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THE IMPACT OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE ON NATIONAL SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF NAKURU COUNTY

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DECLARATION

Student: This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or any other award in University of Nairobi or any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my special thanks to my family for they have been my pillar of encouragement and motivation during the entire period I undertook this research.

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Several academicians, practitioners and individuals helped me to write this project, from the fact that studies of this nature are seldom the outcome of individual effort or their authors alone.

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ABSTRACT

Up to date, historical grievances remain unanswered, especially regarding land distribution, as a crucial reason for violence in Kenya. In the current Central and Rift Valley, the colonial government confiscated much of farmland to progress agriculture.. The objectives of this study were: to trace the trends of election violence in Nakuru Municipality; to examine impact of Election violence on economic, social and political security in Nakuru county and to provide implementable solutions for curbing Election violence in Nakuru County in Kenya. This study was based on an eclectic approach (eclectic approach is a method of combining various approaches and methodologies to explain a concept). It derives from three concepts, authenticity, constructivism and liberalism. Hans J. Morgenthau is renowned for advancing authenticity in international relations. The research used qualitative research design which enabled the researcher to describe effects of election violence to national security. The research study relied on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through the interview of military officers who serve in Nakuru County and who hail from the same county. Data was also collected from Nakuru residents especially the internally displaced persons (IDPs). However this was complemented with secondary data from publications such as books and journals which was used to study election violence and national security. The collected data was edited to detect errors and omissions and corrected where possible. Qualitative details is thematically examined. Discourse analysis is used for recorded, spoken or sign linguistic studies. Discourse analysis entities are described in different ways in terms of consistent patterns of sentences, phrases, inflections and repetitions. Trend analysis is used to classify popular and recurring events, where the researcher analyzes behavioral trends and timeline of actions. Based on the findings the respondents agreed that the trends of election violence were attached to the following issues: Economic deprivation; ethnicity; historical injustice; land issues; lust for power; political utterances; stolen election and also unemployment. Other noted causes were poverty, historical injustice, corruption, vigilante groups, and violence recurrences among others. Based on the findings election violence in Nakuru County had effects on: economic, social and political security. After implementing the land-base policy, research and practical assertions on this trend throughout the whole country are recommended by the study. Formulate a debate forum (including external experience to provide a transnational perspective) by promoting, for instance, a project of a common state-civil society. The implementation of a program for the advancement of land policy laws like the National Cohesion and Reconciliation Commission and Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission, and also on how to approach national or regional organizations.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CIPEV	:	Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence
ECK	:	Election Commission of Kenya
EV	:	Election violence
IDPs	:	Internally displaced persons
IFES	:	The International Foundation for Election Systems
KANU	:	Kenya African National Union
KNDR	:	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
NARC	:	The National Rainbow Coalition
NCIC	:	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
ODM	:	Orange Democratic Movement
PEV	:	post-election violence
SGBV	:	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
TJRC	:	Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme

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<div align="center">**Introduction**</div>

1.1 Background of the Study

Globally, elections are central components of the organization of democracy for the governance of existing political social structures. They act as a political judgment, assembly and accountability tool. As far as representative democracy is concerned, elections should facilitate smooth change from civil authorities to citizens, and help justify sitting regimes.[1] In a democratic structure where elections are without problems, long haul debates or political brutality; disputes are agreeably settled. Such a framework improves the possibility for political soundness, harmony, advancement and continuity in administration. In any case, where races are depicted by unrest, burglary, coercing, rigging, and different types of election misconduct, they bring to scrutiny the very importance of democracy and endanger the country's security.[2]

Many countries in Africa have had some type of violence.[3] This is probably going to continue, in any event temporarily, in several African states. Actually, election related brutality has in the previous twenty years forced itself as a segment of Africa's political scene. This has brought into question the very significance of majority rule government in Africa.[4] This is to say that serious elections have bent towards intensifying election unrest, which now and again has deteriorated into civil unrest. In 2005 after elections conducted on April 24, around 790 citizens lost their lives in different occurrences and 40,000 fled to foreign nations during the presidential

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[1] Collier, Paul, and Pedro C. Vicente. "Votes and violence: Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria." *The Economic Journal* 124, no. 574 (2014): F327-F355.
[2] Ibid p. 56-57
[3] Njogu K., ed., *Ethnic Diversity in Eastern Africa*: Opportunities and Challenges, (Nairobi: Africans Books Collective, 2010.
[4] Höglund, Kristine. "Violence in war-to-democracy transitions." *From war to democracy: dilemmas of peacebuilding* (2008): 80-101.

race in Togo. In Zimbabwe over 100 citizens were slaughtered, more than 200,000 lost their homes, and more than 2,000 activists captured and imprisoned in the 2008 election period.[5]

With specific reference to Kenya it is very clear that election brutality has presented an incredible security danger to the nation's incipient vote based system and democratic experimentation since the development of the multi-party. Kenya's historical records indicate that political differences, particularly those that are related with election malpractice, typically snowballed into public misfortune of unmitigated extents. This is communicated in the intensifying sign of physical, mental and auxiliary brutality executed against political adversaries and the populace, which incorporate oppression, destruction, kidnapping, defamation, and political death. Undoubtedly, this has encompassed a feeling of election apathy and insecurity. Notwithstanding these authentic factors about Kenya's political turn of events, the democratic course in Kenya is as yet full of fear, considering the disappointment of successive elections to meet the base prerequisites for the handling of democratic elections inside the structure of the best worldwide procedures.

1.2   Statement of the problem

Kenya has had uncertain recorded complaints, particularly with respect to land designation, as a significant basic factor in the violence. The British government estranged the majority of the agriculturally profitable land for pioneer farming especially in what is current day Central and Rift Valley Province. [6] For instance, in 1939, under British rule, the Kikuyu had to

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[5] Hazen, Jennifer M., and Jonas Horner. *Small arms, armed violence, and insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in perspective*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007.
[6]Höglund, Kristine. "Electoral violence in conflict-ridden societies: concepts, causes, and consequences." *Terrorism and political violence* 21, no. 3 (2009): 412-427.

move from the Central by through forceful eviction by the British, clearing the path for a restrictive network of white pioneers known as the 'White Highlands".[7]

After the Kenya African National Union (KANU) triumph in the elections of 1963, Kenya turned into a true one-party state, with its pioneer and President, Jomo Kenyatta, for instance forbidding endeavors of making a resistance party related with the Luo ethnic community.[8] For a few, this prompted the observation that Kenyatta, a member of the Kikuyu community, was advancing Kikuyu interests over those of the public. Political competition and ethno-territorial ill is the consequence of historical complaints. The new democratic alternative in multi-party administration induced a brutal exertion for resources development, political incomparability, and hostile enmity between ethnic groups for control of vital resources within the nation.[9]

In 1992 after many demands from Kenyan activists (consisting of: Ahmed Bahmariz, Martin Shikuku, Masinde Muliro, Philip Gachoka, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, and George Nthenge) multiparty elections were re-introduced. Many opposition parties developed (Democratic Party, FORD Kenya, National Development Party of Kenya, Social Democratic Party, FORD Asili, and other minor parties).[10] Regardless, KANU waited in power winning the 1992 general elections and the successive one amid unrest and claims of election anomalies. A great part of the violence happened during the pre-decisions period and was moved in the Western and Rift Valley regions and evident "neighborhood" warriors assaulted the homes and farms of transient "non-local" communities. In the 1992 political race, the election itself and its

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[7] Ibid p. 87-89

[8] Sandra I. E., et. al., Top Five Threats to National Security in the Coming Decade, in National Defence Magazine, November, 2012.

[9] Rothschild M., The Terrorist Threat has Been Exaggerated in National Security: Opposing Viewpoints, ed., Helen Cothran, San Diego: Greenhaven Press 2004.

[10] Dixon J., *National Security Policy Formulation*: Institutions, Processes and Issues, New York: University of America, 2014.

quick fallout were portrayed by dangers, provocations and the event of fierce conflicts between supporters for various parties, killing around 1,500 Kenyans with over 300,000 losing their homes.[11]

Similar to the, elections of 1992, the 1997 political race was marred with violence. Months before the election, activists of KANU political party purportedly sponsored equipped gangs who assaulted 'non-local ethnic communities' within the Coast Province, causing the demise of more than 100 and prompting the displacement of over 100,000 individuals.[12] Later, when the elections came to a close, politically roused violence between ethnic factions occurred. As indicated by Amnesty International, an excess of 120 Kenyans died in the Rift Valley when KANU followers conflicted with armed young people of the Kikuyu ethnic faction. It was estimated in Kenya that 4 000 people were murdered and 600 000 others were dislodged by state-supported or government-secondoned riots, starting in 2001 to 2011. In the Rift valley and in urban areas (particularly in Nairobi) the opposition exerted an impact on this violence since 1992. The final product of this unrest was the detribalization of government issues and the disintegration of public nationhood.[13]

In 2007/2008 PEV, after the coalition Government was set up, little has been done to address the issues surrounding what was described as historical injustices.[14] The coalition Government set up in 2008 had to pursue the four agendas that reflected the Kenya's societal needs. These include handling poverty and disparity just as battling local improvement inequalities and handling joblessness, especially among the young people.

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[11] Human Rights Watch, 2002

[12] Ibid p.18-19

[13] Heinrigs P. and Tremolieres M., (editors) West African Studies: Global Security Risks and West African Development Challenges, Berlin: OECD Publishing, 2012.

[14] Nyong'o A., Presentation Notes at Strathmore University Nairobi, titled: "The Long Road To Universal Coverage" 24 March 2010. White House, National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Washington DC: White House, 2002.

However, basing on Kenya's history of election violence (1992-2008), almost the same pattern is evident as the cause and triggers, since the anomalies went unresolved even after successive governments. These leads us to ponder whether the election unrest in Nakuru county between the years 1992 and 2008 were because of complaints or different elements basing on history and subsequently the requirement for this practical study.[15] Owing to the democratization process through the election process did it affect national security? This research project considered whether the election process in Nakuru Kenya had any impact on national security.

1.3   Research questions

This study endeavored to answer the following research questions;

i.   What are the trends of election violence in Nakuru County?

ii.   What's the impact of Election violence on economic, social and political security in Nakuru County?

iii. What are implementable solutions for curbing Election violence in Nakuru County in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

i.   Trace the trends of election violence in Nakuru Municipality.

ii.   To examine impact of Election violence on economic, social and political security in Nakuru county.

iii. To provide implementable solutions for curbing Election violence in Nakuru County in Kenya.

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[15] Tordoff William, Government & Politics in Africa, (New York, Palgrave Macmillan,2002) p.9

1.5   Literature Review

This section reviewed literature in relation to the impact of election violence on national security, in the following subsections: national security, Kenya's national security, election violence, causes of election violence and lastly the relationship between election violence and national security.

1.5.1 National Security

Security in its simplest form means safety from harm. Security also means "a condition that is only meaningful if it is confirmed by a society, as a whole, not just' 'by small elites within such a society the protection and preservation of all that the society considers to be important and valuable.[16] This includes the safety of individuals, and groups from physical harm, the condition of life that is healthful and satisfying to all society's members. It also applies to the preservation of the economic and environmental heritage passed on to future generations, and protection of individuals and group from arbitrary and coercive forms of political rule". [17]

National security is liberation from starvation, or from danger to a country's capacity to secure and protect itself, advance its esteemed qualities and interest, and improve the prosperity of its citizens. National security is the welfare of the individual, the community or people provided by the state. National security concerns the insurance and improvement of qualities against those that try to restrict or pulverize their completion. [18] National security is the capacity of a government to safeguard its essential values.

It is the preservation of the least essential values of any country as political self-sufficiency and territorial integrity. National safety refers to the security of a nation-state that

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[16] Hough P., *Understanding Global Security 2nd Ed*, *New York*: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008.

[17] Nossal K. R., *The Limits of the Human Security Agenda*: The Case of Canada's Response to the Timor Crisis, Global Change, Peace & Security, Volume 16, Number 1, February 2004.

[18] Booth K. (Ed.) *Critical Security Studies and World Politics, London*: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2005.

includes its citizens, economy and organizations, and is seen as a government responsibility.[19] National security is now widely perceived to incorporate non-military measures, including safety against illegal intimidation, wrongdoing, financial security, vitality security , environmental security , food safety and digital security, etc. initially considered to be an assurance against military attack. Although national security threats include activities of vicious non-state entertainers, drug cartels and multinational organizations, despite the actions of other nations, it also comprises of the consequences of tragic events. Governments depend on a scope of measures, including political, financial, and military force, just as strategy to implement public security. [20]

Possible causes for public confusion include actions of multiple states (e.g. military or digital attacks), intense Non State entertainers (e.g. terrorist attacks), the anticipated criminal organizations such as drug cartels and natural disasters (e.g. flooding, scrambling).[21] Systemic factors for global instability include environmental changes, marginalization and monetary disequilibrium, militarization and political exclusion. Taking into account the broad range of risks, a country's protection has a variety of measures: monetary protection, physical security , energy safety , food safety , security of borders, environmental security and internet safety. These metrics are closely correlated with public impact elements.[22]

Progressively, governments compose their security approaches into a national security and strategy (NSS); starting at 2017, the United States, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Spain comprise of the states to have done as such. A few states likewise designate a National Security

[19] Richard Jolly., *The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports*: A Review of Experiences and Current Debates. NHDR Occasional Paper 5, 2006.

[20] Jenny Pearce, "*Peace Building in the Periphery: Lessons from Central America*", Third World Quarterly 20 no.1 (2009)

[21] Buzan B., *People State & Fear, - An Agenda for Post International Security Studies in the Post Cold War Era 2nd ed, Boulder*: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2011.

[22] Ibid

Council to supervise the procedure as well as a National Security Advisor. [23] Although states vary in tactics, with some countries starting to coordinate non-military action to deal with basic drivers of instability, there are different kinds of coercive power , particularly military skills. The capability level has increased. In general, military capabilities are focused largely on land or sea, and they continue to be so in smaller nations. Somewhere else, the areas of potential fighting currently incorporate the air, the internet, space, and psychological activities. Military capacities intended for these areas might be utilized for public security, or similarly for offensive reasons, for instance to dominate and attach an area and resources. [24]

Kenya is an independent country and gained its autonomy in 1963. As an autonomous nation, it creates now and again security strategies that guarantee its endurance in the worldwide framework. Nonetheless, in the long periods of its reality, Kenya has confronted numerous security challenges. These security difficulties could be grouped extensively as internal and external. [25]

Kenya faced the shift guerrillas, instilled by Somali ethnic nationalism and supported by the Somali government, which aimed at attaching the north-east region of Kenya beyond its borders. Somalia subsequently declined in 2011, following the abolition of Siad Barre .Somalia's absence of dependability has presented a security problem for Kenya to since. Expansion of little arms from the confrontations within Somalia has instigated crime in Kenya. Attacks into Kenya by activists who capture and take travelers and aid laborers for ransom turned into a conspicuous factor of security hazard in 2010/2011.

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[23] Paul T. V., *Globalization and National Security State*: A framework of Analysis, International Studies Review (2005) 7, 199-227.

[24] Snow D. M., *National Security for a New Era, Globalization and Geopolitics*, New York: Pearson Education Inc. 2004.

[25] Oyugi W., ed. *Politics and Administration in East Africa, Nairobi:* East African Educational Publishers, 2014.

Moreover, globalization has facilitated beyond border exchanges and in the process worldwide organized crime in the shape of drug and human trafficking, tax evasion cannot be ignored in Kenya. Moreover, the country has endured terrorist assaults during the 2010s, the last part of the 2010s and all the more as of late in 2013 in the core of Nairobi. The multinational idea of this criminal phenomenon influences many nations owing to their overflow impact. Kenya hence should lay procedures to counter such overflows.

From the innermost areas, tribal tensions that often erupted into open wars, endless political choice-making-related violence, rustling livestock, disputes between nomads, and land conflicts have always been a security issue. This study will focus on electoral violence as a challenge to national security.

1.5.2 Election Violence Definition

Albeit different meanings of election unrest have been offered by researchers, usually, the idea infers a demonstration of direct physical power, pretty much intentionally used by individuals employed in an election fixing measure or by the method of citizens responding against election control or theft. This spreads demonstrations associated with assaults on properties, assassinations, abductions, uproars, shootings and mishandling of election officials during a political race.[26] A more comprehensive definition extends the significance of election unrest beyond immediate physical acts, grasping indirect and fundamental types of violence.[27]

Consequently, the UNDP depicts political race brutality as: all protests or hazards of coercion, injustice or physical brutalities carried out to affect the election result or the outcome

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[26] Rupeshinghe K., ed., *Conflict Resolution in Uganda,* Anthany: Ohio University Press, 2009.
[27] Nyinguro P. O., *United States Policy and the Transition to Democracy in Kenya 2010-1992*, University of South Carolina, 2009.

of elections.[28] When executed to influence an election function, violence might be utilized to influence the electoral process, for example, endeavors to delay, upset, or wreck a survey and to influence the results: the deciding of winners in serious contests for political office or to make sure about endorsement or dissatisfaction concerning referendum queries.[29]

Looking at election violence from a more practical perspective, Paul defines election violence as all forms of anticipated actions or hazards that have been alternatively prepared with an objective of postponement or in any case undermining an electoral procedure.[30] Election violence as dangers or acts of oppression, coercion, or physical mischief sustained to influence the process and results of a political contest. Election violence can be any physical demonstration or mental mischief to people or harm to property committed on anybody engaged with the election process (voter, competitor, party official, party agents, reporter, election monitor) which may disturb or endeavor to upset any part of the election process (registration, campaign drives, casting a ballot, tallying). The election violence is not just a physical battle between supporters, parties and illegal players, however it includes issues that can impart anxiety among voters and competitors. Additionally, it identifies with altering the election procedure and materials, which incorporate voters register, voting booths and papers, and effect on organs of the election by both the leading and opposition party.[31]

According to the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), election violence is any irregular or planned act that tries to decide, delay, or in any case impact a political contest through verbal oppression, hate speech, threats, disinformation, physical attack, power

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[28] Report by UNDP (2009: 4)
[29] Paul T V, *Globalization and National Security State:* A framework of Analysis, International Studies Review (2005) 7, 199-227.
[30] Ibid p.8
[31] Renner M., et al, *State of the World: Redefining Global Security* (Forward by Michael Gorbachev), New York: W W Norton & Co, 2005.

assurance', demolition of property, assassination, or blackmail. Election violence can be stimulated by endeavors to change the outcomes of a political race, either by controlling the election mechanisms or by challenging the authenticity of the outcomes.[32]

Election violence as tactics or hazards of pressure or oppression to influence a political race or that emerges against the background of political race rivalry. The election process incorporates the enrollment of voters, administering of party primaries, casting a ballot, campaigning, vote checking, declaration of results, and prosecutions at the election courts/councils.[33] Election organizations and partners incorporate election management organs, civil societies, political parties, monitoring officers, global institutions, and mass ideological. Give that an election is a cycle as opposed to an occasion suggests that election violence or unrest can happen at any stage and can show in numerous ways. It might appear prior to, during, or after the political race itself. [34]

Types of violence likewise change extensively. They incorporate mobs; demonstrations of physical mischief; attacks and assaults on competitors or communities; sex based brutality, crowd violence; picketing; and terrorist missions, either by solitary individual or as a component of a campaign affair. [35] Violence is intended to impact elections by scaring voters and striking down the aspirants. It would thus be able to stave off an election from occurring and candidates to leave the election process. What should be perceived is that election violence includes more than physical savagery and incorporates a structural and mental dimension. This includes the

[32] Report by The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) 2014
[33] Sheehan M., International Security, An Analytical Survey, London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2005.
[34] Nyong'o A., ed., *Arms and Daggers in the Heart of Africa, Studies on Internal conflicts, Nairobi*: Academy Science, 1993.
[35] Ibid p.78

types of dangers, hostile advertorials to ingrain panic in participants, just as the control of or altering of the election statutes and organizations.[36]

It is enlightening to review the size of the Kenya multi-party election unrest in 1992 and 1997 which drew wide public and worldwide scrutiny at that point. All things considered, the 2007 scene imparts numerous features to the early episodes.[37] Initially, they all occurred in politically set off conditions after general elections. This trigger involves spread of propaganda as well as hate speech through media by different political parties. Hence, it has been seen that violence in Kenya has a 5-year rotation period with elections filling in as the hatcheries. For example, the 2007 cycle was provoked by the contested re-appointment of former President Mwai Kibaki in which election outcomes were fervently questioned by the opposing outfit (ODM). The opposition argued that the elections were null, thus opening a chain of hostile response by ODM supporters against PNU followers.[38]

There were instances of extensive torching, murdering, theft and debilitating in the various conflicts between supporters of these contradicting parties. Another characterizing highlight of the violence is that it happened any place there was a dominant fraction ODM supporters, for example, Nairobi ghettos, Mombasa, Nyanza, and Rift Valley. Further, these assaults were frequently very much coordinated and composed by factions of youth. To this end, it has been contended that the Kenya violence was a battle for the management of the nation.[39]

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[36] Ochieng W. R. eds., *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya 1940-93 Nairobi*: East African Educational Publishers, 1996.
[37] Richard Jolly., *The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports*: A Review of Experiences and Current Debates. NHDR Occasional Paper 5, 2006.
[38] Ibid
[39] Höglund, Kristine. "Electoral violence in conflict-ridden societies: concepts, causes, and consequences." *Terrorism and political violence* 21, no. 3 (2009): 412-427.

1.5.3 The causes of Election violence

Three relevant circles discern the causes for electoral violence in areas with regular conflicts. These are the concept of the government, the concept of elections and the existence of electoral bodies. Violence against the elections, particularly when repeated, shows a wider and deeper grievance and pressures. Anxieties over jobs, land rights and tribal exclusion are three key features of recurrent violence in elections as seen in Cote d'Ivore, Kenya and Ghana.. [40]

The nature of politics has crucial relationship to the causes of Election violence (EV) in Africa because it means authority to allocate not only power but the ultimate resources. With political power individuals can determine when, where, how and to whom to allocate the scarce resources and opportunities. Considering the African crisis, it becomes critical for competitors, leading to employment of unorthodox means to influence election outcomes. [41]

The reasons for election violence can therefore be divided into two general classes: first, the main variables that have been established in African democracies' basic power systems, such as the casual support mechanisms, the defenseless government, the problem of the exclusive legislative mechanism and the financial vulnerability of losing control in countries in which virtually any control is gained.

Second, elements identified with the election process and the political race challenge itself, for example, fizzled or defective elections, and extortion of election bodies that set guidelines concerning election administration. The countries within Africa are all, to differing

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[40] Njogu K., ed., *Ethnic Diversity in Eastern Africa*: Opportunities and Challenges, (Nairobi: Africans Books Collective, 2010.

[41] Moran D. ed., *Climate Change and National Security*: A Country-level Analysis, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011.

extents, moderately fresh democracies.[42] Vote-based processes and policies that contribute to election have been introduced or improved, and hideous power structures in the public eye and practices that govern the democratic system have not been modified on a regular basis.[43]

Africa had experienced tyrant one-party state frameworks where governmental issues and financial matters were frequently conflated. This repeatedly led to select, prejudiced political culture to unique thoughts and opposition.[44] Besides, a significant number of the financial and political advantages of democracies still can't seem to be completely acknowledged among extensive parts of the populace. Now and again absence of compelling election organizations and structures; power devolution; reforms planned for bringing down the significance of elections; procedures to forestall and oversee election violence; and financial and social stance of the general population add to the issue.[45]

Lack of constitutionalism, inadequacies in the legal framework and rules within which elections are held could be a source of conflict in leading to EV. Weak institutions like the election bodies, justice, law and order, political parties and CSOs facilitate EV due to their inability to address their roles. Many African countries lack institutional capabilities to effectively manage elections. Examples of such countries include Mali, South Sudan, and Central African Republic.[46]

In these specific circumstances where the threats to elections increase and the election contestants generally seem to be losing, the success of a political campaign becomes a resilience

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[42] Moller F., *Thinking Peaceful Change:* Baltic Security Policies and Security Community Building, New York: Syracusse University Press, 2007.
[43] Ibid

[44] Makumi M. ed., *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization, Nairobi*: Heinrich Boll, 2004.
[45] Baregu, ed., *Understanding Obstacles to Peace: Actors, Interests and Strategies in Africa's Great Lakes Region, Kampala:* Fountain Publishers 2011.
[46] D'Anier P., *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs, Boston:* Wadsworth, 2012.

issue for the competing parties, as well as for entire communities within the country. The risk of election violence is therefore greater when there are real political rivalries between various parties and real opportunities of changing the dominant force structure. All elections entail components of vulnerability, yet in the event that the winner brings home all the glory, the vulnerabilities of democracy come at an exorbitant cost. [47]   As a consequence, many politicians use fraudulent voting methods to either effectively vote or improve their post-election negotiating positions by using rebel youth, paramilitary armies or government security officers.

Contesting in an election is quite an uncertain venture, hence leading to intense competition between political actors and groups thereby polarizing and heightening and already hidden socio-economic gapd and other cleavages within the community.[48] Elections therefore become very conflictual in nature and mobilize divergent interests in society. It is in this framework that actors adopt mischievous methods outside legitimate and acceptable standard. This is especially true in social systems, where there have been confirmed violent disputes between economic and political imbalances. In such cases elections may mean the return, or a turn, to violence. For instance the politicization of not well planned or unjustifiable land tenure statutes has served to encourage violence in various cases.[49]

1.5.4 Election Violence and National Security

Elections are basic parts of the democratic system for overseeing current political social orders. They fill in as instruments of assembly, political preference, and responsibility. With regards to liberal vote based system that has become the most significant type of democracy in a

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[47] Owens P., *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International relations 5th Ed, Oxford:* Oxford University press, 2011.
[48] Collins A., *Security and South East Asia; Domestic, Regional and Global Issues, London*: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2003.
[49] Ibid

unipolar globe, elections are to encourage the smooth change from one civilian leadership to the next and assist in legalizing current governments.[50] In an equitable framework where elections are without emergency,, political violence or long haul problems, are agreeably settled. Such a framework improves the possibility for political progression, peace, and stability, harmony in administration. Yet, where elections are portrayed by violence, oppression, theft, rigging, and different types of election misconduct, they bring to scrutinize the very quintessence of democracy and endanger the country's security. [51]

One of the core elements of the present state is to ensure that its people and lives are protected, that human lives are preserved and that the state is respectable at a regional level. Human security developments have become the focus of the new world view because weapons and ammo work do not encourage political stability, structure and defense. Eliminating suffering, disease and poverty by realistic development programs, maintaining good national security.[52] Thus a nation which makes an intense contribution to human protection will never have to make much effort in fighting violations such as: abductions, trafficking of human beings, political murder, bombing etc.[53]

The Kenyan involvement all elections demonstrated that the political leaders have not completely understood the referents of elections for national security. Usually, the leaders have neglected to carry on reasonably of serious political elections, which prioritize conflict and agreement, politics of resilience, and bargaining. They think that elections are battle, characterized by gang violence and political chaos. Moreover, the political outfits that organize

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[50] Moser, Caroline ON, and Dennis Rodgers. *Change, violence and insecurity in non-conflict situations*. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2005

[51] Collier, Paul, and Pedro C. Vicente. "Votes and violence: Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria." *The Economic Journal* 124, no. 574 (2014): F327-F355.

[52] Ibid pp.17-18

[53] Hazen, Jennifer M., and Jonas Horner. *Small arms, armed violence, and insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in perspective*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007.

elections are like a chain of people fighting in which winners and losers must be present. Elections have turned into disputes in which the loss is incorrect. This prevalent example of elections takes measures to kill the nation and threaten its prevalent peace.[54]

From 1992 the recurring election violence in Kenya (especially in 1997 and 2007) illustrated the smoothness of grievances and different variables, which destroyed union, uncovered the profundity of historical injustices and also spellbound the nation along ethnic lines. At the center of these grievances is the conviction that political influence gives the ethnic faction of the president with exclusive preferences. According to history, the political pioneers who direct political influence in Kenya likewise control the path and volume of financial and political assets of the government.

In conclusion, the subsequent intra-regional diversity in admittance to political, economic, and social influence have thus far supported profound complaints, in some instances causing the sort of violence observed in Nakuru during the elections held from 1992 to 2008. The politics focused on the social-cultural identities (horizontal inequalities) have been observed as grievances used by politicians to incite people into violence while on the face value, they are driven by own voracity. The election violence in Nakuru Municipality since multi-party elections had been perceived as an event that affects national security negatively.

1.6   Justification of the Research

The first obligation of the state remains to provide security its people.[55]   Kenya has encountered many security problems from the day it attained independence. Notwithstanding prevailing security strategies, these problems seem to be intensifying and arising in new shapes.

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[54] Ibid

[55] Oyugi W., ed. *Politics and Administration in East Africa, Nairobi:* East African Educational Publishers, 2014.

The aspects that differentiate security strategy must emerge from dangers to national security and be geared towards protecting national interests

Election conflict remains an obstacle to attaining national security for several nations.[56] Indeed, even in stable worlds of politics, elections can succumb to strife. Albeit a challenge that is worldwide in nature, election upheavals and its main drivers, intensities, and shapes contrast in every nation. In the event that improvement initiatives are not embraced to forestall, oversee or intercede election strife, at that elections turn out to be scenes for oppression and violence, where disputes are utilized as a political strategy to impact election results.

The significance of this issue stretches out past the election process, as the authenticity of the subsequent government is additionally in danger in circumstances where conflict has been utilized to accomplish administration. Culprits of election disputes may act without lawful action taken against them, inducing a culture of exemption for such violations. Repeating election violence can make open recognitions that connect elections to conflict, prompting ominous perspectives on the vote based cycle. Election strife can likewise have territorial ramifications, as interior clashes may cascade into neighboring nations. This in turn compromise national security.[57]

The evidence gathered in this study that will be used to formulate and introduce the measures to be used to curb such violence in the near future, which will affect the general wellbeing of the inhabitants of the Nakuru County and other counties in Kenya. The researcher recognized that there has not been a key study carried out to seal this space, thus the study is not only significant but enormously vindicated. Nakuru has been a hotbed of election violence after every five years, hence the need for the research. The study contributes to the provision of

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[56] Paul T. V., *Globalization and National Security State*: A framework of Analysis, International Studies Review (2005) 7, 199-227.

[57] Renner M., et al, *State of the World: Redefining Global Security* (Forward by Michael Gorbachev), New York: W W Norton & Co, 2005.

solution and the methods to be employed in controlling election related violence. This will impact greatly on reduction of incidents of criminal activities and lawlessness in Nakuru. This study will benefit; the Government officials and security agents, who will gain by building on their strength and improving on their weaknesses from the 1992-2008 election violence; the members of the public will take advantage of this research literature and present their views on the research topic which will be brought forward and disseminated while releasing bottled up emotions will also be a relief to most of them.

The students at various levels will learn a lot from the study, criticize it and do further research to fill the gaps. Solving such problems will impact positively on the lives of the affected people and hence an opportunity for growth and development.

1.7 Theoretical framework

This study was founded on an eclectic approach (eclectic approach is a method of combining various approaches and methodologies to explain a concept). It borrows from three hypotheses, authenticity, constructivism, and liberalism. Morgenthau formed authenticity into a complete worldwide relations hypothesis. Authenticity, otherwise called political authenticity, is a perspective on politics that emphasizes its serious and conflictual side. Authenticity is an hypothesis of a political way of thinking that endeavors to clarify, model, and recommend political relations. It is believed that power tends to (or should be) the central end of political action, whether locally or internationally. The hypothesis in the local field says that lawmakers try or should try to increase their impact, whereas countries on the world scene regard themselves as the most important actors to improve or enhance their influence..

Liberals believe that foreign organizations play a crucial role in nation engagement. Initially, liberalism originated from broad and philosophic origins. With global involvement and peace in the theory, some major religious works have early implications which have a similar purpose. It was later in the 1970s and 1980s that political radicalism or liberalism began to take on a form which proved nobility and uniform. It wasn't long before liberal ideals began growing with scholars like Kant, Voltaire, Smith, Locke and Smith in their work.[58]

Constructivism seeks to establish socially and historically important parts of the world relations, rather than the unavoidable effects of human instinct or other fundamental qualities of foreign government issues.[59] The word "constructivism" is commonly attributed to Nicholas Onuf for describing speculations that push the socially-developed character of global relationships.[60] oThe groundbreaking studies of Onuf, but in addition, by Martha finnemore, Hayward Alker, Friedrich Kratochwil, Richard ashley and John Ruggie, were built upon the modern constructivist theory. In the sense of global relations, Alexander Wendt is the most influential social constructivist. His article published in 1992, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics," founded the theoretical reasoning for questioning what he believed to be a drawback shared by neoliberal and neorealists, namely, an obligation to a structure of materialism.

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[58] The Enlightenment and Liberalism". *Uregina.ca*. Retrieved 2016-10-09.

[59] Patrick Thaddeus Jackson and Daniel H. Nexon, "Whence Causal Mechanisms? A Comment on Legro" in *Dialogue IO* Vol. 1, 2002

[60] *Robert Howard Jackson and Georg Sørensen (2010). Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches, 4th Edition. Oxford University Press. p. 166. ISBN 978-0-19-954884-2. Constructivism was introduced to IR by Nicholas Onuf (1989) who coined the term*

The decision of these hypotheses depends on the apparent oscillatory conduct of Kenya's strategy under the different systems and combined with the changed impacts from locally and externally in the different periods since freedom.

As other young democracies, the majority of Kenya 's strategy was resolved with unprecedented effect by the leader rather than a public interest-driven institutional loop. Given the strong influence of government on public safety policies, authenticity and liberalism principles have been demonstrated by leaders from independent to the day who have influenced the nation's strategies in comparable acts, thereby making decisions on authenticity and the theory of liberalism.

The national elements that have impacted security since freedom include complex collaborations dependent on built connections that have to a great extent decided the legislative issues, security and financial aspects, henceforth the decision of constructivism.[61]

The conclusion of Cold War brought to the world a workable framework for violence and advancements in innovation encouraged the fast cycle of globalization. Countries have gotten more associated, connections drew nearer and democracy extended.[62] Territorial associations have risen internationally and potential outcomes of interstate war have lessened. Liberalists contend that the general state of world legislative issues depends on globalization. Countries are, and consistently have been, installed in a national and multinational society, which develops incentives for social, economic, and cultural association across frontiers.[63] Countries themselves make approaches that either encourage or obstruct such interchanges. Liberalism is fragile in its

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[61] Katete Orwa, Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi in Politics and Administration in East Africa, Walter Oyugi ed., (Nairobi: East African Educational publishers, 2014), p. 299. 75 Ibid, p. 300.

[62] Andrew Moravcsik, Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer, (Princeton: Princeton University, 2010), p. 10

[63] Ibid

faith, while genuine power can be a source of insult, particularly in Kenya or other former settlements in which genuine power can be exercised elsewhere. It is agreed that their effects on the analysis would be negligible as the general effect of these shortcomings would offset one another.

Constructivism, on the other hand, concerns people's, ideas and their complex connections with material forces.[64] It recognizes how knowledge influences social reality and the fact that the consequences of secret culture, norms and practices are usually unfixed. The usefulness of this research depends on the presence of constructivists that it is possible to help to expose significant problems ignored by neo-liberalism and neo-authenticity by taking account of standards and the existence of countries.[65]

Besides considering the eccentric influences of the numerous pioneers which have affected the interventions of Kenya, the fundamental changes in the global environment which have adjusted the general direction of safety since the end of the cold war, the expanded security scale and the new types of hazards which are increasing need the efficacy of the first two hypotheses. The socially developed relations that rely upon complex factors, which have a characteristic of the interests and importance of constructivism as a focus of communication of Kenyans internal components and decision-making about national security policy, have been represented in Kenya 's different ethnical divisions.

1.8 Hypotheses

1.8.1 Election violence in Nakuru were on increase in period between 1992 to 2008

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[64] Baylis J., Smith S., and Owens P., The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International relations 5 th Ed, (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2011) p. 154.

[65] Ibid

1.8.2   Election violence in Nakuru County had no impact on national security.

1.9   Methodology

1.9.1 Research Design

A research design is an all-inclusive technique determining the strategies and methods for gathering and analyzing the needed information. The research employed qualitative research design which enabled the researcher to describe effects of election violence to national security.

1.9.2 Data collection

The research study depended on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through the interview of military officers who serve in Nakuru County and who hail from the same county. Data was also collected from Nakuru residents especially the internally displaced persons (IDPs).   However this was complemented with secondary data from publications such as books and journals which was used to study election violence and national security.

1.9.3 Data Analysis

The collected data was edited to identify mistakes and exclusions and amended where conceivable. Editing entailed a cautious examination of the competed interview schedules. Editing was performed to guarantee that the information is exact, steady with different information collected, uniformly entered, as finished as could be expected under the circumstances and have been very much organized to facilitate tabulation and coding. Qualitative information was investigated thematically. Also, discussion examination was utilized to dissect composed, communicated in or gesture based communication. The objects of discussions are

differently characterized as far as reasonable arrangements of sentences, pitches and reiterations. Trend investigation was applied where the researcher examined patterns of conduct and sequence of incidents described and recognize normal or rehashed event.

1.9.4   Limitation

This study was limited to the investigation of effects of election violence to national security. The study focused on Nakuru County which has experienced tribal clashes in 1992 and the worst violent conflict after the 2007 elections. It further narrowed down to the election violence after 2007 elections which were marked by widespread violence.

1.10   Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Identifies the problem the subject of the study, objectives of the study, literature review, and justification of the study, hypotheses and the methodology of the research.

Chapter 2: conceptualizes the trends (historio-political) of election violence in Nakuru County. The chapter discusses the factors that have led to continuity of violence in Nakuru

Chapter 3 gives literature on impact of election violence on economic, social and political security. Various factors under three divisions (economic, social and political security) will be discussed as affected by election violence.

Chapter 4 analyzes the data collected with an aim of answering the main objective of the study. It also discusses the measures that has been taken to curb violence in Kenya

Chapter 5 gives summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

<center>**Chapter Two**</center>

<center>**The Trends of Election Violence**</center>

2.1 Introduction

Since the conclusion of the Cold War, clashes between countries have decreased, while intra-state clashes have expanded the majority of them unfurling along ethnic divides. Surely, regardless of the world being in a period of globalization, ethnic violence prevails, and is by all accounts the "other side of globalization". Thus, the pattern has been that ethnic factions that recently lived peacefully together currently betray one another, leaving trails of annihilation among regular citizens.[66] Ethno-political clash is presently viewed as one of the most significant dangers to worldwide security. Severe unrest between groups speaks to a troublesome and obstinate issue in numerous areas of the world. [67]

Over the last several years of the twentieth Century intra-state clashes (as opposed to war from within) turned into an increasingly basic issue. The United Nations Development Program recorded just three conflicts between nations in the period somewhere in the range of 1989 and 1992, while archiving 79 occasions of intra-state clashes over a similar period, a large number of which had been in progress for 10 years or more. These kinds of contentions vary from conventional fighting in various manners. The expenses of such clashes will in general be borne by regular citizens, instead of military staff. [68]

In World War I, a tenth of all fatalities were regular citizens. In World War II, regular citizens were assessed to contain half of victims. During ensuing clash regular citizen victims have represented to as much as 80% all victims considered, several of whom are mothers and

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[66] Agbor-Baiyee, H. Baté. *A Long and Restless Journey in Pursuit of Happiness with Empty Hands of Faith: An Authoritative Resource for Bushfallers*. AuthorHouse, 2012.
[67] Ibid p. 48
[68] Jenny Pearce, "*Peace Building in the Periphery: Lessons from Central America*", Third World Quarterly 20 no.1 (2009)

their youngsters. This ascent in regular citizen fatalities can be credited to the weapons and methodologies of intra-state strife. These clashes will in general be portrayed by the expansion and utilization of small arms, bombings, land mines, low power strategies. Further, issues, for example, political insecurity, displacement of people, and state collapsing are exacerbated. Undoubtedly the net impacts of these events can regularly make an endless loop, adding to the obstinate idea of intra-state clashes. [69]

2.2 Election Violence in Africa

Election related violence has been a developing pattern in African nations since the influx of majority rules system that cleared over the continent in the 20th century. The 1992 political race in Angola prompted a decade long civil war in the nation that brought about a huge number of deaths. Following the 2005 political race in Ethiopia, election related violence prompted around 200 killings. The 2010 presidential political race in Ivory Coast recorded around 3000 killings.[70] Following the beginning of the fourth republic, after an extended military principle in Nigeria, the majority of the elections held in the nation have been depicted by brutality, and many individuals lost their lives in violence brought by elections. The Human Rights Watch recorded that an excess of 800 individuals passed on during the 2011 electoral conflict in Nigeria.

Comparable patterns have been recorded in Senegal, Sudan, Gambia Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Liberia, Ghana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Zimbabwe and several others, where many individuals have been executed and properties destroyed following election disputes.

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[69] Atuobi, Samuel Mondays. "Election-related violence in Africa." conflict trends 2008, no. 1 (2008): 10-15.
[70] Baregu, ed., *Understanding Obstacles to Peace: Actors, Interests and Strategies in Africa's Great Lakes Region, Kampala:* Fountain Publishers 2011.

This pattern is a danger to the endurance of human security and democracy in Africa, and there is a pressing need to address it. Somewhere in between 2009 and 2017, more than 100 elections were held in 44 African nations. Practically all these elections saw brutality during phases of the political race. Prior to, during, and after the elections periods were totally portrayed by inconsistent or prolonged conflict. In various cases, the violence happened because of residents' disappointment with the groundwork for elections by electoral institutions; from selection and imposition of participants for election posts by political outfits; claims rigging and election manipulation electoral institutions; results and consequences of elections; and the implementation of brutal strategies by security operators to oversee election debates, among different reasons. Frequently, brutality brings about the nonattendance, or when complaint components are undermined.[71]

Various components have been put forward to clarify the frequency of political race violence in Africa. These incorporate basic components, social variables, adaptation of legislative issues, and the neo-patrimonial character of governmental issues in Africa. High percentages of youth joblessness and the proclivity of political business people to control and draw jobless youth into theft during elections have likewise been distinguished as a significant factor that can fuel political decision unrest.[72] The basic issues in the public arena that make some African nations vulnerable to brutality incorporate helpless day to day environments, significant levels of joblessness, poor learning facilities and learning status of residents, inadequate health structures, inadequate infrastructural development, and consistent corruption. Election times raise hope after correction of these issues however disappointments set in when

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[71] D'Anier P., *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs, Boston:* Wadsworth, 2012.

[72] Ibid p. 34-35

the applicants' people put trust in to win wind up losing the political race. This prompts brutality, particularly when there are doubts that the political decision is undermined.

The issue of current leaders seeing government positions as their patrimony, and wishing to drag out their stay in power additionally prompts election conflicts. This pattern could be followed to the way of life of some African social orders where administration depends on inherited guideline, and along these lines can't be tested by others. Such a pattern was seen in Gabon and Togo. At the point when such societies clash with fair standards in elections, unrest may happen when residents oppose election outcomes. [73]

The mushrooming of small arms inside numerous African nations can likewise be credited to elevated level of electoral violence. Africa has encountered and still is encountering armed clashes and regularly, elections are the conclusions of peace initiatives organized to end clashes. In addition, several nations are contiguous areas where armed clashes are occurring, and it very well may be hard to control the inflow of weapons. Much of the time, countries have unuseful information on weapons proliferation and no public techniques for checking the dissemination of weapons. These variables can fuel fierce actions during the hour of elections.[74]

Forceful security officers who think about violence as the main choice to counter opposing actions and fights previously, during, or after elections can likewise add to unrest. Police and security officials in some cases utilize deadly weapons to complete the desires of current governments who need to stay in power, while opposing groups utilize individuals armed with weapons to counter the violence of the security personnel. This pattern can heighten political race violence, prompting more deaths.

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[73] Ibid p.90-91

[74] De Smedt, Johan. "'No Raila, No Peace!'Big man politics and election violence at the Kibera grassroots." *African Affairs* 108, no. 433 (2009): 581-598

The high rewards offered to civil authorities and the incentivizing of political positions and different variables that can make elections high-stakes occasions, now and again add to violence. A few government officials consider legislative issues to be a way to improve themselves as opposed to as an approach to offer types services to the public. [75] Additionally, getting into public workplaces through an election is viewed as a financial venture with appealing returns since it is a certain method of approaching public treasuries in nations where levels of open responsibility are still low and corruption exceptionally high among public officials. Consequently, now and then government officials and their supporters will fall back on extraordinary methods, including violence, so as to win elections. In Nigeria and Kenya, for example, where there are presidential systems of ruling, there is no convenience for the opposition in government: the winner brings home all the glory. When a political party wins a political race, it occupies the administration seat until the following elections. A portion of the opposition groups consider holding on until the subsequent electiom too long to even think about being barred from government, and they would prefer to depend on violence so as to stay relevant.[76]

In nations where politics of character are common, election clashes regularly light religious, ethnic, territorial, and different strains. Explanatory techniques utilized by politicians and characters associated with such clash will in general hype the distinctions that differentiate them from various parties so as to pick up supporters or evoke emotions.

[75] Damdinjav, Mongoljingoo, Isabel Garcia, Emily Lawson, David Margolis, and Ben Nemeth. "Institutional Failure in Kenya and a way forward." *Journal of Political Inquiry* 35 (2013).
[76] Igbuzor, Otive. "Peace and security education: A critical factor for sustainable peace and national development." International journal of peace and development studies 2, no. 1 (2011): 1-7.

2.3 Recent Election Violence Trends

Aggressive elections took place in countries such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya in previous years. Low-intensive abuse, systemic persecution, provocation, detention and death, violent uprisings and clashes between supporters and the security elements in the rival party, and attack on neighboring central party command and party trademarks have been the most prominent.[77]   Nations that have shown such attributes during elections comprise of Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Liberia Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Madagascar, and Senegal. The coup d états organized during and preceding the elections in both Mali and Guinea Bissau are different instances of election related episodes. Notwithstanding, Over the African nations there are remarkable comparisons. Some of them have seen almost zero electoral crime, while others have a resurrected tradition of intense challenges for political office. In a similar country, there are also remarkable differences between different elections with some being violent[78]

Violence in elections is seen as a sub class of bad political forces, which its preparation and justification is practically acknowledged . It is a manipulative, deliberate device, used by political actors as opposing groups to accelerate their impulses or achieve specific political goals that meet an electoral challenge.. It might happen in all part of the election cycle: in the approach to elections, upon the arrival of elections, and in the prompt post-political race period. Political race related violence is not restricted to physical brutality yet incorporates other coercive methods, for example, the danger of violence, harassment and oppression.[79]

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[77] Orji, Nkwachukwu. "Making democracy safe: Policies tackling electoral violence in Africa." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 20, no. 3 (2013): 393-410.

[78] D'Anier P., *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs, Boston:* Wadsworth, 2012.

[79] Ibid pp206-208

2.4 The Causes of Election Violence

The reasons why elections are violent are multi-faceted and can be divided in two classes: first, auxiliary elements found in new and emerging democracies with their fundamental power systems, such as casual support networks, lack of administration, exclusionary legislative problems and financial weaknesses in countries where there is a lack of political control. Second, the factors associated with and obstacle for the election process themselves, for instance, corrupted or defective elections, corruption of the political community, weak or controlled institutions and institutions administering the election process.[80]

African countries are all relatively modern democracies to varying degrees. Foundations and strategies based on popularity, including elections, have been laid or improved although basic public power mechanisms and norms governing the political system have not routinely been updated. The continent hosts a long history of strong political party and one-party states where governmental issues and financial matters are frequently conflated. Subsequently politics is frequently exclusive, narrow minded of restriction and now and then militarized, not least in post-war countries. Besides, huge numbers of the financial and political advantages of democracy are still unacceptable in seem to huge parts of the populace.[81]

The stakes at the elections are high under such basic circumstances, and the electoral risk is usually considered to be losing. A political race may mean stamina for the opposing groups, as well as for entire communities in the nations. There is a greater danger of political violence in these situations where there is real political competition and true prospects for improving the current power relations between the various parties. All elections include components of

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[80] Snow D. M., *National Security for a New Era, Globalization and Geopolitics*, New York: Pearson Education Inc. 2004.
[81] Theise, Ole Magnus. "Climate clashes? Weather variability, land pressure, and organized violence in Kenya, 009–2004." *Journal of peace research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 81-96.

vulnerability, however on the off chance that the winner brings home all the glory, the vulnerabilities of democracy come at an excessive cost. [82] As a outcome, numerous lawmakers resort to illegal political decision techniques and utilize aggressive youth wings to either win the political race or reinforce their post-political race bargaining position. Also, serious elections are by their very nature direct, they encompass measures planned for preparing dissimilar interests in the public arena and facilitating political rivalry between political players and factions.[83]

There is a danger that social norms, where democratic principles have never fully matured in established societies, may lead to a further reinforcing and fragmentation of financial divisions and other public classes. In societies in particular, where political or financial imbalances have historically triggered serious confrontations. In this case, elections can mean that violence returns. The regulatory and institutional frameworks developed for conducting elections can take on a key role in mitigate or incitement election-related brutality in social circles where the election system is very driving violence. For example, a proposal to encourage a large, thorough electoral process throughout the current divisions in the public eye is bound to alleviate the risk of political polarization.[84]

On the contrary, the frameworks that are more selective are bound to promote aggression, particularly in separate societies, for instance the initial post and victory that brings all glory frameworks home. The new trend of building post-political governments that share power in Africa is an immediate product of these elite structures.[85] Although power-sharing agreements are now and again seen as by the way essential to (more) forestalling conflict, they can provide a

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[82] Rasler, Karen. "War, accommodation, and violence in the United States, 1890–1970." American Political Science Review 80, no. 3 (1986): 921-945.

[83] Renner M., et al, *State of the World: Redefining Global Security* (Forward by Michael Gorbachev), New York: W W Norton & Co, 2005.

[84] Ochieng W. R. eds., *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya 1940-93 Nairobi*: East African Educational Publishers, 1996.

[85] Ibid

dangerous reference point for the Continent when they are aggressively challenged, real or not, to lead to power-sharing. In addition, the electoral management system will potentially affect the feasibility, transparency and democratic respectability of elections, such as a constitutional free elections body.

2.5 The Trends of Election Violence in Kenya

The recurring election unrest in Kenya from 1992 exhibited the ease of complaint and other elements, which destroyed attachment, uncovered the profundity of historical injustices and radicalized the nation along ethno-territorial boundaries.[86] At the center of these complaints is the conviction that political influence gives the ethnic community of the president with elite favorable circumstances. As history depicts, the political leaders who direct political influence in Kenya can control the course and greatness of financial and political assets of the government. The subsequent intra-local variations in admittance to political and financial influence have thus continued profound complaints, at times causing the sort of violence experienced Nakuru town during elections of 1992, 1997, and 2008.[87]

The political, social and economic disparities founded on socio-cultural characters (horizontal inequalities) have been observed as grievances used by politicians to incite people into violence while on the face value, they are driven by own voracity. The election violence in Nakuru town since multi-party elections had been seen as a phenomenon mainly because of complaint and different variables. Governments in office have neglected to assume responsibility

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[86] Nosek, Brian A., George Alter, George C. Banks, Denny Borsboom, Sara D. Bowman, Steven J. Breckler, Stuart Buck et al. "Promoting an open research culture." *Science* 348, no. 6242 (2015): 1422-1425.

[87] Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana. "An inquiry into the use of illegal electoral practices and effects of political violence and vote-buying." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 8 (2014): 1500-1527.

for political race violence, even as they order the security personnel and machinery available to them. [88]

Politically prompted hostility in the previous Rift Valley region is not strange. Intermittent, confined flare-ups generally agree with election cycles. During elections preceding and succeeding 2010, followers of Kenya African National Union (KANU), a political outfit associated to former president Daniel Arap Moi, targeted citizens from the Luo, Luhya, and Kikuyu communities, who generally upheld the opposition. The most genuine conflicts, which happened after the contested presidential political race in 2007-2008, engulfed a great part of the Rift Valley and took the nation to the edge of civil war. The overwhelming majority have opposed the Luo and Kalenjin factions that backed the opposition leader Raila Odinga, with a few communities perceived to have endorsed President Mwai Kibaki's reappointment. Political mediation worldwide was crucial in order to subdue aggression. The current relationship between Kalenjin and Kikuyu represents the dynamics of ethnic alliances through political cycles in Kenya.[89]

2.6 Factors that led to recurrence of election violence

2.6.1 The Land Factor in Rift Valley

Provided the solid impact of leadership on public security strategies, leaders who have been there since independence have displayed both authenticity and liberalism goals which have affected the nation's arrangements in equivalent measures, thus the decision of the authenticity, in spite of the fact that reasons for the Rift Valley's recurrent violence are assorted and its force differs region to region, essentially all conflicts are connected to land tenure and heightened by

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[88] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017.
[89] Ibid p.79

pitocs and ethno-territorial opinions. The discernment that "outsiders" have expropriated native communities' hereditary land is the most intense perennial complaint politicians conjure to arouse ethnic backing, frequently with disastrous results.

A significant part of the discontent spins around the way where President Jomo Kenyatta addressed land previously unsurled by the British from nearby communities. Europeans had constrained the peaceful Samburu, Kalenjin, Pokot, Maasai, and Turkana out of land historically owned set up ranches, while Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu, and Kisii were acquired as workers. After Kenya picked up autonomy in 1963, the Kenyatta government purchased European's territory and afterward re-allotted it.[90] The Kikuyu people group profited most, buying the best land through unions and land-purchasing organizations. This encouraged the settlement of a huge number of Kikuyu within the vast Rift Valley at the expense of the Maasai and Kalenjin.[91]

For several years superficial unity, partly through the influence of ethnic leaders has been maintained. In1967 President Kenyatta made a decision to alleviate the Kalenjin land complaint and designate a president Daniel Moi from the group of Kalenjins, to be his immediate heir. Moi took up his post in August 1978 when Kenyatta died. The Rift Valley tensions developed as a campaign for political space expansion and the adoption of participative democracy took place in the late years of 1980s. In the face of a tough election obstacle, the government of Moi encouraged violence against foreigners in Rift Valley, which comprised communities of Luhya, Kikuyu and Luo, whose affiliation was predominantly for the opposition.[92]

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[90] Boone, Catherine. "Politically allocated land rights and the geography of electoral violence: The case of Kenya in the 2010s." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 10 (2011): 1311-1342.
[91] Ibid pp. 78-79
[92] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

Murder and relocation were very common to the Kikuyu, since the tensions between Kikuyu and Kalenjins increased. Kalenjin 's claims intensified in 2002 following Moi's long-ruling KANU faction when Mwai Kibaki, the new president, was accused by political elite of demobilizing many Kalenjin government leaders from his first term (2002-2007). The Kalenjin government endorsed Raila Odinga against the opposition leader, against Kibaki at the elections held in December 2007. After the disputed vote, Kalenjin's young people agreed to turn against Kikuyu relatives, murder and displace thousands of people after being proclaimed winner.

2.6.2 Inter-county and Inter-communal Border Disputes

The tribal borders of between counties are more and more susceptible to ethnic violence as their borders are not clearly established, overlapping and sometimes confining the conceptions to ancestral ethnic home.[93] Without much deliberation of ethnic makeup, the colonial government drew many district borders. Reviews of the constituency and district boundary after independence, which were negatively affected by political patronage and elitist interest, only added to the problem. As many as 25 boundary disputes between counties have certainly proved hard to deal with. There is, however, little political enthusiasm for a proper update and correct demarcation, partly because it might prove controversial, provoking tension.[94]

One of the most turbulent are the border war is the one between Nandi and Kisumu counties. The area has endured several dangerous armed confrontations between the Kalenjin

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[93] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).
[94] Kagwanja, Peter Mwangi. "Facing Mount Kenya or facing Mecca? The Mungiki, ethnic violence and the politics of the Moi succession in Kenya, 1987–2002." *African Affairs* 102, no. 406 (2003): 25-49.

and Luo in the last four years.[95] Because the two groups are on the opposite sides of the political spectrum (the Luo supports the opposing party while the Kalenjin supports the party in power), elected officials may choose to instigate riots in the border ahead of forthcoming elections in order to deter followers from voting.

2.7.3 No Genuine Post-election Violence Reconciliation

Following the violent event of 2007-2008, the Government of Kenya launched reconciliation with local civil society organizations, concentrating in particular on consultation in the hit areas of grassroots reconciliation for the resolution of the crisis and the restoration of social stability. The government in Nakuru County, a significant increase in crime, named approximately 70 men and women in each of Kikuyu and Kalenjin 's main ethnic groups in order to participate in peace talks which had been ongoing for seventeen months before a local resolution was reached.

But the momentum of early reconciliation had not been sustained. Following Jubilee's 2013 election victory, the alliance between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu deceived many into wanting to believe past foes were on an "irreversible" path to address ethnic divisions. Yet the reconciliation in Rift Valley is still unrealistic. "*What we have is negative peace ... calm*", said a governance specialist. Deep grudges are still far from being cured and the position remains volatile in many ethnically-mixed settlements. [96] For instance, in sections of Nakuru and Njoro, formerly displaced people returning to their agricultural land continue to express fears about election-related violence, and others have made arrangements for settlement relocation.[97] The terribly run resettlement framework formed in 2007-2008 to assist people who were left

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[95] Ibid p.202-203

[96] Franck, Thomas M. "Democracy as a Human Right." *Stud. Transnat'l Legal Pol'y* 26 (2014): 73.

[97] Urian, Dan. *The Judaic nature of Israeli theatre: A search for identity*. Routledge, 2013.

homeless is a key cause of perceived injustice by many families, mainly Kikuyu, most of whom were either repatriated in their ethnic fortresses in central Kenya or on property bought in the region. Those with title deeds in Kalenjin lands, say they've been coerced into selling or renting their land, like Uasin Gishu County.

In the Kenya National Dialog and Reconciliation agreement (KNDR) to put an end to abuse, a major clause was the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) appointed to deal with conflicts and historical injustices. In two years this body managed to prepare itself, despite many obstacles to detailing injustices "*a relatively good reparation framework*". Even though it was accepted, it was never executed.[98]

2.7 Post-Election Violence Reports: Historio-Political trends in Nakuru

Various reports have been discussed in line with Historio-Political trends in Nakuru. This section will elaborate them in details

2.7.1 Commission Investigating Post-election Violence in Kenya (CIPEV-WAKI Report)

Based on authenticity theory, the mandates of Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) were to investigate and advise on facts in the case concerning aggression and the conduct of government law enforcement agencies. "*Sadly, violence has been a part of Kenya's election processes since the restoration of multi party politics in 2011. However, the violence that shook Kenya after the 2007 general elections was unprecedented. It was by far the most deadly and the most destructive violence ever experienced in Kenya*".[99] As resistance against the leadership of Moi increased in the course of the years, civil society grew more and

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[98] Smith, Melinda A., Jan MH Risser, Lemuel A. Moyé, Nelda Garcia, Olubumi Akiwumi, Ken Uchino, and Lewis B. Morgenstern. "Designing multi-ethnic stroke studies: the Brain Attack Surveillance in Corpus Christi (BASIC) project." *Ethnicity and Disease* 14 (2004): 520-526.
[99] WAKI REPORT, 2008- Governmennt of Kenya

more strong and donors increased demands on him to democratize, including by using financial sanctions. President Moi eventually agreed to permit multiparty democracy with considerable apprehension and chaired two multiparty elections during his tenure, one in 1992 and the other in 1997. While he embraced multi-party democracy, President Moi declined to take up the idea that he might fail to obtain presidency. This is why abuse became institutionalized during 2010's national elections.[100]

During this period , various election reports alleged that senior political figures, officials and others close to the Government's heart planned and even used criminal groups to threaten people, many of whom were Kamba, Luo, and Kikuyu, in areas of possible support from the opposition. [101] The goal was to stop opponents from voting, and to employ gangs in and around the Rift valley, to kill people and remove people from their local areas, so as to ensure that KAMATUSA hopefuls won and the votes taken by the president, with President Moi getting 25% of the cast ballot and a majority of the parliamentarians. . Violence has become a way to secure political influence and succeeding in elections. Notwithstanding their death and destruction, the Kiliku Parliamentary Committee and Aciwumi Commission documentation on the situation from NGOs like Kenya's Human Rights Watch, Human Rights Commission, and two governmental inquiries —for this willful killing and devastation nobody was ever penalized, despite the fact that the identities of the offenders to be investigated and those "adversely mentioned" had been encompassed in two Commission reports. That resulted to the growth of impunity that never brought to trial many who mutilated and murdered for political purposes.[102]

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[100] Firth, Catriona. "The press reception of Austrian works of Vergangenheitsbewältigung." PhD diss., Durham University, 2006

[101] Ibid p.90-91

[102] Damdinjav, Mongoljingoo, Isabel Garcia, Emily Lawson, David Margolis, and Ben Nemeth. "Institutional Failure in Kenya and a way forward." *Journal of Political Inquiry* 35 (2013).

This affected the political terrain of Kenya in relation to elections, as Human Rights Watch has pointed out. Each of these reports involved politicians as promoters of conflict and political murder and stated that the warriors and crime syndicates of young people who were involved were compensated and put on service.[103] Sometimes after expelling country residents, there were others that were assured land and work opportunities. However, it is not completely obvious whether they either have testimony in the Akiwumi report. A sequence of organizing people and using aggression outside the State to acquire political influence and not to be penalized for it was established.

The effort to minimize the former President Moi's personal power was initially the reason why opposition groups wanted to establish a Prime Minister's position.[104] This coincided with an informal memorandum of understanding (MOU) in which the alliance agreed to establish the position of Prime Minister after the election in 2002 between the then opposition coalitions. President Kibaki, however, reneged on the MoU once elected. Conversations on constitutional reform and power transfer proceeded. The Kibaki Government then submitted a draft Constitution brought forth by Amos Wako, Attorney General at the time, which diluted certain clauses, agreed in the draft at the time of "Bomas".[105]

Gangs and insurgents continued to spread throughout the country, expanding the presence both after and during election of systemic violence outside the State. The pattern increased steadily during the elections of 2007, even after President Mwai Kibaki assumed office in 2002. Mungiki as well as other political crime syndicates kept selling their violent services on a potential buyer basis before the last elections. The political landscape was changed when

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[103] Ibid pp. 89-90

[104] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

[105] Ibid pp. 67-68

additional state gangs of violence began to spread and persisted to be used by politicians. Violence has spread into everyday life and the State has no longer controlled the force monopoly it once had. There have been such widespread extra government violence throughout the country, where it could be declared and exploited at any moment, even to mediate elections as it has been the case since the beginning of 2010.[106]

In 1992, in Olenguruone subdivision of Nakuru County the Kikuyu were expelled from Chepakundi. The observer stated this to be an achievement of Kalenjin, since in Kapsita near Molo town the government resettled the displaced Kikuyu.[107] Therefore, as per the witness, it was felt that the Kalenjin were the only split that had managed to eliminate madoadas by violence in other parts of the district and if it was repeated otherwise in the district, then there was a feeling amongst them starting from the 2005 referendum that the Olenguruon example should be replicated. Therefore, the witness held that the pre-election brutality from 2007 had some interconnection to violence in 1992 in one way or another. It was not unexpected that post-election violence exploded in settlements of various sizes in Western Kenya, in particular, Rift Valley, where, as mentioned in the report of Kiliku, the Kalenjin were bracing for Madoadoa's blood.[108]

In the 2008 violence, peace returned to Nakuru in February 2008, when the town and suffered the worst violence after skirmishes in January 2008. Kikuyu community members were anxious about the stories of Kikuyu IDPs fleeing and the presumed influential Kikuyu businessmen held meetings in order to fund attacks against the communities of Luhya, Luo, and Kalenjin. During this tensely disturbing period, Kalenjin youth from Kaptembwa, mostly living

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[106] CIPEV, 2008

[107] Atuobi, Samuel Mondays. "Election-related violence in Africa." conflict trends 2008, no. 1 (2008): 10-15.

[108] Pereira, Joanna G. "Language and the Public Sphere: A Sociological Study of the Language Question in Goa since 1987." PhD diss., Goa University, 2010.

in Kikuyu, assaulted Githima Estate on January 2008, burned down their homes and stole property to avenge his death.[109]

Kikuyu militias were gathered and deployed in different estates-Mwariki, Kaptembwa, Kiti Kwa-Ronda and the Free Area, to remove 'enemy' communities with help from the outlawed Mungiki group and displaced Kikuyu youth, equipped with new pangas and knives. They circumcised men of Luo forcefully with pangas and shattered glass and decapitated them. The Rift Valley Provincial Medical Officer verified that 4 of the cases of Luo men whom were forcibly circumcised, whereas another Luo man was nursing his penis after amputation by attackers on January 2008, victims were taken care of by the Nakuru Provincial General Hospital.[110]

In an immediate attack on the Kikuyu-dominated areas of Githima, Mwariki, and Kaptembwa, where houses and business buildings had been burned and several people murdered, the Kalenjin community that lived around Nakuru, were allegedly rallied and paid to combat the Kikuyu. According to the Commission's witness accounts, this brutality lasted three days of January 2008 and Kiamunya's mid and high income neighborhood was most severely impacted by the Kiti, Kaptembwa, Githima, and Free Area estates. In the previously mentioned estates of Nakuru 48 people were murdered in one night alone.

The January assaults in Nakuru were neither structured nor organized, according to County nor sub-county public officials. The retired Commissioner of the province of Rift Valley considered that, from 1992, polls were the pretext for ethnic warfare and that a simple event like

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[109] Smith, Melinda A., Jan MH Risser, Lemuel A. Moyé, Nelda Garcia, Olubumi Akiwumi, Ken Uchino, and Lewis B. Morgenstern. "Designing multi-ethnic stroke studies: the Brain Attack Surveillance in Corpus Christi (BASIC) project." *Ethnicity and Disease* 14 (2004): 520-526.

[110] Jones, Kimberly L. "From Moscow to Makhachkala: The People in Between." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 41 (2013): 35.

a battle in a pub could cause severe violence to members of various communities. The retired PPO in Rift Valley considered violence not to be completely unpredictable. The substantial percentage of fleeing IDPs who arrived in the town caused emotions and it became logical that there was no doubt of retaliatory violence.[111]

Nevertheless, the Waki Commission was in the position to decide from compelling evidence that the violence in Nakuru, which occurred in January 2008, had been well plotted and organized by both the Kikuyu gangs which were supposed to belong to Mungiki. It was noticed that the preparation and expectation of violence in Nakuru started in both the ethnic and the political divide in the days prior to elections and soon after elections in the first week of January 2008. Due to the large Kikuyu population, the town of Nakuru was the most affected by tribal conflicts in the area from 1992 to 2011.[112]

The justification for treating the region individually has been premised on the fact that violence first erupted in 1992 after the reintroduction of multiparty politics, it became an internal arena of ethnic conflict. In addition, it is a metropolitan and strategic region that has been the focus of various political groups aiming to take control. Kenya's fourth largest town is Nakuru Town, a highly multiethnic town, administratively the capital of the whole province of the Rift Valley. Politics in the region were highly competitive and unpredictable, arguably because this area, once part of the old White Mountains, saw various ethnic communities acquire property under different settlement arrangements some of which were established before independence.

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[111] Smith, Melinda A., Jan MH Risser, Lemuel A. Moyé, Nelda Garcia, Olubumi Akiwumi, Ken Uchino, and Lewis B. Morgenstern. "Designing multi-ethnic stroke studies: the Brain Attack Surveillance in Corpus Christi (BASIC) project." *Ethnicity and Disease* 14 (2004): 520-526.

[112] Misra, Udayon. "Immigration and identity transformation in Assam." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 1264-1271.

2.7.2 The Akiwumi Report

In 2011, Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi authoritatively forecast that his country's return to a multiparty system will lead to an eruption of ethnic violence that will ruin the country.[113] His forecast has been met with alarm as fierce battles have erupted across the nation between various ethnic groups between 1992 and 2017. Nevertheless, far from being purposeful, there is valid proof that the government has contributed to the provocation of this ethnic strife for political reasons and has not taken adequate measures to prevent its downward trend[114]

In 1998, a presidential inquiry commission was set up to examine the "ethnic confrontations" (interethnic violence), the tends to cause of violence, police and other law enforcement activities and the readiness and efficacy of police agencies in identifying and preventing such violence. In order to effectively prevent and reduce further inter-ethnic attacks, the Committee recommended further inquiry and trial of offenders.[115]

Human rights activists and victims of crimes have long sought the release of the Akiwumi report. The HRW was again interested in the publishing of "Playing with Fire," a report about the proliferation of weapons and political violence in Kenya.[116] At an HRW press conference in Nairobi, HRW strongly called for the release of the Akiwumi report in numerous interviews in the Kenyan and world media. The Kenyan mainstream press, parliamentarians and society organizations have followed up on the report with renewed attention and contributed to increasing pressure to release it. The report from the HRW, which was described in an article by

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[113] Franck, Thomas M. "Democracy as a Human Right." *Stud. Transnat'l Legal Pol'y* 26 (2014): 73.

[114] Halakhe, Abdullahi Boru. "R2P in Practice": Ethnic Violence, Elections and Atrocity Prevention in Kenya." *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect: Occasional Paper Series No* 4 (2013).

[115] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

[116] Boone, Catherine. "Politically allocated land rights and the geography of electoral violence: The case of Kenya in the 2010s." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 10 (2011): 1311-1342.

the New York Times concerning the upcoming election, recorded in the 1997 national election the role of leading party political figures in the fight against militarized ethnic strife in Kenya. Previous research by Human Rights Watch, including the 1993 "Splitting and Regulation" report, defined the ruling party politicians' role in facilitating earlier political incidents with ethnic violence.[117]

In the 2011 authoritarian multiparty regime, ethnic conflict emerged as per the Akiwumi report. The Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kisii and other Luo non-Kalenjin communities in supported the return of pluralism but those in Maasai and Kalenjin were opposed to any confrontation with the KANU monopoly on Kenya's politics. The aim of the 1992 and 1997 election conflict was to expel so-called non-native communities that were considered to be opposed to KANU. Nakuru County is still one of the most cosmopolitan Kenyan ethnic groups, although Kikuyu and Kalenjin are the dominant with large numbers of Luhya, Kisii, Luo, and most Kenyans still found in this region.

The Akiwumi Commission concluded that Kalenjin's desire to recover what it thought it lost as Europeans acquired their ancestral lands forcibly, was the first reason electoral violence. Second, a desire to remove from them 'foreigners' that are insulted them as 'madoadoa'or 'spots.' This was mainly related to Luo, Kisii, Kikuyu, and other communities which found their permanent residence in Rift Valley and finally their loyalty to politics and tribe.[118] The Akiwumi Commission also concluded that the security personnel and the Provincial Administration were careless and reluctant to take firm steps to counter the confrontations or to put a quick end to them. The clash was also instigated by tribal leaders and politicians. There were

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[117] Ibid pp.27-28
[118] Klopp, Jacqueline M. "Can moral ethnicity trump political tribalism? The struggle for land and nation in Kenya." *African Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 269-294.

recommendations that would prevent the recurrence of violence from happening in the future, including recommendations on the investigations of named persons suspected of being part of the violence. However, sections of the Government rejected the Commission's finding and recommendation, as regards to the Rift Valley and there was no more visible action to pursue on from the report.[119] In October 2002, the Commission's 2009 report was finally published. It confirmed that prominent leaders of Kenya's ruling parties have fueled multiple events of ethnic conflict since 2011.[120]

The Akiwumi report rejects the explanatory factor for the land and points out that individuals from diverse communities lived side-by - side for several years before the multi-party democracy arose when violence was used to kill and displace opposing party voters to stop their votes. The report therefore maintains that while the promise that land will be taken from displaced people in order to incite young people to violence, the eagerness for political influence and not for the starvation of land has been the cause of this. While grievance based issues like ethnicity, poverty, land and relative deprivation are at the core of the process that led to election violence, in the absence of immediate tangible benefits greedy leaders tend to lose their incentive to continue the protest. Greed motives were covertly in play while protesting under the cover of grievances.[121]

2.7.4 The Ndung'u Land Report

Land seizures have their origins before Kenya attained independence, when 20% of the land of Kenya consisting of the best agricultural land was allocated to a tiny group of white

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[119] Rutten, Marcel, and Sam Owuor. "Weapons of mass destruction: Land, ethnicity and the 2007 elections in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2009): 305-324.

[120] Halakhe, Abdullahi Boru. "R2P in Practice": Ethnic Violence, Elections and Atrocity Prevention in Kenya." *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect: Occasional Paper Series No* 4 (2013).

[121] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

settlers.[122] The Mzee Jomo Kenyatta Post-Colonial Government used the land previously owned by settlers to support and build alliances. In the successive Moi regime this trend continued and intensified. The Ndungu Report shows how illegally allocating land steadily increased when former President Moi held competitive elections. Klopp argues that Moi and his clique progressively turned to state land less affected by international scrutiny as a personal wealth resource and tool to retain control in the face of the deteriorating patronage resources. One of the causes of electoral violence was the problem of this country.[123]

Besides this, in Kenya there has been a major problem of gross corruption in land procurement, registration and administration. The study by Ndungu concluded that state land in 2010 was illegally and irregularly distributed in absolute violation of the national good. The gross corruption during this period included land grabbing and the distribution of the public land as political favor Senior officials, local councils, the courts and a variety of officials, as well as the provincial administration, elected officials, and others, were implicated in this distribution. Land allotments are thus being used to remunerate "politically correct persons."[124] As the Ndungu report's recommendations have not been implemented, the discontent with trying to tackle disputes over land tenure has increased. The lack of impartiality in institutions capable of resolving land disputes led citizens to take issues into their hands and use violent acts to remedy them.[125]

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[122] Smith, Melinda A., Jan MH Risser, Lemuel A. Moyé, Nelda Garcia, Olubumi Akiwumi, Ken Uchino, and Lewis B. Morgenstern. "Designing multi-ethnic stroke studies: the Brain Attack Surveillance in Corpus Christi (BASIC) project." *Ethnicity and Disease* 14 (2004): 520-526.

[123] Theisen, Ole Magnus. "Climate clashes? Weather variability, land pressure, and organized violence in Kenya, 2009–2004." *Journal of peace research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 81-96.

[124] Ibid p. 34-35

[125] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017.

Land is an emotional issue and politicians capitalize on its matter including promoting electoral violence.[126] Several Kalenjin claim that it is the product of a lingering anger over allocation of land after self rule in post-election conversations. They argue that the colonial government alienated the land and then wrongfully divided it to the Kikuyu and other entities they regard as outsiders. Many Kalenjin actually think that land-related problems were the cause violence before and after election in 2007.[127]

2.8 Devolution and Conflict

Although it managed to help to lower the President's excessive power focus, the transfer produced unintended consequences.[128] First, it intensified competition among affected residents, including some who undoubtedly believe they are losing out. Secondly, and in connection with the increasingly prominent local positions, electoral competitions are becomes more heated and competitive; many national legislators, it is clear, have decided to seek to decommission incumbents. In summary, intra-and cross-ethnic rivalry for both power and financial representation seems to be the revived risk of local unrest escalation in some districts prior to the August 2017 elections.[129]

In 2013, many counties with diverse tribal factions instituted or concluded ad hoc agreements to reserve county seats for smaller communities to offset this danger. The majority Luhya, for example, received governorate in the Trans-Nzoia pre-election pact, known locally as the Mapanga agreement, while the Sabaot, the province's largest Kalenjin subgroup, took over

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[126] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).
[127] Ibid pp. 83-84
[128] Rutten, Marcel, and Sam Owuor. "Weapons of mass destruction: Land, ethnicity and the 2007 elections in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2009): 305-324.
[129] Boone, Catherine. "Politically allocated land rights and the geography of electoral violence: The case of Kenya in the 2010s." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 10 (2011): 1311-1342.

the senate. The agreement stretched to the Bungoma County neighboring Luhya Bukusu, where Sabaot was again taken care of with power. However, while these conflicts in certain violence-prone regions are at least temporarily averted, they unfold, as the bigger price – the governorate, is yearned for by communities and individuals. Marginalized groups in Trans Nzoia (Kisii, Sabaot,Nandi, Kikuyu, and Pokot) are hence working on a strategy to unite against Luhya

Counties with a blended ethnic composition are most susceptible to elections. The pre-2013 electoral pact arguably averted the dispute at Nakuru, a major central theme between 2007 and 2008, where dominant Kikuyu and a sizeable Kalenjin minority live peacefully. A Kikuyu governor and his county mate won the election from Kipsigis, while the two communities shared county executives. However, during the primaries of Jubilee Party in April 2017, unidentified persons supported the Kalenjin by distributing flyers threatening to evict the Kikuyu. In 2013, Kikuyu felt undermined by the neighboring Kalenjin majority in Eldoret and Uasin Gishu, so they were demanding better representation this time around: the deputy governor's office or a member of the Turbo National Assembly.[130]

In counties where there is strong local complaints about the effects of "non-local" people, (i.e. ethnic communities settled in regions already assumed by a prevalent local community) the potential for conflict is particularly high as witnessed in the 2017 elections[131] The NCIC cautioned against increased inter - tribal conflict in Narok when elections in 1992 and 1997 were marked by violence to expel Kikuyu. Before the election of 2017, Maasai concerns concentrated

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[130] Greiner, Clemens. "Guns, land, and votes: Cattle rustling and the politics of boundary (re) making in Northern Kenya." *African Affairs* 112, no. 447 (2013): 216-237.
[131] Ibid p. 23-24

on the Kipsigis, a substantial minority considered to be backing a governor candidate who does not represent Maasai interests in many of the local population.[132]

2.9 Chapter Summary

Based on the findings the respondents agreed that the trends of election violence were attached to the following issues: Economic deprivation; ethnicity; historical injustice; land issues; lust for power; political utterances; stolen election and also unemployment. Other noted causes were poverty, historical injustice, corruption, vigilante groups, and violence recurrences among others. The violence affecting both Kenya and the economy in the region of Eastern Africa was more a combination of historical and economic factors that. Past complaints like land disputes were tangled with election violence eruptions. The politics of the general elections of 1992 in Kenya shows that ethnicity remains a key driver of the behavior of voters and politicians alike. Furthermore, ethnic relations have become conflictual, as money and influence are at stake. The elections involved selecting the office holder(s), and evaluating an access framework to obtain power.

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[132] Mueller, Susanne D. "The political economy of Kenya's crisis." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 185-210.

<center>**Chapter Three**</center>

<center>Impact of Election Violence on National Security in Kenya</center>

3.1 Introduction

Owing to its social and political ramifications, electoral violence has become a subject of huge global and regional concern. Violence has been the norm and not an exception in relation among groups of individuals all through history. Social, economic and political violence has been endorsed and continues to be endorsed in several other nations around the world. In the 1970s, two million deaths worldwide were caused after 4 years of mass genocide. A million people died in the Iran-Iraq war of 2010. Between 1992 and 1995, the war in Bosnia killed 200,000 and led to two million refugees, many of whom were terrorized, forced out of their homelands by organized ethnic cleansing. In the last 10 years, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Rwanda, Congo, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Kosovo have all become entirely compatible with violence.[133]

The post-election violence that ensnared Kenya came up short of the civil war experienced by many independent African nations as a result of factors embedded in national political, socio-cultural, and economic character.[134] To all Kenyan democratization pundits and those who saw the nation as the only "island of peacefulness" in a politically chaotic situation, the violence that shook it in the aftermath of the national election in December 2007 came as a huge surprise. However, for social scientists who have seen the country through different disciplinary lenses over the past four decades, post-election violence has long been a cooling volcano waiting to burst, the question remains when it will explode. That it erupted as 2007 came

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[133] Rasler, Karen. "War, accommodation, and violence in the United States, 1890–1970." American Political Science Review 80, no. 3 (1986): 921-945.

[134] Radcliff, Benjamin. "The welfare state, turnout, and the economy: A comparative analysis." American Political Science Review 86, no. 2 (1992): 444-454.

to an end and thus denied Kenyan New Year celebrations, persisting until the end of February 2008, underscores a deep-seated problem that Kenya must solve both in the short term and in the long run in time to prevent its repeat.[135] Although the dust of such a political storm appears to be settling down, the environment remains rocky and politicians all over the partisan spectrum, like so many Kenyans, no longer seem to trust each other. Nor do Kenyans of all kinds of backgrounds take one another for granted as they proceed to retract to their tribal cocoons after the hardest time in their lives. Post-election conflict was partly attributable to the contested outcome of the presidential contest, and partially a means for the aggrieved to direct their frustration on Kenyans whom they considered to have impeded the country's improvements for far too long. The post-election campaign was a needless insult to those on the other side of the political divide, trying to question the status quo.[136]

3.2 Impact of Election violence on Economic Security

A country's economic development depends on a number of variables including effective governance, sufficient security, and presence of human and productive resources, stable economy, international affairs and others.[137] In this scenario, the sole responsibility of governments is to create or facilitate environments that encourage investment, ensure equitable popular participation and provide other government services aimed at boosting economic activity. Nevertheless, if governments fail to implement their demands in situations of oppression resulting in electoral violence (EV), economic structures are in jeopardy. [138] EV leads to the prevalence of fear of anarchy, property destruction and disruption of daily life activities such as

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[135] Kagwanja, Peter Mwangi. "Facing Mount Kenya or facing Mecca? The Mungiki, ethnic violence and the politics of the Moi succession in Kenya, 1987–2002." *African Affairs* 102, no. 406 (2003): 25-49.
[136] Igbuzor, Otive. "Peace and security education: A critical factor for sustainable peace and national development." International journal of peace and development studies 2, no. 1 (2011): 1-7.
[137] Ibid pp 90-91
[138] Montalvo, Jose G. "Voting after the bombings: A natural experiment on the effect of terrorist attacks on democratic elections." Review of Economics and Statistics 93, no. 4 (2011): 1146-1154.

economic activity, investment, and production. These have significant threats that impact people in form of poverty, illness, unemployment, food shortage, and human rights infringement.

Election violence's long term impact on economic growth is felt. While the economic consequences of election-related violence cannot conveniently be measured, given the corresponding damage to property, prevalent election-related violence can overturn economic gains. Hard economic vessels in hunger, unemployment, poverty, and overall lack of development make segments of the society susceptible and insecure.[139]

3.2.1 Decrease in Production and GDP

Ethnic division leads to conflicts that might result in lack of political stability and long-term conflicts that impact the economy. People can change their financing decisions because most of their finances are spent on consumer activity rather than investment, for instance in search of rent in safe locations.[140] Ethnic diversity may, together with social stability, become an obstacle to economic growth and development. If a group of individuals is treated by the government , for example, as is the case in most African countries, then development is not fair. Ethnic diversity can result in strong economic and social development and a decrease or eradication of poverty, as is intended and when promoted by leaders. Many scientists and representatives have suggested incorporating potential ethnic inequality in overall policy on development in order to have an effective strategy on peacekeeping operations.[141]

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[139] Adolfo, Eldridge Vigil, Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs, Daniel Nyström, and Mats Utas. Electoral violence in Africa. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2012.
[140] Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. "Economic shocks and civil conflict: An instrumental variables approach." *Journal of political Economy* 112, no. 4 (2004): 725-753.

[141] Patey, Luke Anthony. "State rules: Oil companies and armed conflict in Sudan." *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 5 (2007): 997-1016.

Ethnicity conflicts have lots of effects to the society development. There is direct connection between crisis which arise from difference in ethnicity and effects which include development of a nation and it growing economically.[142] Either social, political or development in economy is the necessity for there to be there peace and stability of a nation is required. Precisely, things which do require for an economy to grow do require the participant to be in a situation which doesn't have conflict. Additionally, this crisis does destroy what had already being developed during the good time when there were no conflicts. It causes ideas and arrangements, which were created to be used to create the development to be broken down. Businesses are brought down, infrastructures are put down and lives of people who fuel the growth of an economy are lost. Nations such as Congo, Nigeria, Syria and Rwanda, and sections of Kenya have had parts of their developments destroyed by the conflicts.

Conflicts from difference in ethnicity destroy the economy of a society or a nation, the already differences in the economy may be reason of the conflicts which brings further destruction of the economy. It ends up being a continuous cycle of the battles. People's economic benefits are affected by ethnic conflict. Some areas of the economy are thriving, while others are suffering. In order to assess this, researchers have investigated and proven that conflicts with less intensity have a greater impact on labor-intensive sectors.[143] Controversy reduces the production sector's share in GDP, enhances the use of certain land and resources and decreases them. Conflict is also adversely affected by labor-intensive sectors. Furthermore, exporting industries and sectors requiring external financing are more affected by conflicts.[144]

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[142]Collier, Paul. *Breaking the conflict trap: Civil war and development policy*. World Bank Publications, 2003.p.23

[143]Easterly, William. *Can institutions resolve ethnic conflict?*. The World Bank, 1999. 245-263

[144]Suliman, Mohamed. "Civil war in Sudan: the impact of ecological degradation." *Contributions in Black Studies* 15, no. 1 (1997): 7.

The level of nation development may be affected in different ways by ethnic conflicts among other types of conflict. Conflict in some ways is likely to disrupt the distribution to individuals affected of foodstuffs and other resources. [145] For example, due to the extreme drought in Ethiopia, many people died in the food crisis in 1984. The deaths were not because of the drought but because the food which was available couldn't be spread to the places affected because of the ongoing conflicts at that time. Conflicts also impair several services, including schools that are ravaged by conflict, causing literacy levels to decrease. Ethnic conflicts may also lead to an imbalance in the composition of a population, as in some instances, men building the economy are by far the most likely to engage and kill. Rwanda is an illustration where the conflict has lead men to escape business activities and regrettably, many of them had been killed during the wars.[146]

This conflicts rising due to ethnic differences has being found to be the biggest factor to the slow economic growth and improvements in infrastructures in most states of Africa. Several years after independence ethnic battles are the news of doom in many states of Africa. They have affected growth, economy progress and income policies. Following this it means with the battles in these states of Africa there is never going to be good growth of their economy or developments of the different infrastructures in the countries involved. The societies in the wars put their energies in the fights which in turn consume their time or energy which could be used on developments in their states or their societies. Underdevelopment is a situation in which there is a slow or no pace of economy growth and developments to the countries in infrastructures, which should be improved to raise the living levels of its citizens.[147]

[145]McFerson, Hazel M. "Extractive industries and African democracy: can the "resource curse" be exorcised?." *International Studies Perspectives* 11, no. 4 (2010): 335-353.

[146]Easterly, William. *Can institutions resolve ethnic conflict?*. The World Bank, 1999. 245-263

[147]Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. "Economic shocks and civil conflict: An instrumental variables approach." *Journal of political Economy* 112, no. 4 (2004): 725-753.

3.3 Impact of Election violence on Social Security

Social development involves expanding the relationship of people through different activities that affect other people's lives in different places, even in other states. The person, society, government or regional security can exemplify this. Violent acts can endanger peace and harmony in societies , for example by looking at the implications of post-election violence like murder , assault, sexual abuse, expulsion, vandalism, plundering and harassment.

The decline of the civil order, the threat to human security, the creation of numerous internally displaced persons (IDPs), as well as further militarization of the state and society are important safety concerns.[148] For instance, following the violence during the elections of 2007 in Nigeria, some volatile south-western states suffered a collapse in public order. The attempt at restoring good health led to the large-scale deployed military and mobile police officers, who threatened and harassed the people. The Kenya 2007 and Zanzibar elections in 2000 had similar effects.

For example, when considering Zanzibar reports where Omotola noticed that people can develop discomfort and thus lessen their level of engagement or capacity for nation development. In the 2000 national elections, for instance, 17 malicious property damages, six of incendiary artifacts, two instances of aggression, eleven violent threats, one threats of killing and two injuries were reported during the period of November 2000.[149]

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[148] Af Klintberg, Bengt. "Do the Legends of Today and Yesterday belong to the Same Genre?." *Storytelling in Contemporary Societies* 22 (2010): 113.

[149] Mwagiru M. The water's Edge: Mediation of violent Conflict in Kenya (Nairobi: IDIS) (2008).

3.3.1 Kenya: Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV)

More and more cases of sexual and sexual violence related to post-selection violence, in particular sexual harassment and compelled circumcision have been confirmed. There were cases males who said they were circumcised or sodomised while girls and women were most seriously affected. For example, in Nairobi Women's Hospital between 24 Dec 2007 and 27 February 2008 322 SGBV incidents were identified and in Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital, 32 were confirmed.[150] This was compounded by the lack of support because services were not available to tackle SGBV problems. Evaluations have shown that many SGBV incidents remain undetected due to the fear of reprisals, with little assistance for victims to cope with their pain. Therefore, attempts to react to the problems of SGBV were inadequate. While rape victims were urged to visits health care centers and administer PPPs, lack of information about the treatment's 72 hour incubation period could have caused a spike in the number of infections. Moreover, insecurity or shortage of funds to travel to the centers where these services were provided could have been another reason. [151]

As a "silent emergency," psychosocial problems resulting from the impacts of the PEV were described. Several people couldn't go to temporary shelters or elsewhere from their homes because it implied they had to go through hostile areas. Regarding healing process, the long-term consequences are more serious than the broader fights for post - disaster health and personal development of internally displaced citizens.[152]

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[150] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

[151] Fischer, Jeff Electoral Conflict and Violence A Strategy for Study and Prevention IFES White Paper 2002-01

[152] Pereira, Joanna G. "Language and the Public Sphere: A Sociological Study of the Language Question in Goa since 1987." PhD diss., Goa University, 2010.

In Kenya – Kibera Secondary, when Kenya confronted the worst political crisis since independence: the country held its fourth national election in December 2007, following its return to multi-party systems. Experience of gender-based violence was common in the early period of 2008.[153] Following this election, the nation was on the verge of civil war. A year later the "grand coalition" became was formed , and confidence in the stability of the political system is developed, the new government was to prove that they can take on the important and not so simple, political reforms. Nevertheless, women pay 'prices': regrettably women have been specifically subjected to sexual and gender-based abuse, which lasted for quite a long time and especially at secondary school Kibera, but not uniquely in conflicts and post-conflict times. The young men and boys in the community were not exempt from this. Though violence and murder were common in Kenya during the post-election war. [154]

Virtually every recent violent confrontation, including the confrontations throughout former Yugoslavia, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda, was marked with gender-related violence against women and girls. The threat of sexual and physical abuse has risen considerably for girls and women; rape and other forms of sexual violence tend to be the "law of war." Furthermore, as in recent disputes, the actual number of cases will remain uncertain, not least since most cases remain unidentified because of humiliation, shame, lack of knowledge of the law and a wide range of other grounds for non-recorded sexual or gender related violence.[155]

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[153] Ibid pp.109-110
[154] Agbor-Baiyee, H. Baté. *A Long and Restless Journey in Pursuit of Happiness with Empty Hands of Faith: An Authoritative Resource for Bushfallers*. AuthorHouse, 2012.
[155] Ibid p. 57-58

The Nairobi Women's Hospital, the pioneering health care center for women in Kenya, noted that more than 650 GBv cases in connection with post-selection crises were dealt with.[156] CREAW estimates that 443 survivors (S)GBV (9% of whom were physical attacks, 80% were violations, 4% were indecent attacks, and 7% were domestic abuse), between end of December 2007 and February 2008. Gang rape is considered to be the most prevalent form of sexual and gender-based abuse during conflict and warfare, accounting for almost 90% of patient cases of sexual assault in the political crisis. However, this may be because this form of SGBV is the sexual offense most people recognize and is thus the widely published. [157]

In the Kenya 2007 post-selection crisis, the CREAW study on sexual harassment and sexual exploitation revealed that indecent attack was the most common form of sexual abuse, even though incidents like gang rape were not often recorded because women were unaware that it is a sexual and crime-based offence. During the after-election crisis, other forms of SGBV that happened including abuse , sexual bondage, sexual subsistence and sexual abuse of women. These women had to trade sex to ensure their own livelihoods to obtain shelter , food or services.[158] The offenders included not only men from the other community or tribe, but also protection workers, refugee staff and men who could enter unrestricted from outside the camp. Women of ethnic minorities, girls and young women who were alone were primarily harassed and targeted given the lack of security. This lack of security with the need to trade sex to meet basic needs often reached the female household leaders, widows, and single women. It was not common for married women to be subjected to adverse sexual harassment, and yet they were vulnerable to interpersonal abuse. Women's relationship status is a key factor that suggests

[156] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

[157] Radcliff, Benjamin. "The welfare state, turnout, and the economy: A comparative analysis." American Political Science Review 86, no. 2 (1992): 444-454.

[158] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

the risk of girls and women during times of conflict, but not really the main factor: others include age and heterogeneity.[159]

Many of these gender - based harassment and inequality experiences have multiple (long-term) adverse impacts on women.[160] The women suffering not only endure unmeasurable psychological abuse and mental torment, they also become pregnant because of rape. This causes them to terminate their unborn babies or deliver a baby from their abuser who might have even murdered their spouses and families yet still cope with the stigma of being abused.[161] Gender-based abuse aspects in Kenya's post-election crisis Christina Siebert: "*My daughter is a survivor of sexual abuse, she became pregnant and miscarried, we know who assaulted her, but she has lost hope that she will find justice*."[162] This shame of unintended pregnancy or "mere" rape might cause a husband to break up or get separated from his spouse who may have been raped. [163]Increased financial support and a certain sense of protection may also be brought on by rape and unintended pregnancy (with rapist), which can then end up in a cycle of rape and abuse, unplanned pregnancies, economic dependency and psychological and emotional distress. The increased prevalence of HIV / AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections is also an issue and effect of sexual or gender abuse. Many women have skipped 72-hour pause in getting HIV or sexual diseases medical attention. The rate of HIV transmission is uncertain and unquantifiable: not only were many women infected had been tested before, but some women who had been raped were previously HIV positive and warned their perpetrators, who ignored and went on with their abuse. There are a number of individuals who are positive

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[159] Klopp, Jacqueline, and Prisca Kamungi. "Violence and elections: will Kenya collapse?." *World Policy Journal* 24, no. 4 (2007): 11-18.
[160] Ibid p.92-93
[161] Af Klintberg, Bengt. "Do the Legends of Today and Yesterday belong to the Same Genre?." *Storytelling in Contemporary Societies* 22 (2010): 113.
[162] Daily Nation, 13 March,2009).
[163] Ibid p.89-90

with HIV / AIDS and are pregnant. Other attackers have intentions to marry or have families. This is really risky since they too will transmit the infection. [164]

3.3.2 Effects of Violence on Education

Since the December 2007 poll results plummeted sections of Kenya into turmoil, causing worrying about the impact of a massive displacement and continuing instable learning, thousands of students in Kenya did not begin their new school calendar.[165] Significant transfers of teachers from all regions to safer areas have been made, and teacher shortages impacted the output of schools. Bishop Jackson Ole Sapit, who represents several districts in Kenya's west-ranging Rift Valley, said to IRIN "Many teachers of the region have come in their thousands from ethnic communities that have left Rift valley." Some of the people who left said they were pursuing transfers to the protected areas where they felt more comfortable, which would probably create great trouble in the foreseeable future.[166]

Insecurity and school distance are 'twin' causes, both for teachers as well as pupils, that inhibit the participation of their children in school. Teacher and children in urban and suburban areas suggested that they refused to go to school in tandem with uncertainty. Since the unrest following the election made the school the primary focus for hooligans and demonstrators alike. Slogans such as "no train, no school" were sung by the angry young people; schools were stormy in some cases and children and teachers were thrown out. The school is the government for these young people and thus their easiest aim.

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[164] Brown, Stephen, and Chandra Lekha Sriram. "The big fish won't fry themselves: Criminal accountability for post-election violence in Kenya." *African Affairs* 111, no. 443 (2012): 244-260.

[165] Bowler, Shaun. "Electoral systems." In The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions. 2006.

[166]Mueller, Susanne D. "The political economy of Kenya's crisis." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 185-210.

Distance and uncertainty undermined the trust of the parents in sending children to school in many areas. Many schools closed in January before politicians opened them but then again, when the political climate was strained and protests were shown, the teachers and learners were forced out on several occasions from school.[167] Some of the parents postponed schooling until the National Accord had been concluded by the end of February, while some sent them to school in late March and also earlier April. There were parents who, while being of one ethnic minority, migrated from town or urban centers to rural villages. Owing to the unavailability of political stability, certain parents pulled the children away when they felt that they were becoming more vulnerable.[168]

Families in camps were too frightened to have their children sent to nearby schools if competing groups or unsettled youth threatened them. One camp in the district commissioner's compound had over 1,800 people, who said that no pupil displaced was at school. Kenyan Education Ministry created a strategy dubbed "response and recovery," along with UNICEF and other regional allies like the Society of the Red Cross of Kenya. "*As part of this plan, we conducted rapid assessments and started providing school kits, recreation kits and tents where necessary, so that children could start school within the camps*," Noor said. "Recovery meant measures such as extra tuition later on to enable students to catch up on work they missed, but our immediate priority in this case was provision of educational materials, protection and food for school children," he added. "We had yet to reach many areas and there were logistical difficulties ... we could not force the system." [169]

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[167] Klopp, Jacqueline, and Prisca Kamungi. "Violence and elections: will Kenya collapse?." *World Policy Journal* 24, no. 4 (2007): 11-18.

[168] Cheeseman, Nic. "The Kenyan elections of 2007: an introduction." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 166-184.

[169] Trelles, Alejandro, and Miguel Carreras. "Bullets and votes: Violence and electoral participation in Mexico." Journal of Politics in Latin America 4, no. 2 (2012): 89-123.

Temporary schools were established in Eldoret and Nakuru camps of the country, however site officials had creative ways of keeping their children occupied in regions where UNICEF and the Government had not yet arrived.[170] Displaced teachers set up temporary classes under trees at Mulot Village, in the district's southern region; a village school called the Refugee Primary School, which was somewhat strange. Samuel Tureiga, a camp teacher at Mulot who had 550 people, said, "We tried, but we had children from all sorts mixed background, we had no board, no chalks, books or desks and it was difficult." He continued, "We've been trying to keep the kids occupied and get some peace."[171]

Displaced students and teachers reported that internally displaced children are being forced to face new challenges. For example, without the usual requirement to carry a desk, all schools enrolled these children without uniforms and shoes; these students often lack complete focus , both in the classroom and outdoor activities. The teachers are sometimes forced to direct these children and instruct them, despite the fact that some are not qualified.[172]

There were very few male therapists despite the proportional number of girls and boys.[173] Moto Primary School, Western Mola, median class sizes grew from 40 in the final portion of 2007 to 80, with four or five students at the desk over the next year. Some of the children sat on the rock and teachers found that some of them were old and unexperienced, and that there were no psychological councilors reporting on the camp.[174] UNICEF commissioned regional surveys and partnered with provincial authorities to gain greater awareness of the effects of violence on

[170] Atuobi, Samuel Mondays. "Election-related violence in Africa." conflict trends 2008, no. 1 (2008): 10-15.
[171] Kagwanja, Peter Mwangi. "Facing Mount Kenya or facing Mecca? The Mungiki, ethnic violence and the politics of the Moi succession in Kenya, 1987–2002." *African Affairs* 102, no. 406 (2003): 25-49.
[172] Franck, Thomas M. "Democracy as a Human Right." *Stud. Transnat'l Legal Pol'y* 26 (2014): 73.
[173] Urian, Dan. *The Judaic nature of Israeli theatre: A search for identity*. Routledge, 2013.
[174] Misra, Udayon. "Immigration and identity transformation in Assam." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 1264-1271.

children and ensure that regional education becomes more safe as a result. Approximately 600,000 Kenyans, including school children and teachers, were displaced by violence.[175]

3.4 Impact of Election violence on Political Security

Political security or protection is when individuals are capable of living in society, ensuring fundamental freedom of speech and human rights.[176] Violence in elections across all areas puts democracy under strain by altering normal democratic competitive processes, but more importantly, public apathy and democratic alienation.[177] For instance , rising violence in the elections is considered to drain democracy in African countries which have advanced towards pluralism. Moreover, International Peace Institute states that electoral violence has established deep divisions for national unity and state building between ethnic communities which are dependent on politics and democratic representation. In some instances, political violence was a precursor to armed conflicts. This has occurred in the Republic of Congo in the aftermath of the elections from 1993 to 2014. In 1997 it laid the basis for civil war, where 15,000 people died. In the next two years, fighting escalated, claiming 20,000 more lives.[178]

As for the political repercussions for election-winners, it is usually believed that the likelihood of staying in power will improve when the incumbent government instigates electoral abuse. This is valid to a certain degree, Hafner-Burton et al. claim. Their research shows that pre-election violence regimes are far more able to win the next political race.[179] Nevertheless, they also note that it is not always without significant costs to perpetrate such abuse. Increased

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[175] Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Susan D. Hyde, and Ryan S. Jablonski. "Surviving elections: election violence, incumbent victory and post-election repercussions." *British Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (2018): 459-488.
[176] Jones, Kimberly L. "From Moscow to Makhachkala: The People in Between." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 41 (2013): 35.
[177] International Peace Institute (2010)
[178] MacArthur, Julie. "How the West was won: regional politics and prophetic promises in the 2007 Kenya elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 227-241.
[179] Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Susan D. Hyde, and Ryan S. Jablonski. "Surviving elections: election violence, incumbent victory and post-election repercussions." *British Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (2018): 459-488.

chances of opposition unrest after the election are also increased by pre-election activity. Many incumbents are forced to make significant compromises when faced with mass demonstrations, such as annulment of electoral outcome and even driving them out. Therefore, the use of violence is a gamble for existing regimes. The propensity to emphasize social violence at election time indicates that elections can perpetuate and even exacerbate ongoing conflicts. Gutierrez-Romero utilizes Kenya survey data following violent actions in 2007-2008, suggesting that those people who witnessed electoral violence explicitly are much more likely to classify in ethnic terms and discern potential use of violence than those who did not. [180] Nosek et al. do not however believe that electoral violence has improved Kenyans' ethnic identity since the elections in 2007.[181]

3.4.1 Corruption

Violence in elections will result in corruption. Corruption is the abuse for personal gain by public officials. It is like fraud and snub and repealing laws and regulations in a democratic government that direct public conduct and services does not eliminate the vice. If the legislation is loose and the decision-making process has more power, elected officials will benefit from this power. As an illustration, excessive discretion given during foreign exchange allocations and import licensing to the Minister of Finance resulted in schemes like the Goldenberg scandal. In turn, corruption has led to significant public resources being diverted from the public to private.

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[180] Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana. "An inquiry into the use of illegal electoral practices and effects of political violence and vote-buying." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 8 (2014): 1500-1527.
[181] Nosek, Brian A., George Alter, George C. Banks, Denny Borsboom, Sara D. Bowman, Steven J. Breckler, Stuart Buck et al. "Promoting an open research culture." *Science* 348, no. 6242 (2015): 1422-1425.

Corruption thus paralyzes government operations, threatens service delivery, and exacerbates underdevelopment in the economy.[182]

The economy is more influenced by tax revenues decrease as corruption funds capital and a shadow economy as people lose confidence in the government. The loss of the productive potential of Kenya and its reverse creation into the capitalist economy are nevertheless an alarming result of corruption. From 2011 to 2014, after the Goldenberg fiasco, the state paid out hundreds of millions. This was a scam in which diamonds and gold were fictitiously smuggled, and had severely hit the Kenyan economy. The treasury was forced to leverage bills and securities internally, an action which raised interest rates to around 76%. [183]

For manufacturers, entrepreneurs, and retailers, high interest rates made it hard to serve loans while financial institutions were compelled to lend to government due to high interest rates. During this time several companies and businesses had been suspended, it took Kenya a great time to heal from the unfortunate impacts of the economic scandal. According to Berman, social justice within the African continent is irrational, since it is continuously in conflict with ethnic nationalism and personal confidence alliances that have dominated the democratic process for decades. Consequently, the post-colonial system in Africa continues to be exploited and controlled by agencies and programs in the mask of a centralized philosophy of growth for personal and community gain. This irony of "belly politics" is that the affluent and poor, the people and leaders hold the deceitful, materialistic view of politics and the nation.[184]

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[182] Halakhe, Abdullahi Boru. "R2P in Practice": Ethnic Violence, Elections and Atrocity Prevention in Kenya." *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect: Occasional Paper Series No* 4 (2013).

[183] Hatina, Meir. *Identity Politics in the Middle East: Liberal Discourse and Islamic Challenge in Egypt*. Vol. 62. IB Tauris, 2007.

[184] Hazen, Jennifer M., and Jonas Horner. *Small arms, armed violence, and insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in perspective*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007.

Corruption in Kenya is not incidental to national politics, but is still the source of people's political participation. People are pursuing political power to gain influence and prosperity and can bring benefits to fellow politicians and tribes through contracts, employment, and resources.[185] As such, no political power or the governing party is structured for capitalism or federal state reform programs. These ventures undermine the current base of influence and wealth accumulation and the dependency on politicians, who retain wealth and ethnic groups. African countries are therefore struggling to establish a trans ethnic public domain embedded in general standards and civil confidence, which regulates political and economic transactions. [186]

The African challenge of political reform must concentrate on weakening relations between the government, its agents and ethnic groups within society as an integral condition for tackling tribal politics and for achieving a broad cooperation which promotes state and economic growth. It is necessary for the members of all ethnic groups to have accessible and equal access to national professional forces by removing the discrimination of differences in numbers, access to education and resources. Höglund Kristine suggests that contemporary African ethnicity, as opposed to that which existed during the colonial period, is larger in terms of social dimension and population, and remains distinct from other minor ethnic faction.[187]

In relation to religious ethnicity and tribal politics, political movements influencing ethnic growth and culture and consequently ethnic politics are seen. Ethnicity is not always synonymous with irrational associations, but social ethnicity which, more specifically, offers

[185] Höglund, Kristine. "Electoral violence in conflict-ridden societies: concepts, causes, and consequences." *Terrorism and political violence* 21, no. 3 (2009): 412-427.
[186] Heinrigs P. and Tremolieres M., (editors) West African Studies: Global Security Risks and West African Development Challenges, Berlin: OECD Publishing, 2012.
[187] Höglund, Kristine. "Violence in war-to-democracy transitions." *From war to democracy: dilemmas of peacebuilding* (2008): 80-101.

security when confronted. It can also be thought of as a network of social responsibilities which defines the functions and norms of people. [188]

Tribal politics deals with the relations between ethnic factions and the government and primarily focuses on the rivalry of ethnic rivals for material modernity rewards through state establishment power. By optimizing the resources and power accessible to one ethnic group, irrespective of the implications of other ethnicities, this defines ethnic success. This has influenced the racial growth and identity of religious ethnicity and tribal politics, with racial politics constantly using historical and cultural tools in the ancient and modern to influence the future and establish the conditions for social change.[189]

3.5 Chapter Summary

On the basis of the outcome, election violence has had an effect on social, economic and policy stability in Nakuru County. Economic production had decreased generally, because many of the promising farmers ran away due to conflict and insecurity. Agricultural operations were disrupted in a state of instability as was the case in some regions. In most instances, crop production was either ruined or abandoned due to the violent conflicts. Operations on agricultural land stopped for a long time in some areas of Kericho, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Nandi, when farmers ran away for fear that their 'conflicting enemies' would attack them. There were other consequential economic woes linked to conflicts, including destruction of property, food insecurity, land grabbing, labor disturbance in farmers, trade disturbances, enterprise and public-sector organizations, disruption in transportation, disturbance in infrastructure, diversion of capital, fluctuation of prices, misappropriation and environmental degradation, among others.

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[188] Hough P., *Understanding Global Security 2nd Ed*, *New York*: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008.
[189] Igbuzor, Otive. "Peace and security education: A critical factor for sustainable peace and national development." International journal of peace and development studies 2, no. 1 (2011): 1-7.

On the topic of social security, it was also observed that the majority of the victims are homeless, landless, poor, wounded, raped, to name just a few of the attacks. At the personal and family levels, the immediate and actual impact of the disputes in Kenya is most evident. In the conflict-prone regions, there was a lack of protection as the people handed the law over to suspected enemies.

Political security has shown that the victims have no faith in police peace and protection in the area during conflict. However, most respondents appreciated the development of community-based police services in which each ethnic group selected members to assist police forces in improving security in and around Nakuru. The government was also not aware of the fact that ethnic conflict in the region was a result of other problems including youth unemployment. Many of the respondents agreed that unemployment targets for the Mungiki, especially for Kalenjins displaced by violence, were made easy for Kikuyu youth who moved to the towns of Njoro, Elburgon, and Molo.

<div align="center">**Chapter Four**</div>

<div align="center">**The Trends of Election Violence in Nakuru Town**</div>

4.1 Introduction

The factors contributed to election violence in Nakuru Town were noted and presented in this section. The chapter also discussed Impact of Election Violence on Economic, Social and political security as well as efforts carried out to curbing election violence in Nakuru town.

4.2 The factors that contributed to election violence in Nakuru Town

The factors contributed to election violence in Nakuru Town were noted and presented in this section.

4.2.1 Ethnicity

According to constructivism, since independence, internal factors that have affected safety include complicated interactions centered on built, political, economic and security ties.. As per the current findings, 95% of the respondents reported that the debacle of contested elections lowered the trust between ethnic groups, which is a core element of social relations between cultures.

> *; Most respondents in Nakuru Municipality commented that "experience has shown that in situations where (ethnic) groups distrust each other and are afraid of being victimized, this fear drove them to resort to violence first in a preemptive move to minimize damage".[190]*

According to one IDP :

> *"The post-election violence in 2007-08 was all about land - the vote was just the trigger,"*

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[190] Interviews with residents carried out in Nakuru on 14[th]June 2019

Following the contentious vote in 2007, a national arrangement that ended the post-election crisis specifically established people's land-reforms as the path to long-term integration and was signed in 2008.. This was one of the fora used for getting the views of different categories of people within the estates of Nakuru's County Central Business District, Kaptembwa, Ponda Mali and Langalanga. These focus group discussions were based on issues of election violence in Nakuru Municipality from 1992 to 2008 and addressed different topical issues. The participants were drawn from Municipality administrators, women and youth.

Another respondent indicated that:

"*In 2007, we saw politicians claiming that some communities had privileged access to land, meaning that simplifying and distorting complex land issues became part of playing the ethnic card for winning elections.*" [191]

There are several explanations why PEV is caused and some groups were subsequently expelled from property where they are no longer regarded as indigenous, but the respondent who is a resident of Ponda Mali estate for over 30 Years (16/5/2013) says that he believes:

, the 2007/2008 election violence: *"was all politics nothing but politics… it was after the announcement of the election results, indicating that Kibaki had won. The following day people started fighting. The problem started because in the beginning of the vote tallying, Raila was leading Kibaki. They announced over and over on the radio that Raila was leading and Kibaki was behind. At the beginning we knew that Raila had won. Later we heard that Kibaki was leading. Problem started when people began questioning how it was possible that the one whowas leading has now been overtaken in the vote tallying. Relations between communities were already bad during the campaigning period. I*

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[191] Interviews carried out in 15th June 2019

assumed the results of the polls should distinguish the winner from the losers and thus the winner is our leader." [192]

On voting and the future of democratic elections, he said:

"*Despite what happened I have a voter's card, I have registered and I will vote. I will vote because I am a Kenyan and I must vote because the vote will separate those who are truthful and those who lie, it's the vote that chooses a leader. But we pray that voting will always be peaceful just like the 2013 election where everything went smoothly".*

Considering the violence in recent times is a strong prediction for the future conflicts and therefore, reoccurrence of the same since 1992 - 2008. Kenya experienced violence in the 2007/2008 general elections because the institutions mandated to deal with the fundamental issues, justice needs, and ethnic groups' resentment, have not been improved. The data above clearly explains ethnicity as one of the main triggers of all election violence in 2007/2008. Over 27% of the respondents raised ethnicity as the main trigger factor. This was closely followed by land issues and political greed where those who had power and influence kept on amassing wealth at the expense of the larger poor population.

4.2.2 Competitive politics and Greed

Like other emerging democracies, Kenya 's policies have been largely determined by the rulers rather than an institutional process based on domestic interests. Due to the increased leadership influence on national security policy, independent leaders have up until now displayed the same realistic and conservative ideals that form the country's policies in equal measure.

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[192] Interviews carried out in Nakuru 13th June 2019

In addition to growing poverty, the political agenda of both government and opposition parties has contributed to poor governance. The politicians blame some groups and encourage people to engage in violent violence, rather than find ways of resolving disputes. Unclear policies and controversy over local and individual land ownership conventional problems are easily exploited. Tensions still persist because the government, aid agencies and Church organizations considered a misunderstanding of development initiatives.[193]

Politicization of the land problem and incitement to evict 'outsiders' has contributed to fractures, hostility, resentment and stigmatization in the township of Nakuru. Brant supports this view and refers to the anarchy that parallels the early civil war which has led to wilful destruction of goods and lives.. This can also be viewed as confirmed by the respondents sampled in the research area.[194] 55.3% of the respondents gave destruction of property perpetuated by politics as being the highest among other offences.[195] No government in Kenya has done well in its attempts to resolve long-standing concerns about land that has been ongoing since 1963. Senior leaders who have been actively active in organizing political violence since 1992 have never been arrested and are now working with impunity.

In Nakuru County, armed groups used election results to infer political loyalties and then undertook cleansing of opponents to win territorial control. This was much evident in 1992 and 2007 elections. While displacement later had election consequences, the need to identify opponents and collaborators, driven by the logic of election violence, drove the initial displacement. Major changes went on and the ones who benefitted from the earlier situation

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[193] Brown, Stephen, and Chandra Lekha Sriram. "The big fish won't fry themselves: Criminal accountability for post-election violence in Kenya." *African Affairs* 111, no. 443 (2012): 244-260

[194] Boone, Catherine. "Politically allocated land rights and the geography of electoral violence: The case of Kenya in the 2010s." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 10 (2011): 1311-1342.

[195] Brant W., *North – South A program for Survival, A Report of the Brant Commission*, London: Pan 2010.

always hold change back. Therefore, it can be viewed from this perspective that the few beneficiaries of the incumbent regime never wanted change and insisted for status quo and hence opposition protests resulting to violence every after an election. Thus, while transition brings about the hope for better times, this might not be delivered is likely to occur.

One of the respondents said that:

> "*Even if benefits from resources do constitute a sizeable prize, violent election conflict is unlikely to spread if a country has a framework of widely-agreed rules, both formal and informal, that govern the allocation of resources, including the peaceful settlement of grievances. Such a viable social contract can be sufficient to restrain, or rather eliminate opportunistic behaviour such as large-scale theft of resources and the violent expression of grievance during electioneering years'.* [196]*

Greed (lust for power) was noted as one of the main factors that contributed to election violence in Nakuru Municipality.[197]

4.2.3 Land and Boundary Disputes

Results about land and boundary disputes were as displayed on the table below.

Table 4.1: Land and Boundary Disputes

Statement	Percentage
Nakuru town has been having land and boundary disputes	100%
Land in Nakuru especially Mau Forest was a major cause of ethnic violence in 1992 and 2007	95%
Ogieks increasingly opposed wilfully depose and ruin their principal source of livelihood forest property.	90%
Local leaders' mobilization prepared them to die to protect and reclaim their land, because it was necessary to distinguish between ethnic groups.	90%

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[196] Interviews carried out in Nakuru 13th June 2019
[197] Bowler, Shaun. "Electoral systems." In The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions. 2006.

As observed, 100% (670) of the respondent agreed that Nakuru County had land issues. As per the findings, land rights and disputes can be dated directly to the pre-colonial times when, through a tribal invasion, less established populations have been replaced by more dominant. A few communities lost their land to the settlers.. Pastoralists occupied most of the Rift Valley, while the Kikuyu and other agricultural communities inhabited the central highlands. After independence, those allocated farms left by the colonialists were not necessarily from the tribe originally displaced.[198] For example, the Kikuyu benefited from the settler farms either because they had the resources to buy them, or due to connections to the Kenyatta post-colonial government. The Kikuyu tribe settled in the Rift Valley, protected by Kenyatta's power.

This was a view supported by 50% respondents out of the sampled in Nakuru County. [199]

One of the respondents said that:

"Since the reemergence of multi-party democracy in Kenya in 1992, politicians have used unresolved land disputes as rallying points during election campaigns."[200]

As observed 95% of the respondents said that dispute for the land in Nakuru especially In 1992 and 2007, Mau Forest was an significant source of ethnic conflict. It was also founded that, for example, Molo Division has become their own country for the four major ethnic groups in the electoral region, including Kikuyu, Kisii, Kipsigis, and Ogiek. As such they played an significant role in the post-election violence in 2007 and 2008 in their strong commitment to land and regional borders.[201]

A majority of respondents (90%) said that local leaders' mobilization was prepared to kill them in order to defend and recover their country, because it was necessary to distinguish

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[198] Ibid p.66

[199] Agbor-Baiyee, H. Baté. *A Long and Restless Journey in Pursuit of Happiness with Empty Hands of Faith: An Authoritative Resource for Bushfallers*. AuthorHouse, 2012.

[200] Interviews carried out in Nakuru 14[th]June

[201] Atuobi, Samuel Mondays. "Election-related violence in Africa." conflict trends 2008, no. 1 (2008): 10-15.

between ethnic groups. Furthermore, the rise in the allocation by Kisii and Kikuyu farmers of wide parts of Mau Forest for governmental cops triggered a worsening of racial hostility and conflict in shifting land boundaries and demarcations. It was noticed. The government intruded and sold its land to wealthy and influential people in Ogiek 's territories. The study showed that the activities by Kikuyu and Kisii in clearing land with fire have led the group of Ogiek to become increasingly concerned.

Most interviewees (90%) stated that Ogieks were increasingly opposed to the deliberate disposal and degradation of forest land because it was its main source of livelihood. Ogieks relied on Mau Forest for their hunting and beekeeping, and accused settlers of misusing the forest and jeopardizing their existence and livelihood. In November 1995, when about 300 Ogieks held a protest along Nakuru-Njoro Road, the study found that the administration declined to hear their requests because the police were immediately deployed to disperse protesters. [202]

Most (90%) respondents stated that, having learned that the government did not help their mission to protect their ancestral ground, non-Ogieks in Mau Forest began to strike, like Kipsigis, Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii, and Luo to prevent invaders from their territories. The Ogieks had been observed in persistent conflict with Kipsigis in relation to land issues in the Molo area before the arrival of other ethnic groups. President Moi tried to persuade the Ogiek, for several decades, to unite with the larger groups in Kalenjin.[203]

The study further found that President Moi further resettled 40, 000 Kalenjin from selected Kalenjin districts in Molo forests in order to ensure Kalenjin 's supremacy in the Mau Forest. In order to provide more votes and to strengthen the KANU political base in Molo and

[202] Baregu, ed., *Understanding Obstacles to Peace: Actors, Interests and Strategies in Africa's Great Lakes Region, Kampala:* Fountain Publishers 2011.
[203] Booth K. (Ed.) *Critical Security Studies and World Politics, London*: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2005.

Rift Valley regions in general, the Kalenjin Subgroups were required. It became a theme in Molo, as powerful politicians had the advantage of state immunity. The political class has ensured, by State allocations, that perpetrators are not brought to justice and worse still, the masses of ethnic communities who committed violence in the Molo region have been rewarded with vast areas of Mau Forest.

This correlates to constructivism concept domestic factors (for example, strain on capital, ethnicity of the land) that have affected safety because independence requires complicated interactions based on defined ties, which have largely defined the economy, security and politics.

4.2.4 Recurrent violence and persistent impunity

The study revealed that violence has been widespread in Kenya 's elections since the restoration of multiparty democracy in December 2011. President Moi was elected in a violent atmosphere in 1992 and 1997. Moi's Kenya African National Union (KANU) party, encouraged violence in both campaigns to remove opposition leaders from some areas , particularly Nakuru and Uasin-Gishu districts.. [204]

In the meantime, supporters of the opposition were frequently abused by representatives of communities. It should be remembered that, in 1992, violent assaults were carried out by central government, often with the involvement of officials from the local authorities and security forces and that suspected perpetrators detained for violence were often released without charge. In 2007, around 380 000 Kenyans were already internally displaced as a result of the political conflicts. The presidential elections of 2002 were however a major exception. In a relatively quiet climate Moi's chosen Successor, Uhuru Kenyatta, son of the first president, was

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[204] Ibid

defeated by a strong coalition of opposition leaders led by the Mwai Kibaki of the National Rainbow Coalition (NRC) party.[205]

4.2.5 Vigilante groups

According to one of the respondents:

> *"the context of violence in the area led to a number of youth vigilantes emergence, offering an attractive avenue of socialization, informal employment and income opportunities."[206]*

As stated, although 18 of these groups were banned earlier in 2002 by the state, most continued to thrive. In the beginning the Mungiki were a quasi-religious group that asserted the prestige of its violence for thousands of adherents, recruiting Kikuyu people. The Mungiki also employ urban young people in Central and the Rift Valley and from Nairobi's Mathare and Kibera and slums.

The Mungiki sect has been a criminal group for years, with ultra-violent tactics, alleged political ties, operating an extorting empire. Following a 2007 police raid, the KNHRC claimed that some four hundred Kikuyu youth were accused of being Mungiki members and were reportedly subjected to extrajudicial killings and disappearances. Other groups like Kalenjin have militias of their own, which have allegedly conducted major attacks against their rivals.[207]

According to the results, the Sabaot Land Defense Forces have conducted armed hostilities along the north-western border regions, particularly cattle-rustling. The presidential

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[205] Damdinjav, Mongoljingoo, Isabel Garcia, Emily Lawson, David Margolis, and Ben Nemeth. "Institutional Failure in Kenya and a way forward." *Journal of Political Inquiry* 35 (2013).

[206] Interviews carried out in Nakuru 15ᵗʰJune

[207] De Smedt, Johan. "'No Raila, No Peace!'Big man politics and election violence at the Kibera grassroots." *African Affairs* 108, no. 433 (2009): 581-598.

race and post-election violence occurred against this backdrop of political and other crime, severe economic inequality and sustained far-reaching repression.

4.2.6 Corruption

According to constructivism theory, corruption influence state's security. Corruption in nearly all sectors in Kenya was entrenched. For example, the resettlement of IDPs project at in different areas also affected the people of Nakuru Municipality. The study revealed that at a point in life IDPS were given some share of land. Each Kikuyu family was given two acres of land, the Maasai five, while Kalenjin families got in the excess of ten acres. Most of the Maasai and Kalenjin beneficiaries were not displaced in the first place.[208] Ideologically-correct people have also earned vast areas of land under the relocation program.[209]

Since independence, a centralized government with a powerful executive chairman of an organizing network that benefits ethnically mainly established elites has characterized the regime. (IDASA's national profile). The regime further distinguished itself by the systematic dispossession of state properties, mismanagement and dictatorial rule, reverence for few fundamental freedoms and civil rights, and often the violent repression of opposition. An Foreign Risk Advisor Report by Mr Kroll, who was hired by the government to probe corruption allegations carried out in Moi's era in 2004, reports that more than £1bn of taxpayer funds was looted during his 24-year reign and lists the Moi family's properties in 28 nations..[210]

The ECK 's management of elections was shadowed when election officers, including the commissioner, Samuel Kivuitu, reported conflicting or inconsistent results of the election from some regions and accused local authorities, who were not able to meet the deadline. On 29

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[208] Ibid

[209] Dixon J., *National Security Policy Formulation*: Institutions, Processes and Issues, New York: University of America, 2014.

[210] Hough P., *Understanding Global Security 2nd Ed*, *New York*: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008.

December, even before Kibaki was re-elected by Kivuitu, demonstrations began when observers witnessed the chaotic count lodging complaints.[211]

Free and fair elections are important in order to allow people to use polls as accountability mechanisms. Fraud thus compounds the problems that occur in social choice when incorporating priorities into the result of existing difficulties in converting voting shares into seat positions, which can allow poorly functioning politicians to hold office.

4.2.7 Injustices

As with authenticity and liberalism, electoral violence is generally structural and is also a predictor of economic growth, nation-building and political influence integration problems.[212] This was definitely true of Kenya, where violence of varying degrees has flashed continuously since 1992, the latest following the 2007 presidential election, which led to violent protests. While Kenya is often referred to as a model of African economic and political stability, the violence following the 2007 Kenyan poll must be seen, as Anderson and Lochery inform us, in the background of the disputed existence of land settlement initiatives from the 1960s and resulting political violence. Violence is not an occurrence, it is a process. Heinous crimes may be accidental, but more often than not result in a long string of historical and political events.

According to Hough[213] Politics in Kenya and violence after elections showed unresolved historic grievances as a significant underpinning factor of violence, particularly with respect to land distribution. In the present Central and Rift Valley province, the colonial government confiscated much of the agriculturally viable land for settler agriculture. This alienation brought in many squatters among the Kikuyu in particular. With independence the Government of

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[211] European Union 2008; Independent Review Commission 2008; Kenyans for Peace, Truth, and Justice 2008

[212] Höglund, Kristine. "Violence in war-to-democracy transitions." *From war to democracy: dilemmas of peacebuilding* (2008): 80-101.

[213] Hough P., *Understanding Global Security 2nd Ed*, *New York*: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008.

Kenyatta established a land market of "willing buyers, Willing seller" and allowed many of the landless to join land buyer. The Province of Rift Valley had been reserved by these systems for landless settlement. However, as endorsed by the Kenya Land Alliance, the land did not actually return to the ones who lost it through colonialism.

One of the Nakuru residents says that:

> *"Most of us share a common problem, that of neglect by the Government. We are all here because of displacement due to the post-election violence. I ran away from home at least to secure my safety. That is why I keep wondering why I am running away when I am still in Kenya. Yes, we are Kenyans, we were born in Kenya. Even if I run away to Uganda I will not be a Ugandan citizen, I will still remain a Kenyan citizen. The government must protect the rights of every Kenyan. If I wish to visit Western Kenya I should go without fear, if I wish to go back to Eldoret, I should be able to go and stay there knowing that I am safe. I am Kenyan, born in Kenya and will live anywhere in Kenya. We were evicted by our neighbours, they were the ones telling us to leave. We did not just pick our belongings and left. No, we were threatened. I was told to migrate to Othaya as though it is a different country. I was internally evicted within my own country. I did not want to leave; It was the circumstances that threatened my life that made me to leave where I knew best."[214]*

From the above narrative, we realize that many Kenyans are aggrieved and feel that they have been marginalized by the state. They therefore cannot hesitate to engage in violence in response to the forces that oppress them, leading to frequent outbreaks of violence and protracted social conflict which dots Kenya's recent history. A long social conflict reflects the protracted and often violent struggle of the local communities for basic needs such as stability, respect and

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[214] Interview with residents carried out in Nakuru 14th june 2019

recognition, equal access to institutions and involvement in economic affairs are recourse to violence. The failure of the successive governments to take any positive action on these grievances did not institute normalcy into the volatile land issues. Even after president Moi's regime, Kibaki government again failed to address the land question, which meant that yet again in 2007 the unresolved land question, was an election agenda especially for the opposition ODM.[215]. Additionally, 80% of the respondents in Nakuru Municipality rated historical injustices as second to ethnicity in terms of contributing to the election violence between 1992-2008.

4.2.8 Politicians and Vested Interests

According to authenticity and liberalism theory, Politicians have an opportunity because of private benefit, to criticize governments. The key criteria for income, for the survival of rebel groups, are traditional opportunities. For example , in the case of election violence in the municipality of Nakuru between 1992 and 2008, political leaders predicted opportunities to benefit from involvement in violence, either socially, politically or economically. Politically, leadership which represents the specific and personal interests will include political opportunities. This is also evident in the way that incumbent representatives are continuing to prolong their terms beyond the prescribed time periods. Greed is a system of non democratic government in which politicians see the state as a path to wealth generation..[216]

The theory of authenticity, aimed at illustrating, modeling and recommending relationships, strengthened Kenyans' aspirations by promising politicians to fix the problems of injustice over the night. Resolving problems pertaining justice and reality, particularly issues of corruption or past abuse, requires political leaders to abandon their privileges and interests in lieu

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[215] Firth, Catriona. "The press reception of Austrian works of Vergangenheitsbewältigung." PhD diss., Durham University, 2006.

[216] Höglund, Kristine. "Electoral violence in conflict-ridden societies: concepts, causes, and consequences." *Terrorism and political violence* 21, no. 3 (2009): 412-427.

of national interest and progress. Kenya 's democracy is far from consolidating as it can best be represented as the coat of democracy created by political liberalization and the establishment of 'democratic game' rules without liberalization of political structures. Democratic institutions, especially the Kenyan electoral commission, had been compromised for their allies and sectional interests to attain power.

However, the 2008 NCA has gave Kenya a glimmer of hope for reform because it provided a chance to criminalize all types of oppression, to ensure that political leaders represent and allocate their domestic wealth equally and to seek to create a more united Kenya..[217]

4.2.9 Poverty

The pervasive poverty and significant inequalities in the municipality of Nakuru are important underlying causes of violence. The Kibaki administration succeeded in rebuilding the Moi economy with a decent 6-7% development by 2007.. The gain of such economic growth did not however lead to increased real incomes, particularly in the urban slums of Ponda Mali and Kaptembwa, which are in severe poverty. This is evident as 64% (Ponda Mali) and 62% (Kaptembwa) of residents in these estates are very poor and live below the poverty line (living with less than 1 USD a day).

There were three stages of dispute between ODM and PNU supporters, which ranged from region to region. The angry, unemployed poor young people in Kibera and Mathare Slums were the first to encounter the sudden violence. It was assumed that the presidential election was rigged. During economic instability and deprivation, people are easily prone to forms of violence against prevailing structures. Most violence affected countries in the twenty first century are in the low income developing and underdeveloped parts of the World as posited by Murshed (2002). The implication is that poverty as a grievance has the capacity to mobilize communities

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[217] Franck, Thomas M. "Democracy as a Human Right." *Stud. Transnat'l Legal Pol'y* 26 (2014): 73.

against each other especially if it's perceived that one community is doing better than the other economically. This is a concept that many politicians have seemingly used to ascend to power. Respondents gave evidence that grievances in terms of resource deprivation and poverty can lead to rebellion, protest and election violence as witnessed between 1992-2008. Moreover, Ethnicity is one of the prime causes of civil wars.

An ethnic capital bond brings together individuals with a similar ethnicity. Organized along the principal of who gets what and when, a common ethnicity enhances the groups' solidarity.[218] Any rapture in the process of distribution of resources or competition posed by another group, which is organized along the same principles but with a different ethnic identity, creates tension leading to the eruption of violence. The political class has since then recognized ethnicity as a source of grievance that can be utilized whenever they realize that their ascendance to power is threatened. There has been a fear of dominance and mistrust between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin while others also support them. Nevertheless, tensions caused by the disparities between majimboism and the unequal distribution of wealth have become a hot spot for election violence in Kenya , for example, in the Rift Valley region.

From a broader perspective, problems of inequality and marginalization are often viewed in ethno geographic terms all over the world.

In Kenya, For example, such grievances were heavily cited as factors that contributed to PEV of 2008.[219] The violence in Nakuru Municipality and other towns of Rift Valley province of Kenya began to protest the delays in announcing the results of the elections in December 2007. The following day riots broke out, primarily in Eldoret, Nakuru, Nairobi, Naivasha, Kisumu, & Mombasa, immediately after ECK announcements. The Orange Democratic Party supporters

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[218] Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana. "An inquiry into the use of illegal electoral practices and effects of political violence and vote-buying." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 8 (2014): 1500-1527.
[219] Heinrigs P. and Tremolieres M., (editors) West African Studies: Global Security Risks and West African Development Challenges, Berlin: OECD Publishing, 2012.

turned their anger on those they perceived as supporters of PNU, while the PNU supporters went on a revenge mission. Several have been killed, land ravaged and many displaced locally. Certain studies have shown that ethnically mixed communities appear to conflict more frequently.[220]

The commission that had been set up to look at the underlying factors has cited cases of historical injustices as the main trigger towards PEV. These historical injustices include, land issues, tribalism, unemployment, inequality, poverty and distribution of resources among other things. However, behind the grievances lies a possibility that some politicians had motives beyond what was seen at the face value.[221] There have been arguments that some politicians were mainly motivated, among other things, by their own political mileage. Politicians with greed for power could ideologically frame their political agenda hidden behind the grievances of the community. Such politicians will correctly identify and articulate the communal need with an aim of getting to power and once they are there they will forget about the communal course that drove them to power. For example, in Kenya, politicians have often cited communal grievances as a gate way to power but little is seen in the way they address the communal needs. PEV in Nakuru Municipality was not of any difference.

4.2.10 Election Rigging

Reasonable peace and stability on the day of the elections dominated the political race of 2007/2008 before the tables started to change during the ballot counts. Kibaki, who initially was behind Raila Odinga in the early polls, narrowed the gap and won his opponent by a wide margin to win over commonly accepted charges of fraud.[222]

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[220] Ibid
[221] Halakhe, Abdullahi Boru. "R2P in Practice": Ethnic Violence, Elections and Atrocity Prevention in Kenya." *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect: Occasional Paper Series No* 4 (2013).
[222] IFES Final Report, 2008

At the 2007 Presidential election, which was disputed, the defective electoral process and claims of corruption created widespread public outrage, leading to thousands of deaths and lasting until 2008. The Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) was accused of manipulations and fraudulent counts. The credibility of the election process, broad bribery, voting buying, and ballot-stuffing exacerbated the faulty data tabulation, delivery, and counting, compromised the systems' legitimacy and corrupted irretrievably the outputs. The Independent Review Board concluded that election-fraud was widespread in every stages of the counting process.

One of the victims narrated how bad the violence was in 2008 as he was caught up by a group of youth wielding machetes and simi's shouting that he shall serve as an example of those uncircumcised men who will taste the knife;

> *The gang, at first decided that they should just chop off my manhood, "had it not been my cooperation with the young men, I would not have lived to tell the tale". However, they circumcised me using pieces of broken bottles and declared that I am no longer a 'kehee'- (a Kikuyu name for uncircumcised men). In view of this, I also boast among my peers as being one of the lucky men to have faced the knife, though my friends jokingly comment that mine was the "bottle" but not the "knife".[223]*

When domestic and international observers judge that an election has been marred by violence, the validity of the vote and that of the elected official are threatened and therefore, discredited the whole process. These were attributed to the comments by observers in 2007 elections, which contributed to the already doubtful election and hence protests and violence. One of the residents, a 46 years old female who lived in Kaptembwa Estate for over 30 years – 27/3/2013 and experienced the election violence, comments that, there was no planned violence prior to the 2007/2008 election even though there were inciting utterances by some politicians;

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[223] Hatina, Meir. *Identity Politics in the Middle East: Liberal Discourse and Islamic Challenge in Egypt*. Vol. 62. IB Tauris, 2007.

She says,

> "*The hell broke loose immediately the ECK announced that Kibaki had won, contrary to what was in public domain and expectations that Raila Odinga was leading Kibaki by far. The main trigger of the sporadic violence was the strong opinion that the election victory was snatched from Raila*".[224]

Abuse of the electoral and election system inevitably calls for alternate forms of legitimate government. In this context, people have turned to street demonstrations as a valid means of political speech.[225] Protests became a way of governance when the ballot-box was failed with a clear mention of post-election Kenya. Counting of presidential votes at the constituents' table, in Nairobi 's national tallying center and the movement of boxes were strongly criticized by observation teams like the Commonwealth, the EU, the Kenya Elections Domestic Observrum (KEDOF) and the East Africa Community. The ECK closed its presidential election, declary introduced Kibaki as the president. Serious concerns were expressed.[226]*act of Election Violence on Economic, Social and Political Security*

Based on the findings election violence in Nakuru County had effects on : economic, social and political security.

4.3.1 Economic security

In the areas affected, the overall economic consequences of the clashes are simply unmeasured and unquantifiable. Health and financial capital were gigantically wasted. The conflicts had long term effects and will continue for several years to shift Kenya's economic growth. The analysis of the conflicts in Kenya indicates that the economic implications go well

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[224] Interviews conducted on 14th june

[225] Hazen, Jennifer M., and Jonas Horner. *Small arms, armed violence, and insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in perspective*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007.

[226] Ibid

beyond the available figures. one basic finding. The perpetrators of the violence and their near helpers benefited from much of the damage.

According to one of the respondents :

> *"Generally, the clashes allowed some groups of people and individuals to capitalise on the insecurity to usurp land or purchase it at throw-away prices from the victims who had no otherwise."[227]*

As observed earlier one of the long term economic consequences of the clashes was the fact that the land ownership structure was permanently changed. Economic production had decreased generally, because many of the promising farmers ran away due to conflict and insecurity. Agricultural operations were disrupted in a state of instability as was the case in some regions. In most instances, crop production was either ruined or abandoned due to the violent conflicts. Operations on agricultural land stopped for a long time in some areas of Kericho, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Nandi, when farmers ran away for fear that their 'conflicting enemies' would attack them.

There were other consequential economic woes linked to conflicts, including destruction of property, food insecurity, land grabbing, labor disturbance in farmers, trade disturbances, enterprise and public-sector organizations, disruption in transportation, disturbance in infrastructure, diversion of capital, fluctuation of prices, misappropriation and environmental degradation, among others.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether the clashes had effect on the following factors or not. Based on the findings all respondents agreed that violence had great effect on all

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[227] Interviews carried out in Nakuru 13th June

the listed factors. Based on the literature the study further investigated more details of the extent to which the factors had been affected.[228]

4.3.1.1 Increases in Crime Rates

The study revealed that three cycles of ethnic strife in the County of Nakuru were growing in cities and suburbs, but criminality was worst in urban areas where people fled to towns became criminals due to a lack of proper income. It was noted that the number of orphans killed during post-election violence rose as relatives and family members became orphans for small-minded and violent crimes.[229]

In addition, educational problems and rising numbers of school dropouts in the area have made crime much worse as children and young people have recourse to crime as incomes to survive. The study also showed the vulnerability of expulsions in the neighboring town. Even though the government has set up Operation Rudi Nyumbani to help displaced people return home. Other forms of crime have also been identified after ethnic wars and abuse against girls and women.[230]

Many interviewees reported that defilement and harassment have increased, as youth marauding gangs attack girls and women who are vulnerable due to insecurity. Although many rival families subsequently presented their girls as a tactic for sustainable peace through early marriage, the study found it was contrary to Kenyan law, because children could only marry

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[228] Interviews carried out in Nakuru on 14th June 2019

[229] Igbuzor, Otive. "Peace and security education: A critical factor for sustainable peace and national development." International journal of peace and development studies 2, no. 1 (2011): 1-7.

[230] Misra, Udayon. "Immigration and identity transformation in Assam." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 1264-1271.

after 18 years. In addition, the abundance of breweries selling illegal liquor led to violence in cities where families fled.[231]

4.3.1.2 Destruction of Property

Many Nakuru residents have lost unimaginably valuable property during ethnic violence in the country since 1992. A Kisii farmer in Keringet lost his house and cattle when the houses of the non-Kalenjins were torched, the animals taken away, and the houses were robbed and the victims were forced to leave the territory of Molo.[232]

The fact that Ogiek and Kalenjin warriors were hitting agricultural and business centers which had numerous firms was shown to have suffered huge losses in ethnic communities that had invested heavily in rural businesses.

The study also showed that most people have lost their residence and personal belongings, not restricted to school records, title documents, identity documents, couches, radio collection, bicycles, apparel and utensils. In addition, because agriculture is common in many regions in Nakuru, it has been observed that many homes with cattle including sheep, oxen, goats, and cattle, had to give them up, because the rapid speed of events following a violence did not allow them plenty of time to move along..

4.3.1.3 Food Insecurity

Most respondents noted that the availability of fertile soils and an ideal environment for agriculture contributed to their motivation to settle in the area. The Akiwumi study echoes their

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[231] Mohamed, OSMAN OMAR. "Election Violence in Kenya: A Case Study of Nakuru 1992-2008." *unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Kenyatta University* (2015).

[232] Jenny Pearce, "*Peace Building in the Periphery: Lessons from Central America*", Third World Quarterly 20 no.1 (2009)

feelings that violence has damaged agriculture due to abandonment of land previously in use by holders to cultivate and farm.

The study showed that many landowners in Nakuru moved to Uasin-Gishu, Kuresoi, Nyandarua, and Keringet and had left the ethnic KAMATUSA communities' land for pasture.[233] Many respondents complained that Kalenjins drived them away from Kuresoi and harvested their crops, turning their fertile farmland into livestock grazing grounds.. The study found that farmers returned to their lands in some cases, while violence had dramatically decreased agriculture as the area cultivated was decreased. The lack of family labour, loss of agricultural equipment and uncertainty about potential agricultural production and income have therefore been affected..

They also agreed that agricultural disruption contributed to a decrease in farm production and income that contributed ultimately to food shortages and famine. In a report published by the Food and Agriculture Organization, victims of ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley area were hungry and starving, and 1080 tons of pulses alone were required, 7,200 tons of cereals and other foodstuffs were required to resolve the emergency triggered by the 1992 outbreak of ethnic violence.

4.3.1.4 Changes in Land Ownership

The findings reveal that during the first wave of ethnic conflict in Kamara, Mau Summit and Keringet regions, Kalenjins migrated to and settled in Uasin-Gishu and Trans-Nzoia Counties while others migrated from the Sagaitim Farm mainly Kisii and Kikuyu.

It was also noticed, when others moved to the Central Provinces, and most of the time, to the Nyandarua District, Kisii and Kikuyu were forced to move to Subukia and Nakuru County. The study showed that violent actions provided the ability to alter land ownership patterns in the

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[233] Makumi M. ed., *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization, Nairobi*: Heinrich Boll, 2004.

area because Kikuyu and Kalenjin fled the region and sold their land at low prices to the Kisii, whose population Gusii region undermined land ownership. As a result, in the Sagaiti estate, Kisii acquired huge sections of land.[234]

Most respondents said landownership trends shifted in some ares such as the Molo division after strangers occupied empty land. Some respondents stated that strangers who showed up as herders and harvested plant as well as kept cattle left by the departed families, occupied parts of Molo such as Nyakinyúa, Jogoo, Kamwaura and Kapsita. It was also the view of the respondents that political leaders encouraged ethnic groups to occupy land left by displaced persons.

The results also revealed that ethnic tensions in Molo opened new possibilities for land grabbing because large numbers of people in the government of Moi and Kibaki illegally occupied vast areas in locations where the government reserved for the displaced. During the relocation era, changes in land ownership patterns also became evident when famous figures acquired land near the city centers of the country, while the legitimately displaced acquired land in the forests of Mau and Mariashoni.[235]

4.3.1.5 Disruption of Trade

Farming and agricultural production in Nakuru were found to have increased trade needs. Ethnic groups in the area cultivated plants in the trade centres, such as peas, cobbles, corn, carrots, peas and kales. Consequently, agriculture and trade were a key revenue stream for the people, although several participants said that all income earning activities were interrupted by the eruption of violence in the area. According to a respondent who returned immediately

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[234] Makumi M. ed., *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization, Nairobi*: Heinrich Boll, 2004.
[235] Misra, Udayon. "Immigration and identity transformation in Assam." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 1264-1271.

following violence in 2007 to areas such as Molo, weak market and trade ties affected commodity supply as trading centers such as Turi, Muchorwe, Mukinyai, and Keringet, which attracted wide pools of customers and traders.

The study also found that in areas such as Toito, the lack of sufficient infrastructure including road networks hindered market and trade networks. While Toito was later renamed Kuresoi as a development strategy, ethnic violence led people into towns in 2007, leaving their land void. As a result, lack of agriculture influenced trade as agricultural products were exchanged in the area with the main commodities.

4.3.2 Social Security

The social consequences of violence and conflict are difficult to measure, but there are obvious violent conflicts that in many ways impact people, groups and nations. Groups such as an individual , group, or association have the power to activate multiple counter-forces, which explains why violent conflicts create entirely new ties when counter-forces meet.[236]

The social implications of the confrontations in Kenya, especially the psychosocial consequences, were enormous and can not readily be quantified. The majority of the victims of such confrontations were left homeless, landless, poor, wounded, dead or raped, just to mention some of the threat massacres. At personal and family level, the immediate and true effects of the confrontations in Kenya have been most felt. Protection was lost in conflict-prone areas when the civilians took charge of the law against suspected enemies.

[236] Jones, Kimberly L. "From Moscow to Makhachkala: The People in Between." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 41 (2013): 35.

4.4.2.1 Death, Physical Injuries and Social Life

Many respondents indicated that deaths caused by wounds suffered by warring groups during attacks were the key social outcome of violence. Many people in the possession of the attackers lost family members, associates and school mates.[237] The Post-Election Violence Committee also found that, while most victims were killed by regular citizens targeted by their ethnic minority against other citizens, other deaths were caused by security personnel attacking ordinary people. [238]

In addition to deaths due to violence, the study found that elderly people succumbed to the conditions around violence, whereas others committed suicide, in particular young people. Most respondents said the violent removal of people in areas they felt were home, became the worst kind of loss..

Incredible loss of human life was caused by instability. Many individuals were traumatic and many were seriously injured. The state of insecurity impacted socio-economic and political institutions in the conflict areas on a daily basis. Luo, Kikuyu, Iteso, Kalenjin, Kisii, Luhya, and others lost their lives. They were all destroyed. There is the evidence, non-Kalenjin ethnical groups suffered most, but the loss was felt on either side of the conflict. [239]

The confrontations in Kenya demonstrated the potential and real effect of the conflict on interethnic marriage, family, and on social life. The evidence collected in the field in various places impacted by tensions shows that union and family relationships were breaking down.

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[237] Ibid

[238] Interviews carried out in Nakuru on 14th June 2019

[239] Kagwanja, Peter Mwangi. "Facing Mount Kenya or facing Mecca? The Mungiki, ethnic violence and the politics of the Moi succession in Kenya, 1987–2002." *African Affairs* 102, no. 406 (2003): 25-49.

Inter-ethnic matrimony is currently seen with fear and suspicion between Luhya (particularly Bukusu) and Sabaot, Kikuyu, Iteso, Luo and Kalenjin.

It was a far-reaching social impact of clashes between the different ethnic groups in Kenya that also induced mental distrust, discrimination and psychological distress marked by emotional pain and general discontent. This new negative trend contradicts the perception that the ethnic groups in dispute live and marry together for decades.

4.4.2.2 Loss of Shelter and Other Basic Needs

After the scores of displaced families set camp by the contributions and sponsorship of numerous organizations, such as the NCCK, the Catholic Mission, the UNDP, Red Cross and Kenya 's Action Aid, they had to live in overcrowded temporary housing, having lost their homes and food supplies. These camps had been set up haphazardly in the war areas and had inadequate ventilation.[240] These camps have been ideally situated for massive outbreaks of communicable diseases such as meningitis, cholera, typhoid, serious airway infections, and other associated diseases due to insufficient supply of clean water and sanitation and congestion. In and around health risks is the mixing of people with chicken, cows, goats , sheep and other domestic animals. The wars in different parts of the world have contributed to the insecurity of children.[241]

Indeed, during the fighting, the children and the women suffered the most. During wars, in full public view, the people were robbed, broken, humiliated and often raped. There was insufficient room for thousands of migrant families in most internal refugee camps. Men and children and women were forced to sleep together with little to no privacy in the often congested areas. As nature was, we would expect unregulated, indiscriminate sexual activity not only

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[240] Ibid p.67-70

[241] Kanyinga, Karuti. "The legacy of the white highlands: Land rights, ethnicity and the post-2007 election violence in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2009): 325-344.

among adults and men but of young children , especially girls, to be sexually abused. In the context of such unethical activities, sexually transmitted and HIV / AIDS was passed on from individuals with the most affected victims of the circumstances being women and children.[242]

4.4.2.3 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

Although there is little proof that the use of SGBV as a weapon for intimidating members of different ethnic groups has been normal and reliable, serious concerns continue to exist in this region. Hospital reports suggest that in Nairobi Women's Hospital between 24 Dec 2007 and 27 February 2008 322 SGBV incidents were identified and in Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital, 32 were confirmed, another two cases were mentioned in Nyanza Provincial hospital. [243]

Information obtained during conversations with rape and sexual assault victims indicates that many of the cases of violation reported tend to have been "opportunistic" in the modern environment, carried out in the light of volatile and aggressive circumstances among youth groups. Victim and eyewitness testimony suggest that, in general, attacks on particular rural communities often spared children and women who were forced to leave in most cases. While women have apparently been assaulted on the basis of membership of a specific community, sexual assault seems not to have been used as a systemic method for targeting individual women on the grounds of politics or ethnicity.

Overall , the number of cases of sexual assaults reported in hospitals visited or the large-scale attack against women during the assaults does not seem to have risen significantly based on the above interviews and the hospital statistics. However, caution is justified. In fact, it must be

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[242] Klopp, Jacqueline, and Prisca Kamungi. "Violence and elections: will Kenya collapse?." *World Policy Journal* 24, no. 4 (2007): 11-18.
[243] Ibid p. 100

remembered that sexual assault is typically underreported by the stigma attached to it.[244] In the post-election violence, the situation of insecurity could also have increased the normal misreporting: In reality, a majority of the victims claimed that hospitals have been overrun by violence and could not examine them. Victims may also not have entered the emergency facilities.

A variety of United Nations entities and other organizations have since expressed questions about sexual harassment by IDPs. The accusations are also aimed towards women and girls who offer sexual favors for food and other facilities. They note that sexual harassment cases are increasing within camp settings, but statistics can not be established due to the lack of consistent reporting systems and the complexities of victimization identification. Since then the government agency responsible for maintaining IDP sites agreed to appoint two female officers on each site to facilitate case reporting. Additionally, steps were taken to educate camp administrators and those who work with IDPs on the issues of sexual harassment and violence on the implementation of codes of behavior and to improve monitoring systems for camp administrators and other human rights advocates. In Nakuru, Naivasha, and the Lain Saba region of Kibera some cases of ethnically motivated forced circumcision to men of the Luhya and Luo communities was reportedly orchestrated by Mungiki. The number of cases indicates, however, that they have not been a general pattern of aggression but rather sporadic.

4.4.2.4 Disruption of education

Violence was also recorded by many respondents during the above times when many children were dropped from school. Children from refugee families were also found to have dropped out of school as they were unable to go to school as their families moved to urban areas.

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[244] MacArthur, Julie. "How the West was won: regional politics and prophetic promises in the 2007 Kenya elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 227-241.

In addition, several schools in the area were closed when the assailants raided schools, burned and plundered school supplies, which made it impossible for schools to continue their operations.[245]

The study found that Mau Summit, Jogoo, and Mutate in Kapsita were subjected to arson and theft, while others, such as Chandero School, were converted into refugee camps in the wake of post-election violence from 2007-2008. At least 55 schools in Molo were not reopened after an outbreak of violence in 1992 according to the National Council of Kenyan Churches (NCCK) report.[246] Consequently, over 16, 500 students did not receive education and many others did not obtain their Kenya Primary Education Certificate (KCPE) in the same year. In addition, the preceding elections in 2008, disruption of education particularly in primary schools, became a pattern, with most respondents saying that children were not able to transcend from primary school to secondary.[247]

The study also found that ethnic clashes in Nakuru have prevented primary students from attending high schools because of financial constraints, in addition to disruptions of primary and secondary schools. Teaching was also an issue as teachers of Kalenjin were transferred to Uasin Gishu, Kericho and Bomet from Njoro, Molo, Elburgon while teachers of Kikuyu and other non-Kalenjin were transferred to the districts of Naivasha and Nakuru.

4.4.3 Political security

Erosion of patriarchal authority : Many respondents said that adverse ethnicity has not only caused family disunity and infidelity but has also stripped away the traditional authority of

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[245] Misra, Udayon. "Immigration and identity transformation in Assam." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 1264-1271.

[246] Ibid pp. 304-305

[247] Ibid p. 102

males in the family, forcing women to accept numerous reserved roles for males.[248] Ethical conflict provided additional possibilities for disputes over gender roles in the home, which demanded different principles to resolve evolving tensions. Ethical aggression. Consequently, women living in city centers were found to be authoritative and to take major decisions in their families after the violence separated men from their families, for example involving small enterprises and without consultation selling their livestock.

Many communities in Kapsita, particularly Kikuyu from Olenguruone and Njoro, also endured massively during the violence. It has also been noted. Although the two places were sixty kilometers away, there was one only road connecting Olenguruone and Elburgon. In the forest between the two towns, the militia was said to flee. Those who made it to Elburgon were mostly women, while men had to cover themselves up as women. When many men struggled to enter their homes, even though their husbands preferred otherwise, women had the ability to make independent decisions about purchasing land, opening new companies and direct labor.

4.4.3.1 Rise of Mungiki

The respondents claimed that Mungiki has been founded by leaders such as Ndura Waruinge and Maina Njenga in the Rift Valley region in order to defend the interests of Kikuyu. Mungiki is a word of Kikuyu which means crowds. In 1995, Maina Njenga succeeded in establishing the party, claiming that he has been given a vision whereby Ngai (God) demanded him freedom and restoration of the Kikuyu community.

In this way, many of the Kikuyu community respondents saw that Mungiki was formed as a militia group to defend them from violence attackers. It has been reported in remote areas

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[248] Makumi M. ed., *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization, Nairobi*: Heinrich Boll, 2004.

such as Mukorombosi, Elburgon, Mukinyai and Kapsita in the region of Molo. Kikuyu men were forced to enter Njama to help shield Kikuyu from Kalenjin warriors' attacks. The Mungiki therefore gave Kikuyus the hope that religion and government could not give them because they saved many Kikuyu lives in the most ethnically-hit areas.

4.4.3.2 Establishment of Police Posts

As the results show, 75% of respondents noted that the government improved its security in many areas following cycles of violence in Nakuru, by opening more police offices. City centres, schools and borderlines were consolidated with police posts, identifying areas held by competing ethnic groups , in particular the territory of Kikuyu and Kalenjin. The report, however, found that police stations in the region had an intrinsic weakness, as many victims of ethnic violence felt that the state was a significant accomplice to abuse.[249]

The government plays a key role in sustaining domestic stability and security as it governs most socially changing structures, institutions and procedures. The victims had no trust in the police to keep the area peace and safe. However, most respondents accepted the implementation of community policing, in which each ethnic group wanted to enable the policing to strengthen protection in the areas affected in and around Nakuru. The government was also told that the ethnic conflict in the region was not a manifestation of other circumstances such as youth unemployment..

Many respondent accepted that, while Kalenjins affected by violence were rapidly re-cruited to help in the assaults, unemployed youths from Kikuyus who had relocated to Molo, Njoro and Elburgon were easy targets for the militia. The study found that ethnic violence had

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[249] Interviews with residents carried out in Nakuru on 14th June 2019

led to profound anger and hate among the opposing populations, and they were likely to indulge in retribution, because the government had failed to provide justice for victims of different ethnic groups.[250]

4.5 Efforts Carried Out To Curbing Election Violence in Kenya

4.5.1 Resolving Land Disputes

Land allocation and ownership conflicts since Kenya 's independence have been major sources of conflict. A detailed attempt to reform the historic injustices was formed in the 2010 constitution by the National Land Commission (NLC). The County Land Management Boards (CLMBs) are the branches of the county of the NLC, and work with support from both the county and the commission governments.[251]

The Rift Valley has seen several land wars and has a tradition of unequal land allocation. This has escalated owing to violence of 2007-2008 and the forced displacement of Kikuyu and other groups. In the area, high levels of land fraud and duplication were experienced.[252] By assessing actual possession and canceling unlawfully obtained records, the National Land Commission assisted in settling these conflicts. However, it faced various challenges and intervention from other government bureaucracies, including the Land Ministry, and influential policy-makers who historically confiscated land by exploiting government ministry officials. The

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[250] Interviews carried out in Nakuru on 14th June 2019

[251] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017.

[252] Chuma, Aeneas, and Ozonnia Ojielo. "Building a Standing National Capacity for Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Kenya." *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 7, no. 3 (2012): 25-39.

productivity of CLMBs was further dampened by land buying cartels that profit from unequal public land allocations and litigious culture.[253]

Civil society and liberal parliamentary representatives should force the government, perhaps via suit before the Supreme Court in order to explain and define the positions of both the ministry and the commission, to enable the NLC to exercise its constitutionally mandated powers. In the heart of the ethnic discord in the Rift Valley, an appointed land commission should take over the problem of property.[254]

Although it is unlikely that Kalenjin would be defeated in 2022 by renewed large-scale post-election violence in Rift Valley, the potential for grave local conflicts based on governorship rivalry in ethnically divided jurisdictions is significant. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission, which will pursue the political and local leaders aimed at fostering ethnic animosities including through hate speech, would do much to mitigate this risk. They would achieve this through conflict-sensing policing, developing community peace, and compiling the strong cases.[255] The Kalenjin-Kikuyu elite 's political agreement decreased anxiety, but peace remains inherently unstable, with countless sources of possible conflict just under the surface. Ultimately, it will help achieve lasting peace only if efforts are increased for local reconciliation and concrete steps to address historical grievances, particularly those relating to land ownership and allocation.

[253] Damdinjav, Mongoljingoo, Isabel Garcia, Emily Lawson, David Margolis, and Ben Nemeth. "Institutional Failure in Kenya and a way forward." *Journal of Political Inquiry* 35 (2013).
[254] Ibid
[255] Agbor-Baiyee, H. Baté. *A Long and Restless Journey in Pursuit of Happiness with Empty Hands of Faith: An Authoritative Resource for Bushfallers*. AuthorHouse, 2012.

4.5.2 Counties' Complementary Security Role

In spite of pressure to give more security powers to counties and governors by the National Government in last four years, it has done so only reluctantly. Its principal concern is that such a move can intensify tensions in diverse ethnic counties in which a governor can attempt to use security personnel to supply his own ethnic group's militias.[256] Although the claim has validity, increased cooperation between central government and local county officials will increase protection , especially to increase intelligence collection skills and improve ties with local communities. For example , various officials in the Rift Valley county demanded arrangements to shared responsibility between county and national governments. Skilled security official 's strategic decision-making authority can remain in the hands of elected representatives who can use their power to intimidate political opponents.[257]

This partnership has a legal basis.[258] The National Police Service Act (2011) formed the County Police Authority (CPA) to build, with Community assistance, state and county government structures for combined local security management. Under that act, the Governor heads the county police authority, which comprises the delegate appointed by the chairman, county chiefs of the administrative and Kenya Police, National Intelligence Services and representatives of the Criminal Investigations. Establishing CPA will allow the government develop its intelligence capacities and share the responsibility of security cooperation with county officers who are interested in avoiding economically expensive conflict.[259]

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[256] Ibid p.78-79

[257] Brown, Stephen, and Chandra Lekha Sriram. "The big fish won't fry themselves: Criminal accountability for post-election violence in Kenya." *African Affairs* 111, no. 443 (2012): 244-260.

[258] Ibid p.27-28

[259] Orji, Nkwachukwu. "Making democracy safe: Policies tackling electoral violence in Africa." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 20, no. 3 (2013): 393-410.

However, CPA execution has been hindered by challenges , particularly the lack of resources coupled with a competitive body of decision-making authorities and budget management between county commissioners and governors.[260] A governance specialist who controls the execution of the transition showed that insufficient allocation of funds is a major obstacle. Several county governments begun hiring applicants for the six interest vacancies. They said that they first had to pay the operating expense of putting up the CPAs, which seemed to be a remote possibility in terms of the increasing fiscal deficits.[261]

4.5.3 Reinvesting in Peace: Police Reform

The Post-Election Inquiry Committee, formed to investigate the reasons of the crisis in 2007-2008, strongly criticized the police's results, murdering dozens of demonstrators on the strongholds of the opposition and perpetrating sexual abuse.[262] The 2010 Constitution has undergone a range of changes by the Government, including a civil supervisory board (the Independent Policing Oversight Authority) and a professional training committee from the National police service. The leadership and public policy specialist involved in writing the Constitution, however, reported that their execution was patchy and inconsistent.[263]

The executive has shown a lack of desire for substantive change and profits from a dysfunctional and chaotic police force that serves its interests.[264] The Secretary of the Interior and the President spoke out against plans to screen high ranking police officers in public arguing that they could hurt values. Critics say that they simply want police changes to be slowed down.

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[260] Hatina, Meir. *Identity Politics in the Middle East: Liberal Discourse and Islamic Challenge in Egypt*. Vol. 62. IB Tauris, 2007.

[261] Jones, Kimberly L. "From Moscow to Makhachkala: The People in Between." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 41 (2013): 35.

[262] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017.

[263] Gutiérrez-Romero, Roxana. "An inquiry into the use of illegal electoral practices and effects of political violence and vote-buying." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 8 (2014): 1500-1527.

[264] Franck, Thomas M. "Democracy as a Human Right." *Stud. Transnat'l Legal Pol'y* 26 (2014): 73.

Some officers were given the boot by a screening committee assembled in the National Police Service Board, but the firm culture of misconduct has not changed. The public deemed police the most corrupt agency in the nation in the August 2016 Infotrak survey.[265]

The state has done well to procure police arms.[266] In January 2017, it acquired military heavy duty vehicles and armored personnel operators to strongly counter political violence and other challenges, including terrorism and theft. Police Inspector General Joseph Boinett gained praise for his attempts to reform the police and to invest in specialist divisions, including the Rapid Deployment Unit (RDU). The police have strengthened their ability to cope with incidents of crime through new recruits. These moves, however, are not enough to create a more successful police station. The police not only need to take on board the constitutional amendments, but also re-examine the police development plan which has its origins in a colonial context in order to cope with future disasters.[267]

4.5.4 Peace building

A second problem concerns building peace and, in particular, the absence of cooperation between the agencies. Institutions that Include the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC) has undefined positions. The National peace strategy was adopted by Parliament in 2015 through cooperation processes, but it was slow to implement. "Engaging partners with diverse desires, advice and timing have proved difficult," one official of

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[265] Ibid p. 32-33
[266] Ferree, Karen E., Clark C. Gibson, and James D. Long. "Voting behavior and electoral irregularities in Kenya's 2013 Election." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): 153-172.
[267] Damdinjav, Mongoljingoo, Isabel Garcia, Emily Lawson, David Margolis, and Ben Nemeth. "Institutional Failure in Kenya and a way forward." *Journal of Political Inquiry* 35 (2013).

the government said. The government and departments together with overlapping functions must update these systems.[268]

It is important to establish precedents. In 2007, the District Peace Committees (DPC), mostly in semi-arid or desert regions, helped foster inter - ethnic relations by providing avenues for negotiation between the elderly from different ethnic groups and clans with a history of conflicts over violent resources. The President 's Office has expanded the idea of a peace committee to the rest of the world following the post-election unrest of 2013 under the oversight of the NSC.[269]

Although these commissions have helped to mitigate local violence, numerous issues have been raised. There was a lack of mainstream credibility in the selection process, strongly affected by political support.[270] In addition, membership was continuously streaming, both short-term, unpaid, and voluntary. Elected officials and local authority officers have also attempted to weaken the commissions, which they perceive to be a challenge to their control and their influence. Most likely, the committees lacked sufficient support and were fully dependent on the goodwill of donors. As a result, the bulk of them became inactive or defunct.[271]

It is regrettable that these main peace players have been overlooked. Previous experience has suggested a significant potential for conflict resolution for the District Peace Committees, particularly in Rift Valley as well as other distressed regions. However, county administrations

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[268] Rasler, Karen. "War, accommodation, and violence in the United States, 1890–1970." American Political Science Review 80, no. 3 (1986): 921-945.

[269] Ibid pp. 60-61

[270] Agbor-Baiyee, H. Baté. *A Long and Restless Journey in Pursuit of Happiness with Empty Hands of Faith: An Authoritative Resource for Bushfallers*. AuthorHouse, 2012.

[271] Cheeseman, Nic. "The Kenyan elections of 2007: an introduction." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 166-184.

should ensure that committees receive daily funds and that they have robust expertise, integrity, and representation.[272]

4.5.5 Women and Peace-building

In formal Rift Valley peace building organizations, women continue to be under-represented. In the ethnically diverse county of Nakuru, where the conflict was serious in 2007-2008, state projects are predominantly male. For instance, the NCIC brought together, following the post-election crisis, eighty male elders from Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities each, for a seventeen-month period of pacification, before the conclusion of a local peace treaty.[273] Women in the District Peace Committees are also not sufficiently represented; Crisis Group found the women were completely absent at the Rift Valley Field Research Forum. However, female leaders are included in community-led and civil society organizations particularly those supporting women's and girls' welfare and education, peace promotion, and inter-community collaboration. A notable example is a famous Kenyan athlete from the town of Pokot, Tegla Loroupe, who operates a foundation that fosters sports education and peace creation. [274]

The perceived lack of women in formal organizations for peace-building implies that their issues are either ignored or overlooked. It also deprives players, particularly at the local level, of their contributions, who have a critical part to play within their communities. The 2007-2008 conflict was different for girls and women than for men.[275] Their risk was higher, and crimes rarely reported, of sexual assault and rape.(At least 40000 gender-based abuse, which was largely not documented for fear of stigma, is listed in the Amnesty International report). It

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[272] Mueller, Susanne D. "Dying to win: Elections, political violence, and institutional decay in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 1 (2011): 99-117.
[273] Ibid p. 50-51
[274] Misra, Udayon. "Immigration and identity transformation in Assam." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 1264-1271.
[275] Jones, Kimberly L. "From Moscow to Makhachkala: The People in Between." *Fordham Urb. LJ* 41 (2013): 35.

could be harder to adopt peace-building strategies without women. In shared resources such as clinics, water points and schools, women are much more likely to associate with members of other ethnicities. These regular experiences provide ways to create trust and compromise on social integration.[276]

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[276] Kanyinga, Karuti. "The legacy of the white highlands: Land rights, ethnicity and the post-2007 election violence in Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2009): 325-344.

Chapter Five
Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusion as well as the recommendations.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Based on the findings the respondents agreed that the trends of election violence were attached to the following issues: Economic deprivation; ethnicity; historical injustice; land issues; lust for power; political utterances; stolen election and also unemployment. Other noted causes were poverty, historical injustice, corruption, vigilante groups, and violence recurrences among others.

Based on the findings election violence in Nakuru County had effects on: economic, social and political security. The conflicts had a profound effect that would further alter the growth of Kenya 's economy for many years. The fact that economic implications go far beyond the figures available is an overall finding arising from the analysis of the clashes in Kenya. The aggressors and their close helpers had the economic benefit of all of the devastation. As earlier observed, one of the long term economic implications of the conflicts was the truth that the land ownership structure was permanently changed. Economic production had decreased generally, because many of the promising farmers ran away due to conflict and insecurity. Agricultural operations were disrupted in a state of instability as was the case in some regions. In most instances, crop production was either ruined or abandoned due to the violent conflicts. Operations on agricultural land stopped for a long time in some areas of Kericho, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Nandi, when farmers ran away for fear that their 'conflicting enemies' would attack them.

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There were other consequential economic woes linked to conflicts, including destruction of property, food insecurity, land grabbing, labor disturbance in farmers, trade disturbances, enterprise and public-sector organizations, disruption in transportation, disturbance in infrastructure, diversion of capital, fluctuation of prices, misappropriation and environmental degradation, among others.

On the topic of social security, it was also observed that the majority of the victims are homeless, landless, poor, wounded, raped, to name just a few of the attacks. At the personal and family levels, the immediate and actual impact of the disputes in Kenya is most evident. In the conflict-prone regions, there was a lack of protection as the people took matters into their own hands to deal with suspected enemies.

Political security has shown that the victims have no faith in police peace and protection in the area during conflict. However, most respondents appreciated the development of community-based police services in which each ethnic group selected members to assist police forces in improving security in and around Nakuru. The government was also not aware of the fact that ethnic conflict in the region was a result of other problems including youth unemployment. Many of the respondents agreed that unemployment targets for the Mungiki, especially for Kalenjins displaced by violence, were made easy for Kikuyu youth who moved to the towns of Njoro, Elburgon, and Molo.

5.3 Conclusion

The violence affecting both Kenya and the economy in the region of Eastern Africa was more a combination of historical and economic factors that. Past complaints like land disputes

were tangled with election violence eruptions. The politics of the general elections of 1992 in Kenya shows that ethnicity remains a key driver of the behavior of voters and politicians alike. Furthermore, ethnic relations have become conflictual, as money and influence are at stake. The elections involved selecting the office holder(s), and evaluating an access framework to obtain power.

The elections also demonstrated how the politicians can harness ethnic passions to protect and or encourage what are their shallow sectional interests. Because of the residual illusion that only 'one of your own' would better represent common interest if put in a position of influence, the masses followed their leaders. But it was also clear that there are drawbacks to the racial philosophy.

The study has shown that political violence was precipitated by rebel groups both before and after the political race. In areas with land disputes and where politically organized gangs worked, the risk of becoming a victim of violence was greater. The root cause of the problem of violence and declining trust in social institutions on the community level was systemic deficiencies at the macroeconomic level (drawbacks of the police system, electoral commission, the judicial system , political outfits, amongst many others).

The essence of much of electoral violence which called into question how democracy will function if it is strongly divided by ethnic inclinations in Kenya and African nations. If loyalty to ethnic origin does not have the usual beneficial effects of political race, elections will not force governments to boost economic efficiency.

5.4 Recommendations

The study has raised some very important issues which require the execution of a mechanism to address the destructive cycle of election-related violence, a disruption to democracy in Nakuru for a long time. To ensure that residents coexist peacefully in healthy and secure neighborhoods, regardless of ethnic origin, it is crucial that victims of ethnic strife receive proper compensation. In order to tackle the problem of land rights of local populations, the National Land Commission must also collaborate with other participant groups. Therefore, all citizens of Nakuru County have to collaborate jointly for the greater good.

- Government should guarantee; research and concrete claims connected to this phenomenon throughout the country should be implemented following the implementation of land policies. Set up a space for discussion of this phenomenon, for example by enabling a joint venture for a state-civil society. To establish a program for going forward in accordance with land policy requirements, including the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission, Integration Commission and the National Cohesion, on engaging the appropriate national and regional structures. A variety of reparation and recovery programs or legislation intended to offer reparations and to restore civil and human dignity to victims can be used and enforced. Prevention of human rights violations and abusses by legislative , administrative and structural interventions. Conditional amnesty for people who make complete disclosure. Proceedings against offenders or involved parties. Encourage ethnic groups to work together, heal and reconcile. The findings of the respective investigative committees are carried out. Repossession or affirmation by unlawfully and irregularly distributed public land cases obtained. Tackling actual or perceived economic group marginalization.

- The study found that many young people are entering criminal enterprises because of lack of knowledge and joblessness. In this way , the study suggests the empowerment of young people, which is essential for ensuring the prosperity of the young generation, in terms of schooling, employment and work opportunities. It is evident that there is a noticeable disparity between young people's expectations and their resources. If a large number of young people find their status and livelihoods threatened, they can be a destructive force. Therefore, youth must have enough room to pursue local efforts to create peace.

- Research has shown that the state needs to enforce laws that specifically prohibit the perpetrators of hate spread between and within ethnic groups. They must also review current legislation in order to resolve amicably the legislative loopholes that create space for offenders' misconduct.

- The study also found that ensuring lasting peace is essentially unrealistic if politicians continue to prey on derogatory ethnicity as a way of winning and preserving elections. Consequently, the government needs to create strong institutions to guarantee that politicians do not polarize the nation on ethnic lines. This widening of the ethnic and political fault lines leads the local communities to stand united. Presently, existing agencies, for example the National Cohesion and Integration Commission and the National Land Commission and, lack adequate authority and resources to execute their functions and it is no surprise that politicians will still use ethnicity to their benefit in order to guarantee that they retain their control. In order to address the causes of ethnical violence and to reduce the effects of ethnical conflicts in troubled areas, the empowerment of government institutions is necessary. It is also important for NCIC to

constantly invest in and improve its legal structures and enforcement components so that the charges they present before courts meet the standard of proof, since the defendants can not be convicted of evidence below the standards of a judge. It is also necessary for NCIC to cooperate on evidence-based investigations with agencies such as the Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI) and the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP).

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Appendix: Questionnaire

Part 1: Socio –Demographic Information

1. **Age**

   18-27 { }   28-37 { }

   38-47 { }   48 and above { }

2. **Sex**

   Male { } Female { }

3. **Level of Education**

   Primary { }   Secondary { }

   College { }   University { }

4. How long have you lived/worked in this Municipality?

   Less than 5 years { } More than 5 years { }

Part 2: The Trends (Historio-Political) Of Election Violence

5. Personally, how do you rate the magnitude of election violence since 1992 in terms of disruptions, injuries and death?...

6. Do you think that the following factors form part of the trends (historio-political) of election violence in Nakuru County?

	Yes	No
Economic Deprivation		
Ethnicity		
Historical Injustices		
Land Issues		
Lust For Power		
Political Utterances		
Stolen Elections		
Unemployment		

7. In your own view what other factors form part of the trends (historio-political) of election violence in Nakuru County?...

………………………………………………………………………………………….

8. What is your general perception of the 1992-2008 election violence in Nakuru Municipality?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………..

PART 3: Impact of Election Violence on Economic, Social and Political Security

9. In your own opinion to what extent has Election violence affected Economic Security? Please explain……………………………………………………………………………

10. In your own view has the election violence had impact on the following economic issues?

Issues	Yes	No
Crime rates		
Destruction of property		
Interference with Food production		
Land ownership change		
Trade disruption		

11. What other aspects in economic security were affected by the conflicts? Please explain……………………………………………………

12. In your own opinion to what extent has Election violence affected Social Security? Please explain………………………………………………………………………………

13. In your own opinion to what extent has Election violence affected Political Security? Please explain……………………………………………………………………

Part 4: Solutions for Curbing Election Violence in Kenya

14. What do think has been done so far in effect to solvin the issues contributing to election violence in Nakuru county

15. Do you think the Government was committed in ending the violence?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………..

16. What do you suggest as the way forward to avoid a repeat of such violence in the near future?...
....