of ministry of youth.

4.3.5. Role of IEBC as a Government Institution

The history of electoral bodies in Kenya can be traced back from post-colonial independence period where the supervision of election was left under the office of the Attorney General. Kenya transformed to a one party state in the late60's hence the management of the subsequent elections of 1969, 79, 83 and 88 were managed by the powerful office of the Attorney General.⁹⁴

The inception of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1991 led to the reestablishment of the electoral commission of Kenya which was appointed by the executive. The commission led by late Chief Justice Chesoni, comprised of 11 members who were largely drawn from judiciary and religious bodies. The electoral commission of Kenya played little role in the enhancement of human security due to its limited independence and interference of the executive which was the appointing authority.

The electoral commission of Kenya underwent several reform after the 1997 election which was marred by irregularities that contributed to the displacement of several thousands of

⁹⁴ Heidi Evelyn and Waikwa Nyake A. New dawn postponed in Kenya and section 3 of the elections act international law development organization and the judiciary training institute.

people in informal settlement thus leading to human insecurities. The reforms were aimed at improving its effectiveness. However, the electoral commission of Kenya led by Kivuitu contributed to the large human insecurity witnessed in Kenya. The commission was accused of mismanaging the 2007/2008 elections many Kenya's in the informal settlement. The enactment of the 2010 elections has witnessed massive transformation of the electoral management body in Kenya. The constitution has improved its independence and also expanded the rule of the electoral body. A clear example is in the creation of constituencies that have helped in redistribution of resources among Kenya's hence these has helped in accessibility of capital thus helped in improving the economic security of informal settlement.

The electoral body has also been vital in improving the political security of Kibra slum through voter education. Voter education has helped several people in the slum understand the importance of participating and maintaining peace during the electoral period and this has been led to improvement of both the personal and political security of slum inhabitants.⁹⁵ The electoral body has also improved personal security by imposing string text measures to candidates found violating campaign finance act which limits the amount of money to be utilized at campaigns. Those has reduced chances of politicians using and hiring gang in Kibra slum thus this has greatly impacted on Kibra Human Security.

4.3.6. Role of parliament

The history of Kenya parliament can be traced back in the colonial day's Kenyan parliament existed under the colonial rule for more than four decades and had a British

⁹⁵ Report of the Independence. Review commission on the general elections held in Kenya 27 Dec 2007. (17 Sept 2008).

model in which we had the senate and parliament. The bicarmel parliamentary system was adopted in the first post-independence government with Jomo Kenyatta elected as Kenya first prime minister which was similar to the British system. According to Burker the parliamentary in Kenya is a clear example of progress from colonial rule to Modern day democracy. Kenya parliament allowed the Growth of opposition in the early 60's by allowing election of Kenya African Democratic Union.⁹⁶

The period between 1969-1991 Kenya parliament was governed by one party that the Kenya African National Union. However after the end of cold war the new world order began and several government in Africa which were predominantly one party state begun embracing multi-party politics. The Kenyan government under the leadership of his Excellency Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi adopted the multi-party constitution.⁹⁷ These lead to the first multiparty election which led to election of opposition parties into Kenya's parliament.

The period between 1992-2010 had seen parliament experience rapid growth. Thus period was characterized by increase of constituencies to 210 and 12 Nominated member who were elected by parties with majority in the National Assembly. The Enactment of Kenya's new constitution led to a massive increase of the size of parliament from 224 to 349 seats. The increase also saw the re-introduction of senate which had 67 members. The question of Gender representation also led to the Introduction of Women representative from the 47 counties.

⁹⁶ Slade, H. (2012). The parliament of Kenya East African Publishing House Kenya.

⁹⁷ Burke FG 2010, *Unity and Diversity in East Africa*- Synthesis Dialect a paper prepared and delivered at Duke university of Commonwealth studies centre 15 Feb 2014 25 (constitution of Kenya 2010)

Kenya parliament has been instrumental in enhancing human security. Through its main role as a watchdog the Kenya parliament has made tremendous progress in ensuring Kenyan especially in the informal settlement are able to access personal security. For example Kenya parliament has been involved in allocating equalization Fund which are aimed at improving security of informal settlement like Kibra. The Kenya National assembly also played a pivotal role in making laws that were used in upgrading of Kenya slums a programme adopted by the coalition government.

The Kenyan parliament has been instrumental in legislation laws that help in protection of environment hence improving the environmental security of informal settlement. Kenya parliament has also been instrumental in addressing health security of Kenya informal settlement. This is done through approving adequate budgetary allocation that assist in building critical infrastructure that has helped improved mortality rate of Kibra informal settlement.

Parliament has been instrumental in helping informal settlement access Justice through parliamentary committees that have continued to investigate electoral crimes committed during and after elections. The committees have come up with recommendation that have been of assistance to victims of electoral violence thus helped improve the political security of Kibra.⁹⁸

Parliament has been instrumental in improving economic security of Kenya by allocating Funds for Youth empowerment. A clear example is in the previous parliament where billion of shilling were allocated to national youth service which was aimed at improving

⁹⁸ Adak, GK 2009 *The Interface between elections and democracy Kenya search for sustainable democracy system* Witwatersrand University Press.

youth in informal settlement.⁹⁹ The funds which were proven as credit to several youth groups in informal settlement helped improve their economic wellbeing. Parliament has also helped create legislation that allows preservation of culture this has helped Nubians living in Kibra slum preserve their culture this improved the community security which is a key component of human security.

Parliament has been instrumental in the appointment of key official in several institutions that are mandated to manage key institution, tasked to improve the human security of Kenya. The process of vetting officials has helped in improving efficiency and realization of human security goals to all citizens and particularly inhabitant of informal settlement like Kibra.¹⁰⁰

4.4. Role of Non-Government Institution in Enhancing Human Security in Kibra Slum

Several scholar have defined non-governmental institutions as independent, voluntary non-profit making institutions operating at local level and engaged in activities that are aimed at improving the quality of life. Non-governmental institutions play a pivotal role in enhancing human security in informal settlement.¹⁰¹

Kibra is an informal settlement located at the southern part of Nairobi County. Kibra has an estimated population of over 1 million inhabitant thus making it one of the largest slum in Africa. This informal settlement is sub divided into several villages which lack basic amenities like toilets, schools, health facilities, social areas which are important in the

⁹⁹ Sande M (2011). Parliamentary Oversight Enhanced Kenya Parliament 3-20-21.

¹⁰⁰ USAID 2011. Democracy and governance assessment Republic of Kenya 2005.

¹⁰¹ Brass, J. 2011. *Allies or Advocates? NGO and State in Africa America*: Cambridge University Press.

attainment of human security. The non-governmental institutions have been instrumental in assisting residents of Kibra in achieving the seven key thematic issues of human security through funding programmes that have a positive impact on the individual lives of Kibra residents.

The 2007/2008 post-election violence led to the displacement of several inhabitants of Kibra slum hence several non-governmental institutions play a pivotal role in re-integrating internally displaced persons back to the slums. A clear example of a non-governmental organization that assisted in the resettling of internally displaced persons is the Japan International Co-operation Agency. This agency funded the re-integration of internally displaced persons by providing them with materials to rebuild their destroyed houses and it also helped in funding small scale business to help in attaining economic security of Kibra residents. The non-governmental organizations have also helped in improving the health status of Kibra slum. Several NGOs like USAID and Swedish International Development Agency have been instrumental in funding hospitals that provide free health care to slum residents and these have been instrumental in improving the health security of the slum.¹⁰²

The civil society through organizations like the Human Rights Watch and Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers have been instrumental in seeking justice for women whose rights have been violated in past electoral violence. The federation has been giving free legal services to women affected by electoral violence. These legal services have enabled women to achieve justice and has improved the personal and political security of women in Kibra slums. The human rights watch has been instrumental in advocating for police reforms that

¹⁰² Catholic Relief Services 2016 . Catholic Relief Services Annual Report Nairobi CRS Press.

has helped boost confidence among Kibra residents. These reforms which include adopting a community policing approach, involvement of slum dwellers in matter affecting their security educating Kibra resident on their constitutional right has been instrumental in enhancing human security during the electoral and post electoral periods.¹⁰³

Church based organization have also been instrumental in enhancing human security in Kibra slum. Most churches have their organization that play critical role in provision of basic services like schools, food and health services which have contributed to the betterment of human security in Kibra slum. A clear example is the Catholic Relief Program which has been providing for basic amenities to persons affected by electoral violence these services have also helped in improving the living standards of Kibra slum and also created opportunities for youth in Kibra slum who volunteer to assist the organization in achieving its objectives.

The role of non-governmental is not only limited to organization that are based in Kibra it's important to mention the role of international Criminal Court in enhancing access to justice. The Hague process has been vital in boosting the political security of victims of electoral violence who are based in Kibra slum. The indictment of several senior governmental officials has helped improve the access to justice to victims of electoral violence.¹⁰⁴

Non-governmental organization like UN habitat has been instrumental in funding programmes that are intended in improving the informal settlement programmes like

¹⁰³ Chege P. W and Mwisikiha 2013. Benefit of slum tourism in Kibera slum. *Nairobi Kenya International Journal of Art and Commerce* 2 94-102.

¹⁰⁴ Fische, J. (1998). *Non-governmental NGOs and the political development of third world*. Kumarian Press.

improving sanitation, and housing have been instrumental in enhancing human security in Kibra informal settlement.¹⁰⁵ Melinda and Gates organization has also been instrumental in enhancing kibra informal settlement human security by empowering youth through imparting skills that have created opportunities to youth in the informal sector. This has been a major step in tackling unemployment which has been a major impediment in the realization of human security in kibra informal settlement.

4.5. Findings on Role of Government and NGOs in enhancing Human Security in Kibra

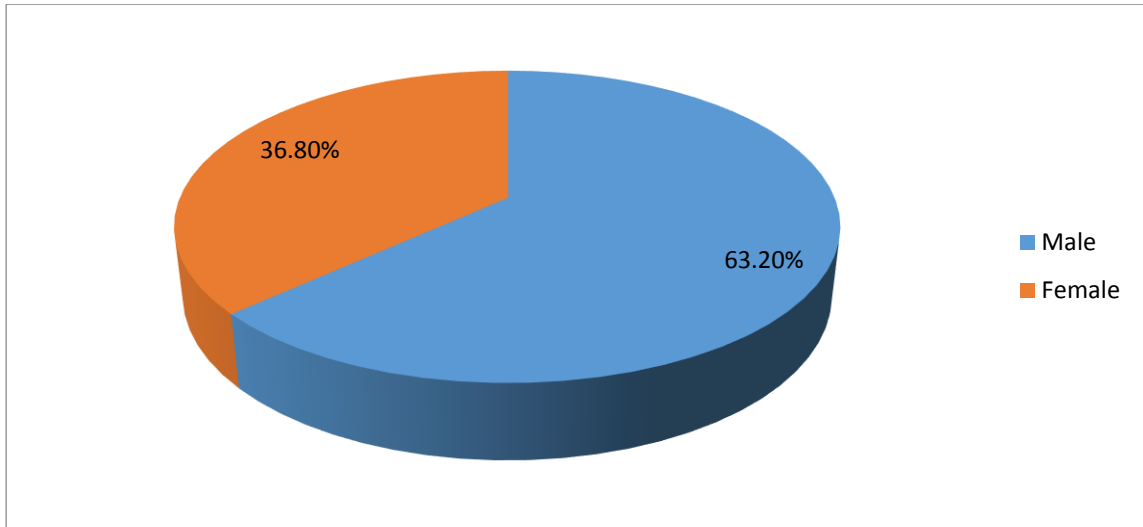
This section presents findings on the role of Government and NGOs in enhancing human security in kibra slum during the electoral period

4.5.1. Respondents Gender

The respondents were requested to indicate their gender. This was important as it informed the researcher on which gender is mostly involved in issues to do with elections and maintenance of security among citizens in Kibra slum. The findings are as shown in the figure below

¹⁰⁵ Bloom Field CT.

Figure 4.1. Respondents Gender

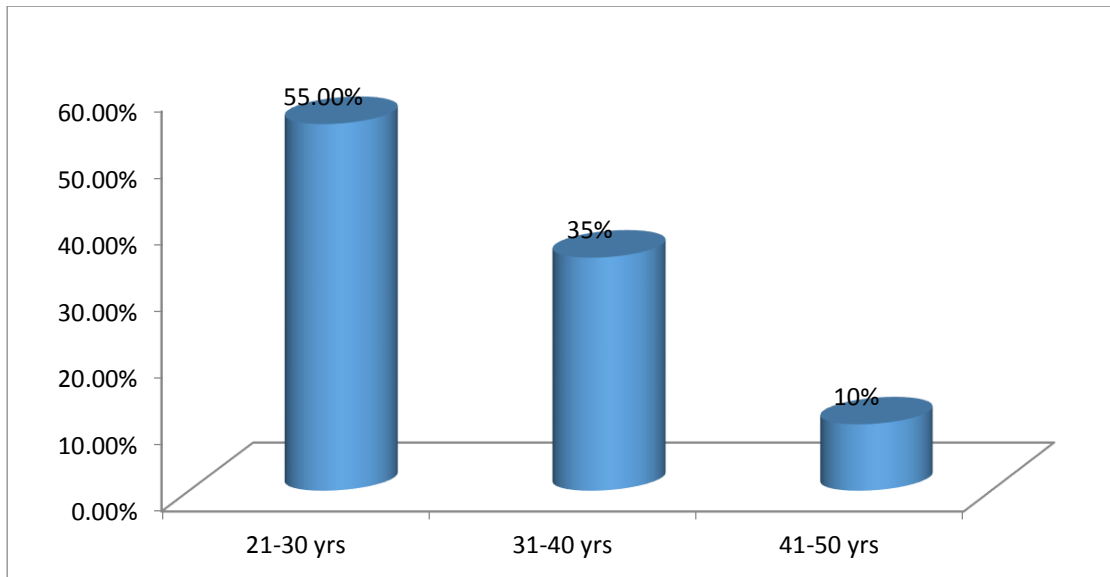


From the findings the majority (63.2%) indicated that they were males while 36.8% indicated they were females. This depicts that most of the responses emanated from male. In addition this shows that men were mostly involved in matters to do with security during elections. This means they are either involved in providing security while at the same time participating in the electoral violence.

4.5.2. Age of the Respondents

The respondents were requested to indicate their age. This was significant as it enabled the researcher to identify the age group which is very vigilant in matters involving electoral process and human security. The findings are as shown in the figure below

Figure 4.2. Age of the Respondents

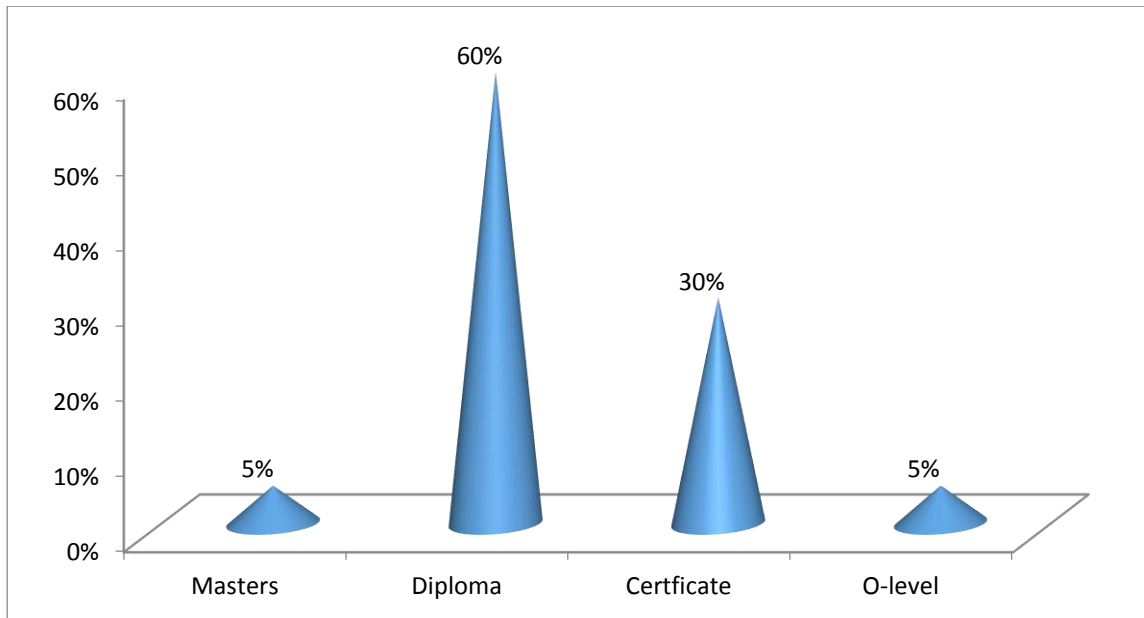


From the findings majority (55%) of the respondents were aged between 21-30 years, 35% indicated 31-40 years, while 10% indicated 41-50 years. This depicts the youths between 21-30 years were mostly involved in electoral process and human security in kibra slum. This means that for the government and non-governmental institutions aiming to focus on issues of election violence and human security should mostly involve the youths who are very vigilant on what happens around them.

4.5.3. Respondents Highest Education Level

The respondents were requested to indicate their highest level of education. This was significant for the study as the researcher would be in a position to know whether the respondents are well familiar on the electoral practices, election violence and human security. The findings are shown in the figure below.

Figure 4.3. Respondents Highest Education Level



From the findings majority (60%) of the respondents indicated they had diploma level of education, 30% indicated certificate level, while 5% indicated masters and o-level respectively. This depicts that most of the respondents were learned and thus they had an idea what electoral practices, election violence and human security entailed.

4.6. Human Security and Electoral Violence

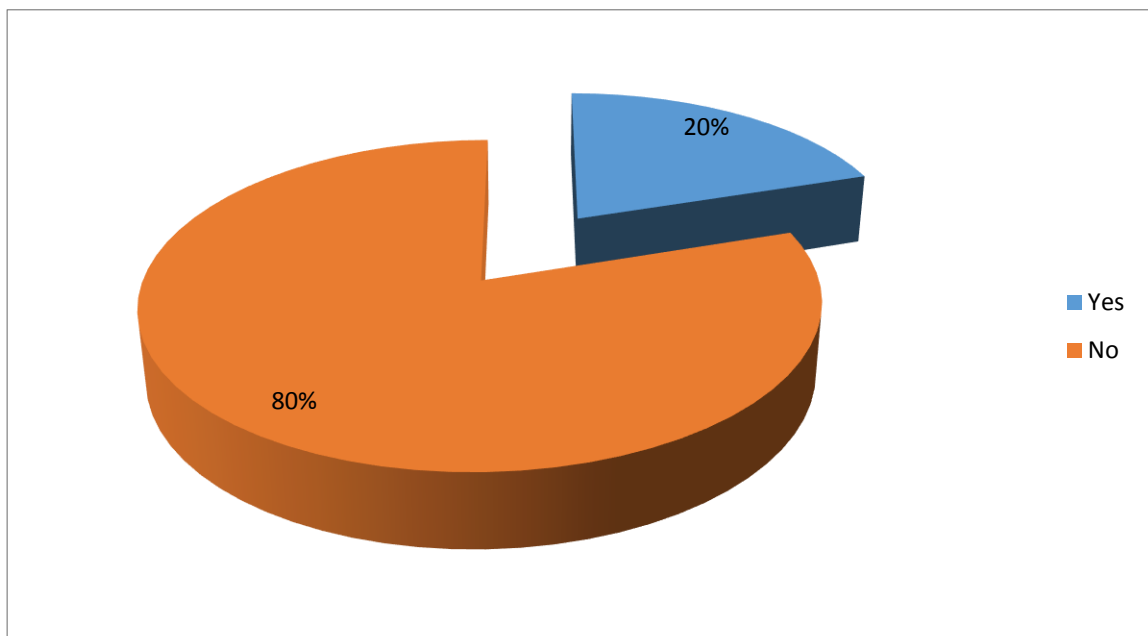
The respondents were requested to indicate what they understood by the term human security and electoral violence. The respondents indicated that human security is the protection of life, emerging understanding of community vulnerabilities. In addition the respondents indicated that election violence is the violence which results from disputed elections where a candidate is denied an outright win making his or her supporters plunge into violence and property destruction. According to the FGD human security relates to a situation where people are safe in carrying out their daily chores. In addition the focus

group discussion indicated that human security is a situation where people live harmoniously with one another without engaging in violence.

4.7. Address of Unemployment, Land and Marginalization Issues in Kibra Slum

The respondents were requested to indicate whether they thought the government has addressed issues like unemployment land ethnicity and marginalization in Kibra slum. The findings are as shown in the figure below

Figure 4.4. Address of issues in Kibra



From the findings majority (80%) of the respondents indicated that the government has not addressed issues like unemployment land ethnicity and marginalization in Kibra slum, while 20% indicated it had done so. In addition the respondents stated that the government was far way behind as issue of unemployment persists. People in Kibra Slum continue to live in apt poverty as they struggle to bring food on the table. According to the FGD the government has not addressed the issues of unemployment land ethnicity and

marginalization in Kibra as the issues keep on recurring on every electioneering period. The issues are used as baits by politicians to lure them for votes and later abandon them once they get elected. In addition the FGD indicated that the government has not addressed the marginalization issues as they consider that their tribe's men do not live in the Slum leading to isolation and neglect.

4.8. Key Thematic Areas of Human Security

The respondents were requested to indicate the seven key thematic areas of human security that they think the government has failed to improve. The respondents indicated that the government needs to improve on political security where human rights and democracy are guaranteed, health security where people are able to have access to universal health care, personal security where right to life is guaranteed, environmental, community economic and food security, human security and electoral violence. Once these issues are addressed in Kibra people will live in harmony and cohesion.

4.9. NGOs and Human Security in Kibra Slum

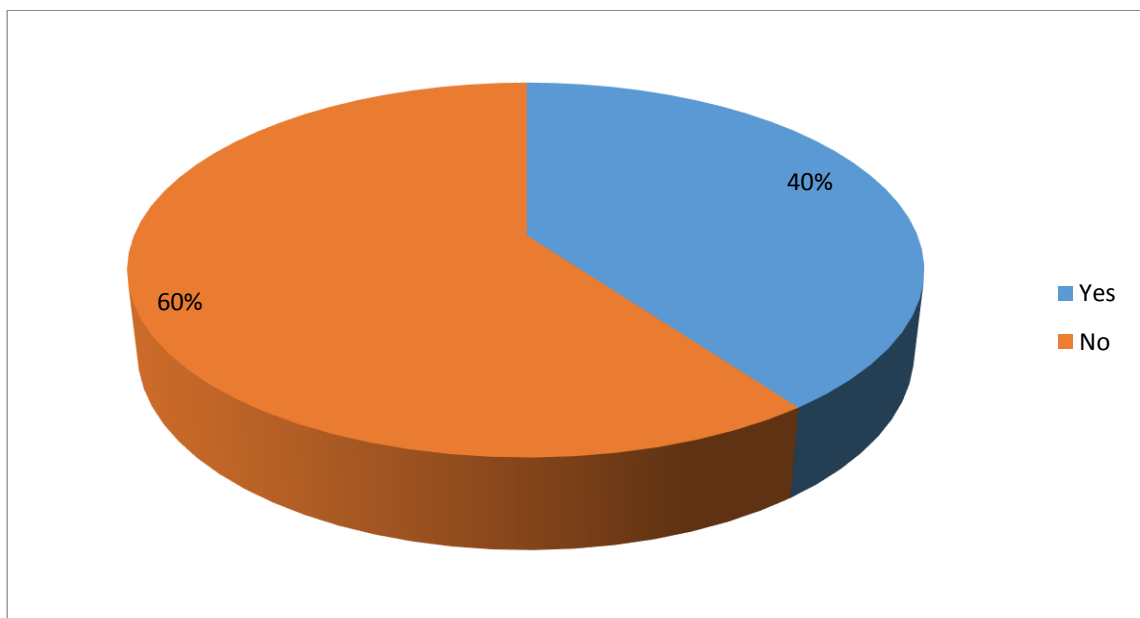
The respondents were requested to indicate whether they think the non-governmental organizations have done enough to improve human security in Kibra slum. The respondents indicated that several non-governmental organizations have also helped in building social amenities like football grounds which help in creating opportunities and reconciliation among communities that have been involved in electoral violence. These non-governmental organizations also have helped in building of vocational institutions that assist in imparting skills to both youth and women which help in reducing levels of poverty among youth and women in informal settlements.

Civil society has also played a major role in enhancing human security during the electoral period in Kibra informal settlement. The Kenya Human Rights Organization is one of the civil society groups that have assisted in promoting political security among residents of Kibra slum. The organization has been in the forefront of seeking justice for the internally displaced person and persons who lost their property during the post-election violence. The human rights has been assisting resident by giving them legal advice to enable them seek justice as victims of electoral violence and these has enabled the achievement of political justice.

4.10. Uhuru Administration and improving Human Security in Kibra Slum

The respondents were requested to indicate whether Uhuru administration is working toward improving human security in Kibra slum. The findings are as shown in the figure below

Figure 4.5. Uhuru Administration and improving Human Security in Kibra Slum



From the findings most of the respondents indicated that Uhuru administration is not working toward improving human security in Kibra slum while 40% indicated that his administration has improved the security in Kibra slum. This depicts that Uhuru administration is not working toward improving human security in Kibra slum. For those who stated the administration had done something on human security stated that Uhuru government has helped in enhancing human security by adopting a devolved system of government where the public have been given powers to decide on projects that will improve their human security. For example the devolved system of government has helped in creating opportunities for youth in Kibra informal settlement of waste in which the county government and national government have encouraged youth to form self-help group that are funded by the exchequer. This self-help group have helped in reduction of poverty and improved economic security of Kibera youth. The Kenyan government has also adopted a slum upgrading programme that is aimed at improving the housing condition of the informal programme.

The slum upgrading programme which was established after the formation of grand coalition has led the improvement of the human security because residents of Kibra slum are able to access affordable housing which in turn can be used as collateral of accessing credit facilities which will be instrumental in improving the economy of Kibra. The government through its free education initiative has been imperative in reducing illiteracy level in the slum. Free education and established of technical training institute has been of great importance in improving the livelihood of women and youth in Kibra informal settlement.

4.11. Change of Human Security since the Occurrence of Post-Election Violence

The respondents were requested to indicate as to whether they think electoral violence has contributed to unemployment /marginalization and bad governance. According to the majority of the respondents the situation has been made worse as they are viewed as opposition supporters and thus they did not vote for the government of the day. This has derailed development in the area and most of the residents are not considered for government jobs.

4.12. Contribution of the Church in Reduction of the Violence

The respondents were requested to indicate whether the church/elder had contributed to the reduction of electoral violence in Kibra. According to the respondents the church has been reconciling communities that have differed politically mostly in Kibra. Churches have helped in bringing reforms that have addressed electoral injustices for instance members of the clergy were appointed in the Kiraitu Oremgo commission that was appointed to propose the changes in the electoral commission in a bid to avert violence in future elections.

4.13. Conclusion

This chapter concludes that government and non-governmental institutions have played a key role in enhancing human security but more needs to be done in the realization of the seven key thematic areas of human security. The Kenya government needs to continuously seek funding of major programmes like the slum upgrading programmes and also help in creation of opportunities to help curb the high unemployment rate experienced in Kibra informal settlement. The government also needs to have initiatives that incorporate all stakeholders in key decision like sub division of land to help in enhancing human security.

Non-governmental organization also need to help to improving basic amenities that also seek more funding to help in the overall improvement of human security in Kibra informal settlement.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusion, and recommendations of the study. They are presented in the subsequent sections

5.2. Summary of Findings

The study established that the human security is the protection of life, emerging understanding of community vulnerabilities. In addition the study established that election violence is the violence which results from disputed elections where a candidate is denied an outright win making his or her supporters plunge into violence and property destruction. The study further found that government needs to improve on political security where human rights and democracy are guaranteed, health security where people are able to have access to universal health care, personal security where right to life is guaranteed, environmental, community economic and food security, human security and electoral violence. Once these issues are addressed in Kibra people will live in harmony and cohesion. In addition the study established that the government was far way behind as issue of unemployment persists. People in Kibra Slum continue to live in apt poverty as they struggle to bring food on the table.

On role of the government institution and the NGOs, the study established that several non-governmental organization have helped in building social amenities like football grounds which help in creating opportunities and reconciliation among communities that have been involved in electoral violence. These non-governmental also have helped in building of

vocational institution that assist in imparting skills to both youth and women which help in reducing levels of poverty among youth and women in informal settlement. Civil society has also played a major role in enhancing human security during the electoral period in Kibra informal settlement. The Kenya Human Rights Organization is one of the civil society groups that have assisted in promoting political security among residents of Kibra slum. The organization has been in the forefront of seeking justice for the internally displaced person and persons who lost their property during the post-election violence.

The study further established in relation to the role of Uhuru administration that Uhuru administration is not working toward improving human security in Kibra slum. For those who stated the administration had done something on human security stated that Uhuru government has helped in enhancing human security by adopting a devolved system of government where the public have been given powers to decide on projects that will improve their human security. For example the devolved system of government has helped in creating opportunities for youth in Kibra informal settlement of waste in which the county government and national government have encouraged youth to form self-help group that are funded by the exchequer.

5.3. Conclusion of the Study

The study concluded that the NGOs in Kibra had been in the forefront of seeking justice for the internally displaced person and persons who lost their property during the post-election violence. The human rights has been assisting resident by giving them legal advice to enable them seek justice as victims of electoral violence and these has enabled the achievement of political justice. The study further concluded that the Key thematic areas that the government needed to address in Kibra slum included political security where

human rights and democracy are guaranteed, health security where people are able to have access to universal health care, personal security where right to life is guaranteed, environmental, community economic and food security, human security and electoral violence. Once these issues are addressed in Kibra people will live in harmony and cohesion. In addition the study established that the government was far way behind as issue of unemployment persists. The study further concluded that government was far way behind as issue of unemployment persists. People in Kibra Slum continue to live in apt poverty as they struggle to bring food on the table.

5.4. Recommendations of the Study

Based on the study findings the following recommendations were made:

In relation to the human security and electoral violence it is emerging as a commendable administrative practice that whenever there is notorious conduct that touches on issues of law and order, special units are set up in the police force with a specific mandate to deal with the specific crime. This is done either on permanent or adhoc basis. In the same spirit, it is recommended that special units in the police force be established during electoral periods to deal with matters of electoral mal-practices.

To avoid creating administrative impasses in the flow of commands, the unit will remain under the overall command of the Commissioner of Police. The Commissioner of Police may through an administrative understanding with the Electoral Commission of Kenya procure specialized 'in-service' training of the officers under the unit on the electoral process and electoral laws. This will create special expertise in investigating trends of election violence and the persons involved. It is also advisable that the entire police force

be trained on electoral matters so that the law enforcement agencies get imbued with their impartial role in handling issues of a political character.

This study proposes that the State Law Office should set up a special unit for handling electoral matters and equip it technically, by way of in service training, with special knowledge on electoral matters. Such officers should be able to work in harmony with the Electoral Commission of Kenya and the police force with a view to utilizing collective public resources to stamp out electoral violence.

Creating a culture of respect for the rule of law and free and fair elections cannot be a one season affair- it cannot be brewed like instant coffee. Paradoxically, in Kenya, civic education on electoral matters only becomes a theme in the public domain during electoral seasons. To evolve the above ideal culture, it is recommended that both the Electoral Commission of Kenya and civil society organizations should make civic education on electoral malpractices a continuous exercise.

In relation to development the government should put up more projects that will ensure the youths get employment that will always make them busy and refrain from violence. In addition the government should ensure that the notion that Kibra is an opposition stronghold is done away with by initiating development activities to ensure that the citizens do not view themselves as marginalized by virtue of having different political opinion.

5.5. Recommendation for Further Studies

The current study was on impact of electoral violence on human security in Kenya: a case study of kibra informal settlement. A similar study should be replicated on other slums such as Mathare, Mukuru, Kawangware among others for comparison purposes to establish

whether there were similarities and differences. In addition similar studies should be carried out in other counties to have views on how the violence has occurred and how security of those areas has been affected.

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APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Key informants- Youth Leaders, Administrators,
Community leaders**

*I am Gathumbi K. Kevin a Masters of International Conflict Management Student conducting a perception survey on the Impact of Electoral violence and Human Security in Kenya. A case study of Kibra Informal Settlement. The responses from this study will be treated with utmost **confidentiality** and will only be used for academic purposes towards this study.*

PART A: General information

1. Job title _____

2. Gender -Male [] Female []

3. Age Below 20 years [] 21-30years [] 31-40 years [] 41-50 years 51-60 years

4. Highest level of education? PhD [] Masters [] First degree [] Diploma []
College certificate [] “A” level [] “O” level []

1) What do you understand by the terms Human security? and electoral violence?
.....

2) Do you think government has addressed issues like unemployment land ethnicity
and marginalization in Kibra slum?
.....

3) In the seven key thematic areas of human security which area do you think
government has failed to improve?
.....

4) Do you think non-governmental organisations have done enough to improve human security in Kibra slum . If yes kindly elaborate?

.....

5) Do you think the Uhuru administration is working toward improving human security in Kibra slum?

.....

Focused group discussion Youth Groups

1) Describe Human security?

.....

2) What do you understand by the term electoral violence?

.....

.....

3) Do you think electoral violence has contributed to unemployment /marginalization and bad governance?

.....

.....

4) In your opinion do you think land and historical injustices have contributed to cycle of electoral violence and human insecurities?

.....

.....

5) In your opinion, do you think elders/church have contributed to reduction of electoral violence in Kibra slum?

.....

.....

Focused group discussion Women

1) In your opinion do you think non-governmental organization have played a role in improving human security in Kibra.

.....
.....

2) What your view on government role in improving human security in Kibra?

.....
.....

3) For the last ten years since post-election have you seen significant changes in Kibra human security if yes kindly explain?

.....
.....

4) Do you think government has done enough to address key issues like unemployment, insecurity, marginalization and land issues if yes kindly elaborate?

.....
.....

5) In future do you foresee electoral violence in Kibra slum?

.....
.....

6) Do you think organization like IEBC, NGO have done enough to curb spread of electoral violence in Kibra slum?

.....
.....