

DIGNITY Publication Series on
Torture and Organised Violence
Study

#16

URBAN VIOLENCE IN NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA

Kamau Wairuri
Ahlam Chemlali
Mutuma Ruteree

URBAN VIOLENCE IN NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA

Study on urban violence prepared

by CHRIPS - The Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS)

DIGNITY Publication Series on Torture and Organised Violence No. 16

© 2018 DIGNITY - Danish Institute Against Torture



Midrift Human Rights Network

<https://midrifthurinet.org/>



CHRIPS - The Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies

<https://www.chrips.or.ke/>



Danida

<http://um.dk/da/danida/>



DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture

www.dignityinstitute.org

ISBN Print: 978-87-90878-87-0

ISBN Online: 978-87-90878-88-7

Contents

1. Executive Summary	9
2. Introduction	14
2.1 Causal Factors	16
2.2 Forms of Violence	18
2.3 Vulnerability and Victimization	22
2.4 Mitigation	23
2.5 Clarification of Concepts	24
Methodology	26
2.6 Overview	26
2.7 Study Sites	26
2.8 Quantitative (Household) Survey	26
2.9 Qualitative Data	29
2.10 Limitations and Mitigation Measures:	30
2.11 Study Population Characteristics	31
Key Findings and Analysis	32
2.12 Overview	32
2.13 Background of Nakuru County and the five study sites	32
2.14 Experience with violence and perpetrators	35
2.15 Factors that increase the probability of becoming a victim of violence	36
2.16 Safety and prevalence of violence in Nakuru	37
2.17 Prevalence and Dynamics of Violence in Nakuru County	40
2.17.1 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence	40
2.17.2 Violence against children	41
2.17.3 Violent Crime	43
2.17.4 Police violence	45
2.17.5 Political and ethnic violence	46

2.18 Response mechanisms	48
2.19 Social capital and sense of belonging	48
2.20 Effectiveness of Current Response Mechanisms	49
2.20.1 Effectiveness of Current responses to SGBV	51
2.20.2 Effectiveness of responses to Violence against children	53
2.20.3 Effectiveness of Current responses to Criminal violence	53
2.20.4 Effectiveness of Current responses to Police violence	55
2.20.5 Effectiveness of Current responses to Political and ethnic violence	56
3. Conclusion and recommendations	57
4. References	64

URBAN VIOLENCE IN NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA

A STUDY ON ROOT CAUSES, RISK FACTORS AND PREVENTIVE STRATEGIES

Study on urban violence prepared by CHRIPS in collaboration with Midrift and DIGNITY
By Kamau Wairuri, Ahlam Chemlali, Mutuma Ruteree

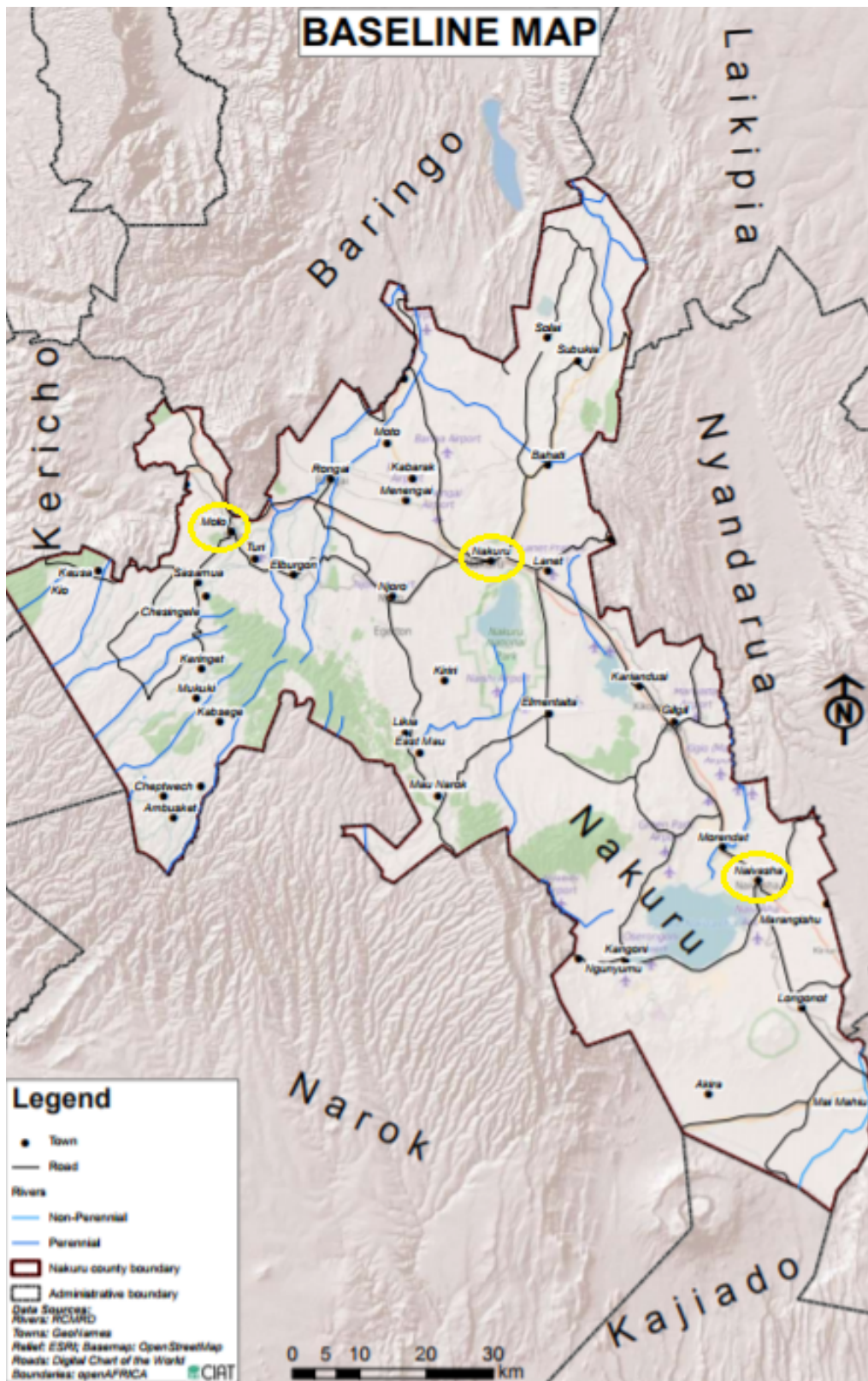
Acknowledgments

This report was commissioned by DIGNITY - Danish Institute Against Torture together with Mid-Rift Human Rights Network and undertaken by the Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS).

The CHRIPS team would like to acknowledge the support of DIGNITY staff, in particular, Ahlam Chemlali programme manager, Ane Kirstine Viller Hansen, health advisor and Anne Timm for their leadership, guidance, support and hard work throughout all the phases of study.

We also warmly thank the staff of Mid-Rift Human Rights Network, Joseph Omondi, Executive Director, Leonard Githae, Deputy Executive Director, and Walter Mwanja, Programme Manager, for the exceptional insights, advice and coordination support they provided during field research for the study.

We are especially indebted to all the people in Nakuru County, who participated in the key informant interviews, focus group discussions and the household survey for this study. This study would not have been possible without their support.



1. Executive Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recommendations:

SGBV (Sexual and Gender-Based violence)

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

Violence against children

1. Support programs carried out by trusted local institutions such as religious leaders that raise awareness about the rights of children and the negative effects of violence against children. Such programs should also include education on parenting skills and other methods of disciplining children. Bringing doctors to speak to parent groups about the long-term effects of violence against children could strengthen such programs.
2. Develop school-based programs to empower children to be able to report on cases of violence and abuse occurring to them or to their friends at home, in the neighbourhood or in school including how to protect themselves from victimisation
3. Provide support to existing child support centres and homes for victims of this type of violence or setting up new ones in partnership with the communities to deal with the most serious cases.

Violent crime

1. Strengthening of existing community level interventions of dealing with violent crime such as the Nyumba Kumi and Community Policing initiatives. This requires a more fine-grained analysis of why they work better in some places and not others in order to replicate best practices across the county.
2. Support the scaling of the Mulika Uhalifu program, a mobile phone program, which enables individuals to report cases of violence by sending a simple message to a given number that is linked to various Police station heads, or such similar initiatives across the county to help in the reporting of violent crime.
3. Lobby the government to enhance the existing programs of dealing with proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the county.
4. Work with the existing state mechanisms such as IPOA (Independent Policing Oversight Authority) to enhance police accountability.
5. Support the National Police Service, and other mechanisms, at the local level to enhance patrols, investigate reported cases, arrest and prosecute perpetrators.
6. Target out of school youths in peace and security programming.
7. Address the high rate of youth unemployment through provision of life skills, linkages to access of government youth funds and the 30% tender provision by government.
8. Chiefs and police should crackdown on suppliers and brewers of illicit alcohol and supply drugs.
9. Demobilize violent gangs and provide them with alternative life skills to deter re-offending.
10. Promote citizen understanding and confidence of criminal justice system to improve citizen willingness to stand-in as witnesses and pursue cases in the courts.
11. Encourage police officers, directorate of public prosecutions and the courts to work in tandem in expediting cases before them in time.

Police violence

1. Support the existing programs by local level NGOs to create awareness about the rights of citizens when dealing with the police in order to increase demand for fair treatment when engaging with the Police.
2. Work with state level institutions responsible for creating police accountability including IPOA (Independent Policing Oversight Authority), NCAJ (National Commission on Administrative Justice), KNHRC (Kenya National Human Rights Commission) to help the residents better understand their roles and how to seek recourse in case of abuse by police officers.

3. Support local NGOs to fight the impunity of police officers by enabling them to bring cases against rogue police officers so that they can face the consequences of their actions.
4. Support community partnerships with the police where such issues can be raised and addressed.

Political and ethnic violence

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

Intersectoral violence prevention

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

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

2. Introduction

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

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

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

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

Beyond these challenges, or perhaps because of them, violence in urban areas has emerged as a serious security and public health challenge, which the Kenyan security agencies have largely been unable to address. This situation disproportionately affects the residents of informal settlements.⁵ Violence and violent crime have significant negative consequences including erosion of social cohesion, trauma, broken families, injuries and deaths and loss of property.⁶ Even

1 World Bank, 2014.

2 McIlwane, 1999.

3 Moser, C. & McIlwane, C., 2006.

4 McIlwane, 1999.

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

6 Hillier 2007

though Kenyan security agencies have attempted to address these challenges, they have been largely unsuccessful largely because their strategies and activities are not targeted at the overall phenomenon of urban violence but rather on specific sub-categories of violence, particularly political violence and gender-based violence. Thus, some aspects of violence, including social and economic violence and institutional violence are neglected. Conceivably, approaching the challenge holistically, that is seeking to understand the phenomenon of urban violence rather than focusing on specific forms of violence is a starting point to address these issues.

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

The study focused on identifying the:

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

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

Understanding Urban Violence

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

2.1 Causal Factors

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

Inequality takes both economic (poverty) and socio-political dimensions¹¹ with the latter being a question of social and political exclusion which is often but not always, based on identity. This nexus between exclusion, inequality and identity is useful in explaining high levels of inter-communal violence in poor-urban neighbourhoods. This is the argument made by renowned scholars of urban violence Caroline Moser and Cathy McIlwane noting that power and powerlessness are fundamental to understanding the causal factors that underpin violence and challenging the stereotypical view of poverty as a determinant of violence as too simplistic.¹²

It is important to distinguish between structural causes and trigger risk factors. While underlying structural causes are generally related to unequal power relations, trigger risk factors, in contrast, relate to situational circumstances that can exacerbate the likelihood of violence occurring. This approach therefore helps to incorporate the wider political and socioeconomic power structures within which individual realities are manifest into the analysis of urban violence while

7 Lemanski, 2012.

8 Stewart 2008

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

10 Winton 2004

11 Muggah 2012: 45

12 Moser, C & McIlwane, C., 2006.

also allowing for the recognition that victimisation is also influenced by elements of individual identity formation as gender, age, ethnicity and race.

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

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

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

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

2.2 Forms of Violence

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

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

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

Table 1: Statistics on Violence Prevention in Kenya

Type of Violence	Reported Incidents	% Population Victimized	
		Female	Male
<i>Gender-Based Violence</i>	-	39	9
<i>Sexual Violence</i>	22, 732 ²	14	6
<i>Violence against Children</i>	-	32	18
<i>Murder</i>	2,648 ³	-	-
<i>Robbery</i>	2,865 ⁴	-	-
<i>Mob Violence</i>	1,500 ⁵	-	-
<i>Extra judicial executions</i>	262 ⁶	-	-

14 KDHS, 2014, p. 291.

15 KDHS, 2014; C. McEvoy, 2012.

16 KDHS, 2015, p. 291.

17 KNBS, 2016, p.52.

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

Violence against children is another predominant form of violence in Kenya even though data on the victimisation of children is outdated. The most recent survey on violence against children was undertaken in 2010.¹⁹ It showed that 32% of girls and 18% of boys in Kenya experienced physical violence during childhood with parents being the main perpetrators of violence against children.²⁰ However, teachers and fellow students within the school environment have been noted to also be key perpetrators of this violence. For instance, while corporal punishment in schools was banned in 2001, it persists in some areas with school bullying being a significant problem that has led to deaths and the maiming of children in some Kenyan schools.²¹

Major crimes such as murders, robberies and kidnappings constitute the other key category of violence in Kenya. In 2015, the murder rate in Kenya that year stood at 5.63 murders per 100,000 people.²² Media reports show that robberies in Kenya mainly take the forms of muggings, home invasions, car hijackings, and armed attacks on businesses. Robbery incidences, in which robbers attack their victims with blunt objects, knives and guns, have ended up in deaths and maiming of many more.

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

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

In 2015, the rate of robbery was 6.09 robberies per 100,000 people.²³ A 2010 UNODC survey showed that at least 3.7% and 5.1% of Kenyans reported being robbed or assaulted/threatened in 2010.²⁴ This discrepancy between the murder rates based on official records, and this survey data, seems to suggest robbery incidents are generally not reported to the police in Kenya.²⁵ Kidnapping, especially of children, and car hijackings are also quite prominent., reported that there were 588 cases of carjacking in 2012 which dropped to 470 in 2014 with kidnappings

19 UNICEF, 2010.

20 UNICEF, 2010, p. 2.

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

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

23 NPS, 2016.

24 UNODC & KIPPRA, 2010, p.4.

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

increasing from 250 in 2013 to 262 in 2014. Many of these crimes are gun related; in fact, firearms were used in 12,877 violent crimes in Kenya during the period 2010-2014.²⁶ It is estimated that there are approximately 650,000 illegal firearms in circulation in Kenya (Regional Arms Centre on Small Arms, 2015)

Organised Gangs play an integral role in urban violence in Kenya committing violent crimes, including armed robbery, muggings and kidnapping, trafficking of persons, extortion, firearms smuggling and the drug trade.²⁷ The National Crime Research Centre (NCRC) estimates that there were at least 46 gangs in Kenya as of 2013 comprising mainly of young men in their 20s, even though there is also evidence that children have been recruited into some of these gangs.²⁸ Gangs are known to use violence against members of the public and with other gangs.²⁹

Police abuses and violence have also been identified as a major challenge in Kenya by various observers including government watchdog institutions, local and international human rights groups.³⁰ The police have been known to misuse their power and harass citizens. The Data Department of the Nation Media Group reported that they had documented 262 extrajudicial killings by the police during in the past two years, about one incident every two to three days IMLU estimated that 308 people were summarily executed by police in various parts of the country between January 2015 and March 2017.³¹ IMLU data shows that more than a third of Kenyans reported that they had been victims of police brutality and harassment on at least one occasion since 2011.³² The poll found that 39.4% of violence against civilians by the police took place in police cells, while 41.2% took place during arrests. Disappearances of suspected terrorists is another contemporary concern for Kenyan human rights groups.³³ The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) estimated that about 81 people had been forcibly disappeared, and may have been killed.³⁴ It should be borne in mind that the police have themselves been victims of violence in the line of duty, particularly when they respond to armed robberies and terrorist attacks. In 2015, for instance, some 28 officers were killed in the line of duty, while 102 were injured and/or maimed.³⁵

Politically-Instigated Political and ethnic violence is also an important type of violence, which occurs mainly during election seasons but also related to heightened political activity. It is estimated that political violence has led to about 3,500 deaths between 1997 and September 2013.³⁶ Official state inquiries into the 1992 and 1997 electoral violence found that political actors, particularly senior state officials opposed to democratic change, instigated violence against certain ethnic communities that were deemed to support the opposition political parties.³⁷ The motivation of fomenting violence was

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

27 NCRC, 2013, p. 25.

28 NCRC, 2013.

29 D. Anderson, 2002, pp. 531-555..

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

31 IMLU 2015; IMLU, 2016; NMG, 2017; See <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-police-idUSKC-N12206E>

32 IMLU, 2016.

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

34 KNCHR, 2015, pp. 6.

35 NPS, 2015, pp.8.

36 ACLED, 2017, pp.1.

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

to frighten the Kikuyu community, perceived opposition voters, living in the Rift Valley and Coastal regions, and prevent them from voting during the December 1991 and December 1997 elections.³⁸

But the worst violence to rock the country was in 2007/2008 following disputed results of the presidential election.³⁹ That violence resulted in the death of more than 1,333 people, nearly 600,000 people displaced, and economic losses valued at more than KES 300 billion, equivalent to 3 Billion USD.⁴⁰ Violence between supporters of both the opposition and the government sides manifested in communal riots, killings, massive internal displacements, rape and lynching around the country.⁴¹ Gangs of young men took advantage of the situation, and effectively paralyzed the country's road network by barricading roads, harassing, robbing and assaulting motorists and travellers. The official inquiry into the 2008 post-election violence found that politicians incited their followers to engage in violence, and supported the formation/activities of gangs and vigilantes, which carried out violent acts.⁴² Some aided the formation of gangs, and others planned and funded them to mete out violence against their opponents and ethnic groups not supportive of their political objectives.⁴³

Resource based conflicts, related to access to land, pasture, and water are also common in Kenya, even though they typically occur in rural and remote places.⁴⁴ Commonly in the northern and coastal areas of Kenya, the conflicts typically pit different pastoral communities against each other, or pastoralists against farming populations. Such violent conflicts heighten during periods of drought, when water and pasture resources are strained. Most of the perpetrators of this kind of violence tend to be young men, armed with crude arms and increasingly firearms.⁴⁵ It is claimed that political actors exploit these conflicts to marginalize their opponents.⁴⁶ Large numbers of livestock have been stolen during these attacks.

Kenya has also had a challenge of Terrorism since the 1990s. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Al Qaeda elements infiltrated the country, carrying out several attacks, including the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998. The problem of terrorism grew with the emergence of Al-Shabaab terror group in neighbouring Somalia, which started to carry out attacks in the northern and coastal parts of Kenya in 2011. In 2016, the National Counter-Terrorism Centre reported that approximately 900 people, including security personnel, had been killed in terrorist attacks in Kenya since the year 2000⁴⁷. The period 2013-2015 saw a major shift in the scale, frequency and style of the attacks. Six-seven (67) people were killed in the Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi, while 280 people died in four major attacks in 2014-2015.⁴⁸ Before 2013, terrorist attacks took the form of suicide bombings, but terrorist strategy has changed to favour shooting attacks on people.

38 KHRC, 1998; NCCK, 1997.

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

40 Republic of Kenya, 2009.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

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

44 CHRIPS, 2016.

45 Ibid.

46 Oucho, 2002.

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

48 ACLED, 2013; KNCHR 2015, pp.3.

2.3 Vulnerability and Victimization

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

Most of the studies into the prevalence of violence in Kenya associate the phenomenon with high levels of poverty, unemployment, disillusionment and weak social cohesions.⁴⁹ As such, there is a multiplicity of literature showing the violence in Kenya is particularly prevalent in poor or low-income neighbourhoods in urban areas. As noted above however, the approach to this question requires more nuance.

The second is gender. As highlighted above, women are a greater risk of experiencing violence in their homes than men.⁵⁰ Similarly, girls are more likely to have experienced physical violence than boys.⁵¹ Even so, elderly, widowed women in places like Kilifi and Kisii counties, are at higher risk of being lynched by being falsely accused of being sorcerers so that they may be dispossessed of the land and property. However, political violence disproportionately affects men. Men are by far more involved in perpetrating or countering this form of violence. Statistics of various official inquiries into past episodes of politically-instigated political and ethnic violence in Kenya show that men were the overwhelming majority of people killed.⁵² Additionally, men are much more likely to be the victims of mob violence than women in Kenya.

The third risk factor is age. Nearly 70% of Kenya's population are youth, defined in government policy as persons between the ages of 18 and 34⁵³. It can therefore be inferred that people of in this age bracket are more likely to experience violence in contrast to those falling below or above the bracket. Intuitively, children (defined as persons below 18 years in Kenyan law) are more likely to experience violence, the associated psychological trauma, and neglect, because of their vulnerability. However, there have been no violence victimization surveys that sampled children, and it is therefore not possible to determine the extent of the risk they face vis-à-vis adults.

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

49 Schubert, 2014; LeBas, 2013; KNCHR, 2014; National Crime Research Centre, 2012; UNICEF, 2011.

50 KDHS, 2015.

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

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

53 Constitution of Kenya, 2010.

2.4 Mitigation

Kenyans assess the criminal justice system (police, courts and prison) as generally ineffective,⁵⁴ and distant, complex and expensive.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, studies in poor urban neighborhoods have shown that Kenyans prefer the police to the other institutions in addressing their security concerns. In his study of policing in Githurai, Wairuri noted that this preference is informed by the proximity and accessibility of the police as well as their ability to dispense justice in a manner that meets community expectations.⁵⁶ This notwithstanding, Kenyans still complain about police corruption.⁵⁷ Some complain that reporting thieves to the police therefore loses meaning, as it becomes just another opportunity for the police to collect bribes. The important take away from here is that people often report cases to the police, despite the challenges noted above, but not with the intention of the cases ending up in court. Rather, they usually expect the police to resolve the cases.

Since the government is unable to guarantee security to every person, individuals and communities develop and employ their own mechanisms for generating security and justice outcomes.⁵⁸ These alternative mechanisms take different forms including improving security of homes (dogs, metal grills), community vigilantism either in the form of mob justice or through organized groups such as Mungiki, Kamjesh and Taliban.⁵⁹ Many communities have developed their own mechanisms for dealing with violence. Lynching or Mob Violence, popularly known as 'mob justice' in Kenya appear to be a response to the perceived ineffectiveness in the criminal justice system⁶⁰. Mob violence typically targets criminals, especially petty thieves, and persists in both urban and rural areas. Elderly people in rural areas in parts of coastal (Kilifi) and Western Kenya (Kisii) have been victimized on spurious claims that they are sorcerers.⁶¹ These accusations are instigated by criminals seeking to steal land and property from lonely, elderly people. Local media regularly report on incidents of mob violence. But there has been no consistent documentation of cases and trends by the police, civil society or research institutions. Robert McKee has attempted to address this gap by reviewing media reports on mob violence.⁶² McKee found that some 1,500 people were reportedly lynched during a 17-year period, from 1996 to 2013.

Another key dimension is the employment of private security agencies. As Garland noted, once security ceases to be guaranteed to all citizens by a sovereign state, it tends to become a commodity, which like any other is distributed by market forces rather than according to need.⁶³

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

55 See Owen & Cooper-Knock, 2014

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

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

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

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

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

61 Joseph, 2009; Miguel, 2005.

62 McKee, 2001: 1

63 Garland, 1996:463.

2.5 Clarification of Concepts

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

We recognise that the definition of violence is highly contested. While we acknowledge, the distinctions made by Moser & McIlwane for instance, between political, institutional, economic and social types of violence, we have adopted a parsimonious definition of violence.⁶⁴ For this study, we adopt the instrumental definition of violence advanced as the use of physical force, which causes injury to others to impose one's wishes.⁶⁵ The only addition we make to the definition is to include the threat of violence and verbal abuse which consider significant manifestation of non-physical violence because the result is still the imposition of the perpetrator's wishes against a victim. This is very much in line with the violence definition as defined in the WHO World report on violence and health (WRVH), namely: "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation." This is not to disregard the evident forms of structural violence embedded in the Kenya society, especially in the deprived neighbourhoods we are studying, but rather to make a pragmatic choice to understand the types and dynamics of violence that can be addressed through programmatic interventions.

Consequently, rather than seek to understand violence as political, institutional, social or economic as suggested by Moser and McIlwane, we have decided to categorise violence as Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV), Violence against Children, Criminal Violence, Police Violence and Political and ethnic violence. The category of criminal violence includes major crimes such as murders, robberies and kidnappings constitute the other key category of violence in Kenya.⁶⁶ This decision is based on several considerations. First, the data available does not lend itself to a neat mapping onto the schema proposed by Moser and McIlwane but rather is received in this format that we are proposing. In fact, Moser and McIlwane observe that they are not neat, clearly distinguishable categories. Secondly, our categorisation will help us develop a more nuanced view of the dynamics of violence and therefore inform the recommendations made for interventions to address specific forms of violence.⁶⁷ We agree with the proposal by Moser and McIlwane to understand violence through the framework of structure, identity and agency. In our attempt to understand perpetrators and victims, we are careful to employ this framework.⁶⁸ This is particularly helpful in avoiding the common analytical traps that sometimes deny key actors agency by, for instance, suggesting that all poor people are violent. This framework also helps us to remain mindful not to allocate the same amount of agency to all actors despite evidence of differential power relations within the communities that we are studying. Finally, we also adopt the recommendation by Moser and McIlwane to understand the dynamics of violence - and response mechanisms - as occurring at three different levels: individual, community and state. Similar to the four-level social-ecological model (SEM) which seeks so enlighten why no single factor can explain why some people or groups are at higher

64 Moser & McIlwane, 2006.

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

66 Moser & McIlwane, 2006.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

risk of interpersonal violence, while others are more protected from it. This framework views violence as the outcome of interaction among many factors at four levels - the individual, the relationship, the community, and the societal. The SEM allows us to address the factors that put people at risk for or protect them from experiencing or perpetrating violence (risk and protective factors) and the prevention strategies that can be used at each level to address these factors. Our study therefore makes an attempt wherever possible to distinguish the dynamics of the various types of violence at each of these levels of analysis.

Methodology

2.6 Overview

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

2.7 Study Sites

The study covered Nakuru Town Municipality (Bondeni and Kaptembwo informal settlements), Naivasha Sub-County (Kabati and Karigita informal settlements) and Molo Sub-County (Molo Town). These sites were partly selected based on the fact that they are informal settlements. It is estimated that most of the county's 1,867,461 people live in informal settlements in Nakuru Town Municipality concentrated in Bondeni-Kivumbini, Free Area, Lake View, Mwariki, Kaptembwo and Kwaronda.⁶⁹

2.8 Quantitative (Household) Survey

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

Field Interviewers and Training: A team of 35 interviewers were recruited from Nakuru Town from CHRIPS database of experienced field researchers to conduct the survey. A 1:1 ratio for gender balance was ensured in the recruitment. Given the total sample size used was 1,780 households, each interviewer conducted approximately 50 interviews over a six-to-seven-day period. Therefore, the interviews allocated to each interviewer amounted to about 2.8% of the total sample, falling within the recommended maximum of 5%. To ensure uniformity and for quality control purposes, the research team, in collaboration with DIGNITY, trained enumerators on: (a) Description of survey; (b) Roles of team leaders and interviewers; (c) Sampling intervals to be used; (d) Handling of questions from respondents; (e) the MDC platform; and (f) the Kish Grid. Each enumerator spent a whole day carrying out seven pilot surveys to gain familiarity with the questionnaire. During the ensuing debrief, their comments on the wording and flow of the questions were particularly useful, and informed the fourth and final revision of the questionnaire.

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

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

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

The respondent selection process was done after a successful household identification process. The respondents were selected by use of the Kish Grid (annexed) in which case the interviewer listed all the occupants of the household aged 18 years and above. The interviewers then used the last digit of the serial number on the questionnaire to select the respondent to be interviewed. In instances where the selected respondent was not available at the time of call, three call backs were made in attempt to find the respondent. Where the respondent was completely unavailable, the interviewer made a substitution by moving to the subsequent household. Debriefs with team leaders, the research team learned that the data enumerators encountered few challenges in the administration of the survey. Respondents were generally cooperative, although some appeared to be uncomfortable with some of the questions that focused on issues such as marital rape. Chiefs and their assistants were also cooperative in providing the required support to interviewers.

Sampling frame: The overall sampling frame to be used was derived from the 2009 population and household census data.⁷⁰ The research team settled on using a multi-stage stratified sampling strategy. The study targeted the adult population, (18 years and above), male and female living in the selected urban areas. Refugees and non-members of the household were not interviewed. To ascertain this, the interviewer listed all those present in the household, and by asking specific questions, clarifying whether they would be considered household members or not, Kenyans or non-Kenyans. As such visitors and refugees were not be considered members of the household thus not listed in the Kish Grid.

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

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

Where

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

z=confidence level (1.96)

E=margin of error (3.45%)

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

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

On this basis, a total sample size of 1,780 respondents was drawn from the 2009 National Population Census data⁷¹ that had estimated the combined population of the five study sites be 187,887 people. This sample size allowed for a low margin of error of +/-2.3%, ensuring a high degree of accuracy and credibility of the data gathered. It should be noted that the research team unsuccessfully attempted to get more recent population data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), the Nakuru County Government, and NGAO administration chiefs. All the sources indicated that they did not have any new estimates of the change in population in the study sites since 2009, and therefore relied on that year's census. It is unlikely any new data will be available until the planned 2019 census is undertaken.

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

Table 3: Distribution of Sample in the Five Study Sites

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

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

71 KNBS 2009 National Population Census.

2.9 Qualitative Data

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

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

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

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

Research Ethics Considerations

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

Quality Assurance and Review Mechanisms:

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

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

2.10 Limitations and Mitigation Measures:

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

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

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

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

which took place between 10th and 12th April 2017 included additional key informant interviews with senior leaders of the National Police Service in all the five study sites, and two additional FGDs in Nakuru Town (Bondeni and Kaptembwo).

2.11 Study Population Characteristics

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

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

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

Most people were involved with business (35%), some involved with manually skilled and unskilled work and more than 1/3 were unemployed. Other practices like clerical, domestic service, professional and others consisted of the rest from 3-5% in each category. Most participants had an income Kshs 5,000-10,000 per month (37%). 16% had an income between Kshs 1-5,000, 26% between Kshs 10-20,000 and 8% had a monthly income of Kshs 20,000-40,000 per month. 1% of the population had an income higher than Kshs 40,000 and 11% refused to answer. A report published by the World Bank in 2016, details the decline of those living in global poverty, which is reclassified as living on \$1.90 or less a day (corresponding to less than 196 Kshs per day), to a forecast 9.6% of the world's population in 2015 - a projected 200 million fewer people living in extreme poverty than in 2012.⁷² This means that at least 16% of the study population live in poverty along with a proportion of the Kenyans that in the next category (5,000-10,000) earn less than 6,000 Kshs per month. Furthermore, there is a chance that the reason for not responding to the question is due to a low household income. 200 participants corresponding to 11% of the study population chose not to answer this question. The sensitivity of this category has been identified in other studies as well.⁷³ In addition to the income estimates, it was seen that almost the whole study population used communal toilet facilities corresponding to 94.4%.

Almost all participants were Christian (95%). Half of the respondents belonged to Kikuyu (47%). 13-

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

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

14% of the study population were either Kisii, Luo or Luhya and 7% were Kalenjin. 2% were Kamba and 1% were Maasai or Meru. Also, 1% refused to answer. The rest belonged to ethnic groups: Turkana, Swahili, Somali, Samburu, Mijikenda, Meru, Maasai, Borana and Embu and were placed in the "Others" category.

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

Key Findings and Analysis

2.12 Overview

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

2.13 Background of Nakuru County and the five study sites

Nakuru County is in Kenya's south Rift Valley area, and is the former headquarters of the Rift Valley Province. It shares borders with several counties: Kericho and Bomet (west), Baringo and Laikipia counties (north), Kajiado and Kiambu (south), Nyandura (east), and Narok (south west). The county has eleven administrative sub-counties: Naivasha, Gilgil, Nakuru, Rongai, Nakuru Town West, Nakuru Town East, Subukia, Njoro, Molo, Kuresoi South and Kuresoi North. The Nakuru County Government estimates that the county had a population of 1,867,461 in year 2014.⁷⁴ Of the total population, 937,131 were male, while there were 930,330 females. A large proportion of the county's population live in informal settlements in Nakuru and Naivasha Municipalities. This population is concentrated in Bondeni-Kivumbini, Free Area, Lake View, Mwariki, Kaptembwo, Kwaronda, Karagita-Mirera, Kihoto and Kabati in the two municipalities of the municipality.

Nakuru County's economy is mainly based on small-scale agriculture, dominated by dairy farming and grain production. Retail, tourism and light manufacturing also contribute significantly to the local economy. Most people are self-employed or work in the so-called informal sector, and poverty levels remain high at 45 %.⁷⁵ The Nakuru County Government recognizes these challenges and has developed the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP)2014, and the County Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) 2014-2016 to partially address them.⁷⁶ One of the county's key policy priorities is the reduction of high levels of recurrent expenditure (51% of the county's budget pays wages of government officials) so as to free up funds for development. Another key priority is the improvement of access to better quality healthcare

74 CIDP, 2014.

75 KIPPRA, 2016: 177.

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

services and social protection for more people, with a focus on controlling communicable diseases and reducing child mortality.

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

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

Table 4: Key Indicators in Five Study Sites

Study Site	Bondeni	Kaptembwo	Karagita	Kabati	Molo Town
Location	Nakuru Town Municipality		Naivasha Sub-County		Molo Sub-County
Size (sq km)	-	5.1	-	-	-
Population (2009 census data)	20,574	70,352	39,209	25,437	32,315
No. Households (2009 census)	6,148	23,2000	12,953	9,194	8,664
% aged 18-34/youth (survey data)	72%	71%	67%	64%	65%
% of population with secondary school qualifications	37%	38%	43%	35%	34%
% of population with tertiary/higher education-level qualifications	19%	21%	15%	14%	11%

Urban violence in the five study sites, Bondeni and Kaptembwo (Nakuru Town); Karagita and Kabati (Naivasha Town) and Molo Town—is generally understudied. Of the 26 studies reviewed for this study, only one has a specific focus on one of these sites—Kaptembwo in Nakuru Town. Judy Ngina (2016) uses data collected from the informal settlement to examine the relationship between gender violence

and its relationship to inaccessibility of water. She concludes that a significant proportion of women in Kaptembwo face the risk of sexual and gender-based violence when they go out of their homes to fetch water for their families. However, the study does not have a focus on SGBV in other settings e.g. in homes. A second refereed study by Karanja Njoroge et al about street children in Nakuru Town asserts that they are at risk of violence, but is thin on data touching on the exposure of these children to violence or their role in committing violence.⁷⁷ The other studies (which happen to be masters level theses) broadly examine violence in Nakuru Municipality (Town), but make no mention of Bondeni or Kaptembwo.⁷⁸ Overall, it does not appear that there are any studies on violence in Bondeni (Nakuru), Karigita and Kabati in Naivasha Town, or Molo Town. While several studies have been conducted on the problem of politically-instigated political and ethnic violence in Molo Sub-County, they focus mainly on the violence that took place in the rural parts of the county, and not Molo Town.

Studies show that in Nakuru County, the typical settings for violence in Nakuru County are informal settlements in urban areas, including Nakuru Town Municipality.⁷⁹ Living standards and the quality of life in Nakuru's informal settlements are low, mainly because of poor spatial planning of urban areas, particularly of low-income areas and informal settlements. As a result, health, hygiene, safety, the quality of the environment and security have been adversely affected. The first Nakuru County Government recognized the gaps in the availability of spatial data, and its impact on planning, and started a digital topographic mapping exercise in 2015 to gather the data required for spatial planning that will be implemented through to 2024.⁸⁰ The spatial plan commits to the building of new physical infrastructure. It also prioritizes the need for clear planning of residential, business, industrial, and recreational areas. While the planning processes has been completed, but the spatial plan is yet to be publicly released.

The patterns of violence identified above in the analysis on violence in Kenya can also be discerned at the local level in Nakuru County. For instance, the victimisation of women through Gender-Based Violence prevails in Nakuru.⁸¹ Similarly, several studies have shown that children in Nakuru, especially street children are particularly vulnerable to violence meted out by municipal inspectorate officers, the police and members of the public.⁸² Many street children in Nakuru Town Municipality come from poor and/or dysfunctional families, and have run away from home to have more independence.⁸³ Further, Nakuru is known to host several gangs including Mungiki, Backyard, Gengejuu, Lumumba, Makaveli, Mtaro Base, Wajanja, Wazelendo and Westside.⁸⁴

Patterns of the nature of violence in Nakuru County are also like the national trends. For instance, it is evident that firearms are used in crime in Nakuru County with evidence that residents of middle-class suburbs, such as Kiamunyi, Milimani, Nakka and Section 58, have been the victims of car hijackings, robberies, assaults and rapes in which firearms were used (R. Abduba 2010, p. 3). Similarly, Nakuru County has also borne the risk of police excesses and extra-judicial executions. For instance, 14 of the 308-summary execution by the police between January 2015 and March

77 Njoroge et al., 2013.

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

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

80 Nakuru CIDP, 2014.

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

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

83 Karanja et. Al., 2013, pp. 219.

84 Mkutu et. al., 2015.

2017 occurred in Nakuru County.⁸⁵ Nakuru County has also borne a disproportionate level of the politically-instigated political and ethnic violence since the return to multi-party democracy in the early 1990. Nakuru County, then Nakuru District, was one of the places within the Rift Valley where the Kikuyu community was attacked for being supporters of the “opposition”.⁸⁶ In Kenya’s 2008 post-election violence, Nakuru County was once again a centre of conflict partly due to its cosmopolitan nature particularly in Nakuru, Naivasha and Molo towns. The official inquiry into the violence found that some 263 deaths occurred in what is now Nakuru County during the crisis.⁸⁷ Additionally, Nakuru County, especially Naivasha and Molo, have experienced internecine violence over access to and use of land in the past two decades.⁸⁸ In Molo settlement schemes, corruption in the allocation of title deeds has been a key source of land-related violence.

2.14 Experience with violence and perpetrators

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

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

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

Table 5: Selected Outcomes stratified by Town.

85 IMLU 2017; IMLU 2016; IMLU 2015.

86 KHRC, 1998; NCKK, 1997.

87 Republic of Kenya, 2009: 308.

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

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

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

In Nakuru, women may have a higher risk of being exposed to violence, whereas in Naivasha men have an increased risk of being exposed to violence than women. Both in Nakuru and Naivasha, individuals in 25-34 and 34-44 age brackets, have a lower risk of being victims of violence than the younger age group 18-24. However, none of these associations were statistically significant. In both towns, the older group (44+) where at a greater risk than the youngest group (18-24), however this changed after additional control for marital status, education and occupation. This tendency also changed for the age group of 25-34, going from 4% lower risk to 3% higher risk after controlling for covariates. In Molo, all the age groups tended to be more at risk of violence than the youngest age group between 18-24 years. The covariates therefore accorded for some of the association between age group and violence exposure. The descriptions are a depiction of the risks if they had been statistically significant.

In Nakuru and Naivasha, it appears that unmarried/single individuals are at a higher risk of being exposed to violence. In Naivasha and Molo the divorced where

<table><tr><th>Table 2A:</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr><tr><th>Nakuru Town</th><th>OR [CI 95%]</th><th>P-value</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>Gender</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Male</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Female</td><td>1.15 [0.82-1.61]</td><td>0.44</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Age</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>18-24</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>25-34</td><td>0.96 [0.64-1.43]</td><td>0.82</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34-44</td><td>0.71 [0.41-1.23]</td><td>0.22</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44+</td><td>1.35 [0.78-2.33]</td><td>0.28</td><td></td></tr></table>	Table 2A:				Nakuru Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value		Gender				Male	1	1		Female	1.15 [0.82-1.61]	0.44		Age				18-24	1	1		25-34	0.96 [0.64-1.43]	0.82		34-44	0.71 [0.41-1.23]	0.22		44+	1.35 [0.78-2.33]	0.28			<table><tr><th>Table 2B:</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr><tr><th>Naivasha Town</th><th>OR [CI 95%]</th><th>P-value</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>Gender</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Male</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Female</td><td>0.78 [0.53-1.15]</td><td>0.21</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Age</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>18-24</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>25-34</td><td>0.77 [0.48-1.23]</td><td>0.27</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34-44</td><td>0.45 [0.24-0.85]</td><td>0.01*</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44+</td><td>1.08 [0.61-1.94]</td><td>0.79</td><td></td></tr></table>	Table 2B:				Naivasha Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value		Gender				Male	1	1		Female	0.78 [0.53-1.15]	0.21		Age				18-24	1	1		25-34	0.77 [0.48-1.23]	0.27		34-44	0.45 [0.24-0.85]	0.01*		44+	1.08 [0.61-1.94]	0.79			<table><tr><th>Table 2C:</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr><tr><th>Molo Town</th><th>OR [CI 95%]</th><th>P-value</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>Gender</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Male</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Female</td><td>0.83 [0.47-1.48]</td><td>0.53</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Age</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>18-24</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>25-34</td><td>2.08 [0.997-4.34]</td><td>0.05*</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34-44</td><td>1.43 [0.60-3.42]</td><td>0.42</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44+</td><td>1.59 [0.62-4.11]</td><td>0.34</td><td></td></tr></table>	Table 2C:				Molo Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value		Gender				Male	1	1		Female	0.83 [0.47-1.48]	0.53		Age				18-24	1	1		25-34	2.08 [0.997-4.34]	0.05*		34-44	1.43 [0.60-3.42]	0.42		44+	1.59 [0.62-4.11]	0.34																																																																																																																																																													
Table 2A:																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Nakuru Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Gender																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Male	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Female	1.15 [0.82-1.61]	0.44																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Age																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
18-24	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
25-34	0.96 [0.64-1.43]	0.82																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
34-44	0.71 [0.41-1.23]	0.22																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
44+	1.35 [0.78-2.33]	0.28																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Table 2B:																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Naivasha Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Gender																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Male	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Female	0.78 [0.53-1.15]	0.21																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Age																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
18-24	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
25-34	0.77 [0.48-1.23]	0.27																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
34-44	0.45 [0.24-0.85]	0.01*																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
44+	1.08 [0.61-1.94]	0.79																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Table 2C:																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Molo Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Gender																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Male	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Female	0.83 [0.47-1.48]	0.53																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Age																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
18-24	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
25-34	2.08 [0.997-4.34]	0.05*																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
34-44	1.43 [0.60-3.42]	0.42																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
44+	1.59 [0.62-4.11]	0.34																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
<table><tr><th>Table 2A*:</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr><tr><th>Nakuru Town</th><th>OR [CI 95%]</th><th>P-value</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>Gender</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Male</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Female</td><td>1.24 [0.87-1.77]</td><td>0.23</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Age</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>18-24</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>25-34</td><td>1.03 [0.64-1.66]</td><td>0.90</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34-44</td><td>0.78 [0.41-1.49]</td><td>0.46</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44+</td><td>0.86 [0.28-2.63]</td><td>0.78</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Marital status</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Married</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Divorced</td><td>0.82 [0.31-2.14]</td><td>0.68</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Widowed</td><td>1.05 [0.40-2.75]</td><td>0.92</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Single</td><td>1.37 [0.90-2.06]</td><td>0.14</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Education</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Under</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>secondary</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Secondary</td><td>0.90 [0.59-1.37]</td><td>0.62</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>and above</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Occupation</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Employed</td><td>1.2 [0.76-1.88]</td><td>0.44</td><td></td></tr></table>	Table 2A*:				Nakuru Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value		Gender				Male	1	1		Female	1.24 [0.87-1.77]	0.23		Age				18-24	1	1		25-34	1.03 [0.64-1.66]	0.90		34-44	0.78 [0.41-1.49]	0.46		44+	0.86 [0.28-2.63]	0.78		Marital status				Married	1	1		Divorced	0.82 [0.31-2.14]	0.68		Widowed	1.05 [0.40-2.75]	0.92		Single	1.37 [0.90-2.06]	0.14		Education				Under	1	1		secondary				Secondary	0.90 [0.59-1.37]	0.62		and above				Occupation				Unemployed	1	1		Employed	1.2 [0.76-1.88]	0.44			<table><tr><th>Table 2B*:</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr><tr><th>Naivasha Town</th><th>OR [CI 95%]</th><th>P-value</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>Gender</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Male</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Female</td><td>0.76 [0.50-1.15]</td><td>0.19</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Age</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>18-24</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>25-34</td><td>0.90 [0.53-1.53]</td><td>0.70</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34-44</td><td>0.55 [0.26-1.16]</td><td>0.12</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44+</td><td>0.60 [0.16-2.15]</td><td>0.43</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Marital status</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Married</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Divorced</td><td>1.80 [0.79-4.13]</td><td>0.16</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Widowed</td><td>2.82 [0.89-8.93]</td><td>0.08</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Single</td><td>1.49 [0.92-2.34]</td><td>0.11</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Education</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Under</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>secondary</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Secondary</td><td>0.90 [0.56-1.44]</td><td>0.65</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>and above</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Occupation</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Employed</td><td>0.83 [0.43-1.41]</td><td>0.48</td><td></td></tr></table>	Table 2B*:				Naivasha Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value		Gender				Male	1	1		Female	0.76 [0.50-1.15]	0.19		Age				18-24	1	1		25-34	0.90 [0.53-1.53]	0.70		34-44	0.55 [0.26-1.16]	0.12		44+	0.60 [0.16-2.15]	0.43		Marital status				Married	1	1		Divorced	1.80 [0.79-4.13]	0.16		Widowed	2.82 [0.89-8.93]	0.08		Single	1.49 [0.92-2.34]	0.11		Education				Under	1	1		secondary				Secondary	0.90 [0.56-1.44]	0.65		and above				Occupation				Unemployed	1	1		Employed	0.83 [0.43-1.41]	0.48			<table><tr><th>Table 2C*:</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr><tr><th>Molo Town</th><th>OR [CI 95%]</th><th>P-value</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>Gender</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Male</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Female</td><td>0.83 [0.47-1.50]</td><td>0.54</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Age</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>18-24</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>25-34</td><td>1.86 [0.84-4.12]</td><td>0.13</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34-44</td><td>1.19 [0.45-4.12]</td><td>0.73</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44+</td><td>1.64 [0.40-6.74]</td><td>0.49</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Marital status</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Married</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Divorced</td><td>1.66 [0.54-5.11]</td><td>0.38</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Widowed</td><td>0.49 [0.10-2.43]</td><td>0.38</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Single</td><td>0.49 [0.92-2.34]</td><td>0.77</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Education</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Under</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>secondary</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Secondary</td><td>1.02 [0.58-1.81]</td><td>0.93</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>and above</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Occupation</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Employed</td><td>1.15 [0.52-2.57]</td><td>0.73</td><td></td></tr></table>	Table 2C*:				Molo Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value		Gender				Male	1	1		Female	0.83 [0.47-1.50]	0.54		Age				18-24	1	1		25-34	1.86 [0.84-4.12]	0.13		34-44	1.19 [0.45-4.12]	0.73		44+	1.64 [0.40-6.74]	0.49		Marital status				Married	1	1		Divorced	1.66 [0.54-5.11]	0.38		Widowed	0.49 [0.10-2.43]	0.38		Single	0.49 [0.92-2.34]	0.77		Education				Under	1	1		secondary				Secondary	1.02 [0.58-1.81]	0.93		and above				Occupation				Unemployed	1	1		Employed	1.15 [0.52-2.57]	0.73	
Table 2A*:																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Nakuru Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Gender																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Male	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Female	1.24 [0.87-1.77]	0.23																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Age																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
18-24	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
25-34	1.03 [0.64-1.66]	0.90																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
34-44	0.78 [0.41-1.49]	0.46																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
44+	0.86 [0.28-2.63]	0.78																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Marital status																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Married	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Divorced	0.82 [0.31-2.14]	0.68																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Widowed	1.05 [0.40-2.75]	0.92																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Single	1.37 [0.90-2.06]	0.14																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Education																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Under	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
secondary																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Secondary	0.90 [0.59-1.37]	0.62																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
and above																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Occupation																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Unemployed	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Employed	1.2 [0.76-1.88]	0.44																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Table 2B*:																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Naivasha Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Gender																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Male	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Female	0.76 [0.50-1.15]	0.19																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Age																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
18-24	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
25-34	0.90 [0.53-1.53]	0.70																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
34-44	0.55 [0.26-1.16]	0.12																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
44+	0.60 [0.16-2.15]	0.43																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Marital status																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Married	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Divorced	1.80 [0.79-4.13]	0.16																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Widowed	2.82 [0.89-8.93]	0.08																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Single	1.49 [0.92-2.34]	0.11																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Education																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Under	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
secondary																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Secondary	0.90 [0.56-1.44]	0.65																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
and above																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Occupation																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Unemployed	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Employed	0.83 [0.43-1.41]	0.48																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Table 2C*:																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Molo Town	OR [CI 95%]	P-value																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Gender																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Male	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Female	0.83 [0.47-1.50]	0.54																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Age																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
18-24	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
25-34	1.86 [0.84-4.12]	0.13																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
34-44	1.19 [0.45-4.12]	0.73																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
44+	1.64 [0.40-6.74]	0.49																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Marital status																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Married	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Divorced	1.66 [0.54-5.11]	0.38																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Widowed	0.49 [0.10-2.43]	0.38																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Single	0.49 [0.92-2.34]	0.77																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Education																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Under	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
secondary																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Secondary	1.02 [0.58-1.81]	0.93																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
and above																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Occupation																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
Unemployed	1	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Employed	1.15 [0.52-2.57]	0.73																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						

Table 6: Probability of becoming a victim of violence

Table 6: Probability of becoming a victim of violence

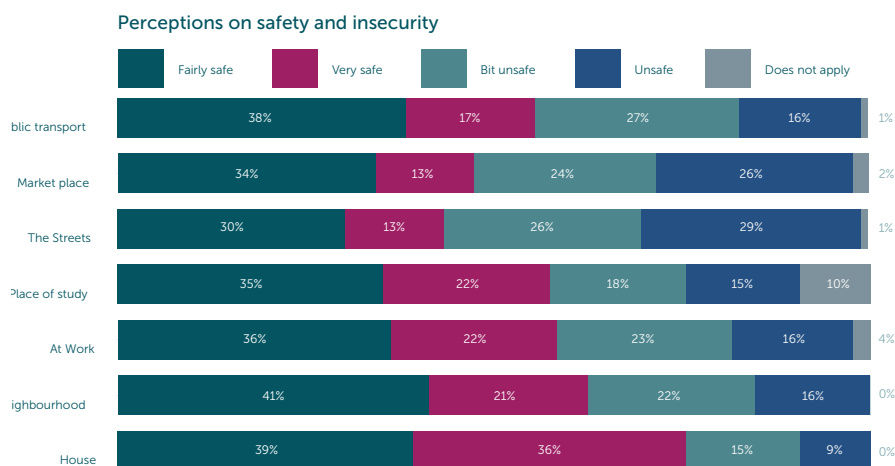
more exposed than married respondents, however this tendency was reversed in Nakuru. The widowed were more exposed in Naivasha compared to the married. This tendency was also the other way around in Molo, whereas in Nakuru there was only a slight raised risk for the widowed. Having a higher education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

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

2.16 Safety and prevalence of violence in Nakuru

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

Figure 1: Perceptions on safety and insecurity



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

Victims of violence:

Most people thought that the bulk of victims are youth and women though there is a perception that girls are disproportionately targeted; and men are more victimised in Nakuru Municipality's Kaptembwo neighbourhood; which could be attributed to the high number of gangs perpetrating violence in this area, as was revealed through interviews and focus group discussions. The major gang operating in Kaptembwo is Gaza, which engages in violent crime, robbery, extortion and political violence. There are also turf wars between Gaza and other gangs including Confirm, which mainly operates in Bondeni.⁸⁹

Perpetrators of violence

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

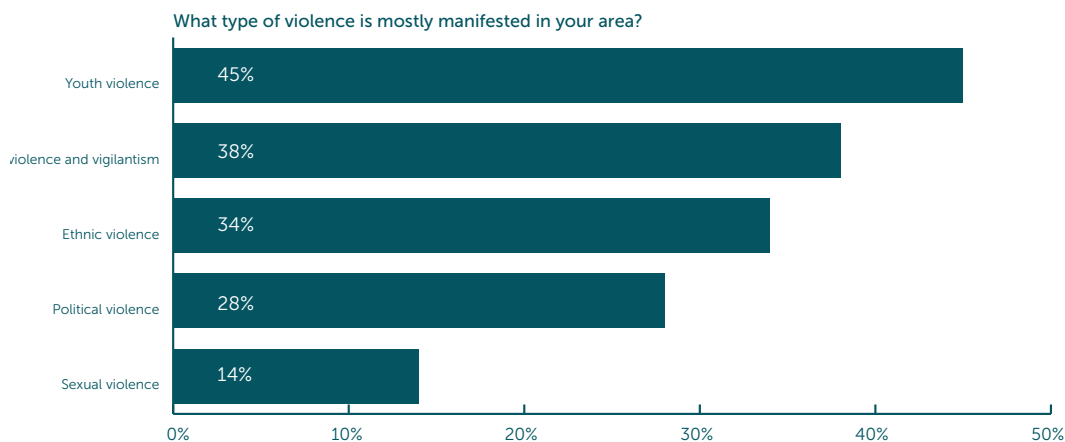
Causes of violence

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

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

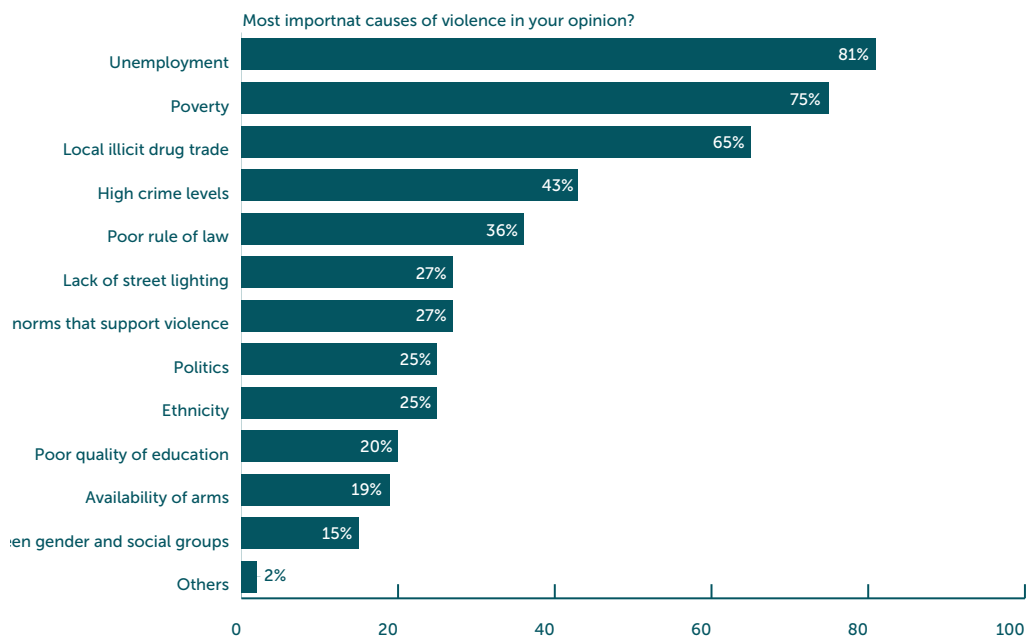
89 Interview with senior member of Nakuru County Peace Committee; and senior officer in Kaptembwo Police Station.

Figure 2: Most prevalent types of violence



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

Figure 3: Most important causes of violence



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

2.17 Prevalence and Dynamics of Violence in Nakuru County

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

2.17.1 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

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

*"The husband was misusing money and eating food when the children had not eaten...the woman poured hot water on him and he was hospitalised for five days. He pleaded with the police not to arrest his wife because she was the breadwinner."*⁹⁰

The respondents indicated that the perpetrators are often known to their victims. This type of violence was found to be present in all areas of the county included in the study. Also common is sexual violence against children, by men. Respondents in Nakuru Town expressed worry over the increase in child rape cases.

Victimisation appears to be closely linked to space, home or street, and gender identity of the victim even though men remain the main perpetrators in both cases. Our respondents noted that the main forms of SGBV within the home included domestic violence and sexual assault. A few cases of men sexually assaulting their own children were highlighted. In one case, a respondent highlighted how

a man violated his two-year-old daughter.⁹¹ Female house-helps were also noted to be victims to male sexual assault within the homestead. There were also a few cases of young men raping their own mothers, which were highlighted during the interviews. Children are the most vulnerable outside the home. Several cases of children being sexually assaulted after being lured with gifts from relatives and strangers were cited. Some of the respondents also noted cases of prostitutes being assaulted by young men⁹². The use of abusive language and threats of sexual assault against women especially among matatu operators, was also highlighted as another common form of SGBV. A senior official in the Nakuru County Transport Department pointed out that:

“Sexual violence against women is a major issue. Conductors touch them or talk to them in ways that amount to sexual harassment.”⁹³

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)⁹⁴, was also highlighted as a common form of SGBV especially in Naivasha. Some social groups, for instance the Wakorino religious formation, was identified as perpetrating this practice.

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

2.17.2 Violence against children

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

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

91 FDG, Bondeni Women.

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

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

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

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

“The defilement of children (both boys and girls) rising, particularly by closer members of the family.”⁹⁵

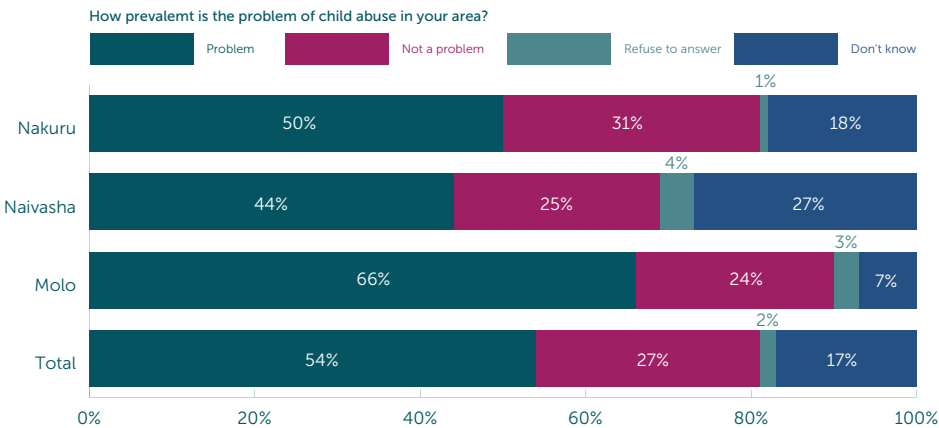
It was also noted that children are sometimes vulnerable to sexual violence by neighbours and other adults because their parents neglect them and are not keen on them.⁹⁶ Others also pointed out that some mothers expose their children to sexual violence when they are involved in prostitution and bring their clients home.⁹⁷ Respondents also pointed out that some parents and guardians exploit their children for economic gain and. A key informant pointed out that:

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

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

“Murder of children is especially high in Karagita; five children went missing and later found dead. Church leaders and other grownups are implicated in this. This is common in Karagita and Kihoto.”⁹⁸

Figure 4: Prevalence of child abuse



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

96 Interview with nurse, Naivasha District Hospital.

97 Focus Group Discussion with women in Bondeni

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

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

When asked what they perceived the root causes of such violence to be, more than 70% of the respondents attributed it to drug and alcohol abuse by parents and about 60% on poor parenting. Others identified poverty which, they claim, resulted in stress and tensions in the home, often leading parents to treat children more harshly and possibly violently than under less stressful circumstances. As stated by a police officer in Nakuru, "Most cases of violence against children is economically related. Either because of the stress experienced by the parents in eking a living unleashing this stress on their children or children left on their own as parents look for resources leaving them vulnerable to violence in the neighborhood. There are not too many reported cases of economically endowed persons meting violence on their children."⁹⁹

2.17.3 Violent Crime

For analytical ease, we have categorised several types of violence including theft, robbery, mugging, kidnappings, extortion and car-jackings under the tag of 'violent crime'. A violent crime is when someone physically hurts, with or without a weapon, or threatens to hurt someone.¹⁰⁰ These violent crimes occur on a regular, even daily basis across the country, a pattern replicated in Nakuru County.

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

The perpetrators of violent crime are as varied as their victims. Nonetheless, most of the respondents to the study noted that gangs are the main perpetrators of violent crime in Nakuru County. This was especially highlighted in Bondeni area, Kivumbini and Kaptembwo. Respondents noted that the different areas are controlled by different gangs, which often have some members roaming the streets to identify potential targets.¹⁰¹ Some of the respondents noted that these gangs often operate in collusion with street children, rogue police officers and matatu operators who provide them with information on the movement of their targets.¹⁰²

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

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

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

102 FGD with CBOs and CSOs in Bondeni.

The Chair of a matatu SACCO¹⁰³ in Nakuru Town, for instance revealed that:

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

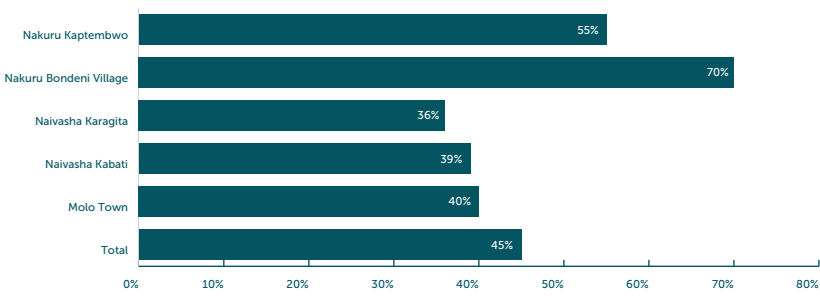
Furthermore, human rights groups have reported that:

“Some police have been assisting the criminals with weapons and they share the loot.”¹⁰⁴

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

Notably however, the respondents noted two potent explanations for the prevalence of crime in Nakuru County. The first was the availability of small arms, which embolden criminals during robberies, muggings and car jackings. The arms are said to come from neighbouring Baringo County,¹⁰⁵ where they are commonly used by cattle rustlers. The second, emphasized at FGDs in Nakuru Town, is corruption in the Police force, where rogue officers are accused of colluding with criminals – specially with gangs such as Confirm in Bondeni and others in Kivumbini and Kaptembwo areas - to provide information about potential victims.¹⁰⁶

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



103 Savings and Credit Organization.
104 Interviews, Nakuru Human Rights Defenders Network.
105 Interview with regional coordinator of an FBO working in Nakuru County
106 Focus Group Discussion, Kaptembwo Men.

2.17.4 Police violence

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

“The police are also involved in extorting money from and intimidating matatu crews; those who fail to give bribes are locked up arbitrarily. At night you have regular (not traffic) police arresting conductors who are carrying the day’s money, most times they may be roughed up, not necessarily beaten, but will be locked up” 107,

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

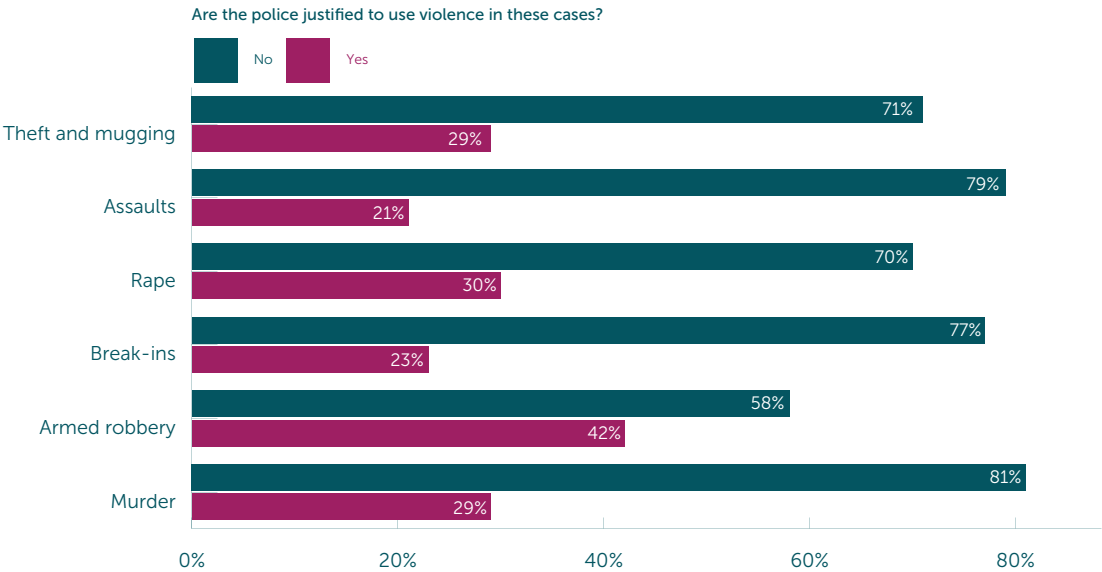
40 % of respondents felt that the Police use unnecessary violence/force when responding to incidents of violence. However, this perception varied according to the type of violence that the Police were responding to. While more than 70 % were against Police using violence in cases of murder, break-ins,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

Respondents identified the culture of corruption and impunity as the main reasons for the prevalence of police violence. They noted that this environment only serves to encourage these law enforcement officers to engage in abuse. They cited a sense of entitlement by the police, as the latter often felt they had a right to extort civilians, even turning violent in the process. This was especially the case in Nakuru Town, where 60 % of the respondents expressed mistrust of the Police. Others attributed Police violence and executions to frustrations among the officers by the Judiciary giving bail to repeat offenders who, often seek revenge against the Police.¹⁰⁸

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

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

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



2.17.5 Political and ethnic violence

Nakuru County is one of the hotspots of inter-political and ethnic violence in Kenya. The county has witnessed several bouts of inter-political and ethnic violence since the early 1990s.¹⁰⁹ The wounds from this violence are yet to heal, respondents in this study expressed concern that the factors leading to the political violence that rocked the country in 2007/8 are still present, in an environment clouded in poor inter-ethnic relations and lack of tolerance.

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

There are material dimensions to the inter-political and ethnic violence that has been witnessed in the county. Respondents identified conflicts over natural resources, particularly land – in Molo Town - and fish landing beaches – in Naivasha. In the case of land in Molo Town, for instance, respondents noted claims of double registration of land titles especially in the Kibagundi area. They traced this tension back to the 1992 political violence, which led to the displacement of some members of the Kikuyu community and the occupation of their land by the Kalenjin to date. Some respondents highlighted ongoing favouritism of certain communities by the County government. Men in an FGD in Bondeni pointed out that:

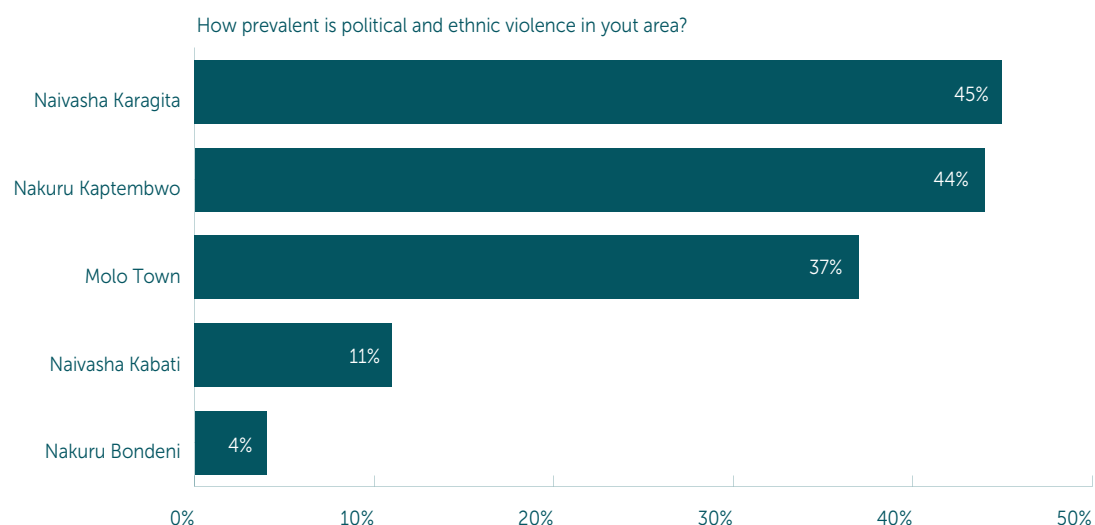
109 For further reading on electoral violence see, for instance, Human Rights Watch, *Divide and Rule: State-Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993); Mwangi Kagwanja, *Killing the Vote: State Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya* (Nairobi, Kenya Human Rights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

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

Others also noted that there are often ethnic dimensions when it comes to providing job opportunities and public projects, adding that it fuelled ethnic tension.¹¹⁰ There were some respondents who highlighted the marginalisation of certain communities by the County government in respect of jobs and other opportunities. A respondent in Naivasha identified that:

"Political and ethnic violence is caused by discrimination against certain ethnic groups. Some tribes are not given jobs in flower farm companies."¹¹¹

Figure 7: Prevalence of political and ethnic violence



The other material dimension of this conflict is when violent crimes are mapped on to ethnic cleavages. For instance, our respondents identified theft of livestock, and break-ins into shops as often resulting in inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo. Since the two main communities in Molo Town, Kalenjin and Kikuyu, are generally divided along distinct lines of economic activities with the latter tend to be businessmen and the former animal and crop farmers, theft cases often take an ethnic dimension.

Some of the respondents identified politicians as the main perpetrators of acts of inter-political and ethnic violence as they often mobilize support on ethnic lines and fund gangs to execute such acts. Others noted that the elders of the various ethnic communities also serve to instil ethnic animosity in young people. This serves to shape perception of the other, occasioning a situation where behaviour is mapped into ethnic stereotypes. As such, young people seek

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

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

vengeance for the loss of loved ones or property against a community escalating inter-ethnic tensions and violence. People expressed concern on the risk of violence erupting with regards to the forthcoming elections, citing possible major cases as incitement by politicians (64%), politicization of ethnicity (69%), verbal assault towards other ethnic groups (54%) and rumours about vote rigging (56%).

2.18 Response mechanisms

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

2.19 Social capital and sense of belonging

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

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

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

2.20 Effectiveness of Current Response Mechanisms

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

The study also sought to identify what mechanisms the people trust to address the challenge of violence. The most trusted – as shown in the figure 9 – are medical doctors (71 %),¹¹² religious leaders (70 %), elders (69 %) and NGOs (62 %). The Police were identified as the least trusted (51 %).

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



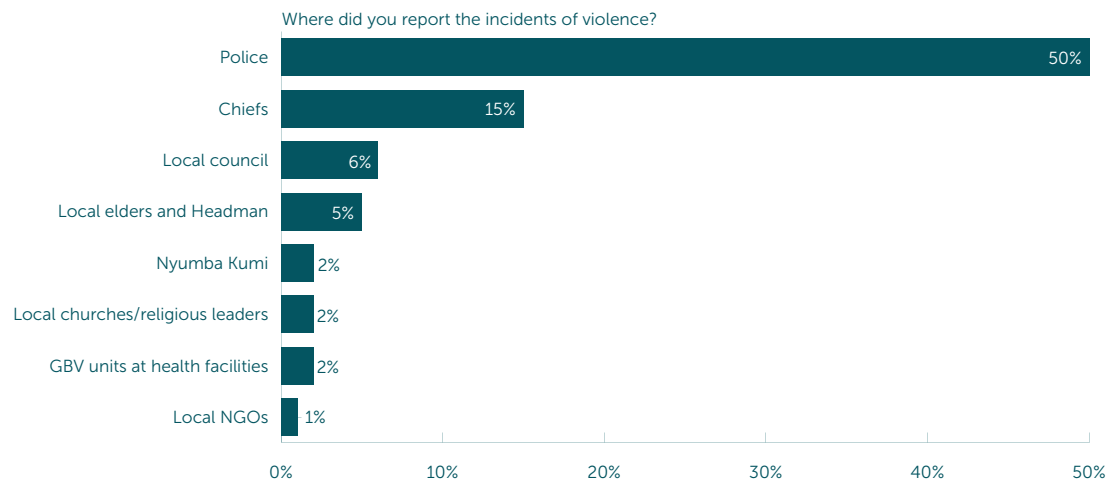
As noted earlier, Kenyans appear to have a lot more trust in the police than in other institutions within the criminal justice system.¹¹³ Notably, many of them report incidences to the police, expecting them to resolve the issues rather than taking the matters to court. As such, the police clearly form an important part of the acceptable response mechanisms to violence. Local Chiefs were also noted as key actors in response to violence as shown in the figure below. Further research would be helpful to establish exactly what sort of crime and violent incidences that residents of these neighbourhoods report to the police.¹¹⁴

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

113 See Wairuri, 2015; *ibid*.

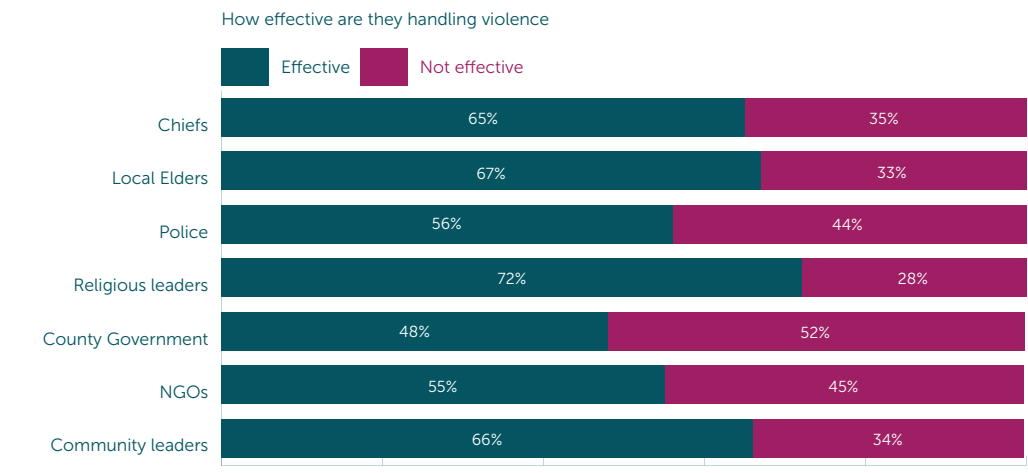
114 Extant literature suggests that people will report major incidences such a infant rape, violence rober

Figure 10: Reporting violence incidents



Unsurprisingly, religious leaders who are highly trusted by the members of the community were also identified as the most effective in dealing with violence.¹¹⁵ Local leaders and chiefs who were also highly trusted by members of the community were also seen as quite effective. This indicates that the local communities have a high preference for local, grounded institutions to address their challenges with crime and violence. Interestingly, the community is split almost halfway in their opinion of the police both in terms of trustworthiness and effectiveness. Proper appreciation of the nuances of how residents interact with the police would help to improve understanding of these views deeper. Interestingly, while 62 % of the respondents found NGOs trustworthy a slightly lower number (55 %) found them effective in dealing with issues of crime and violence.

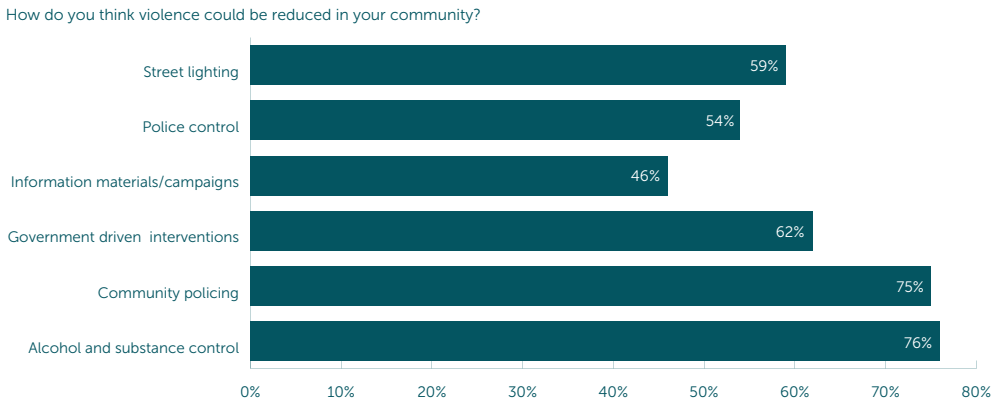
Figure 11: Effectiveness of violence intervention actors/mechanisms



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

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

Figure 12: Mechanisms for violence reduction



2.20.1 Effectiveness of Current responses to SGBV

Most of our respondents, confirmed expectations from the literature that victims do not always report SGBV cases. They noted that the victims, mainly women and children fail to report these cases for fear of being kicked out of their homes or victimised/stigmatised by neighbours and relatives. Some individuals in Naivasha also failed to report incidents of SGBV due to influence from religious leaders (pastors of certain churches), who asked their congregations to forgive perpetrators.¹¹⁶

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

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

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

Respondents showed support for the use of mob 'justice' as a response to incidents of sexual violence. In the case of rape, for instance, 66 % felt it was justified to resort to mob 'justice'. Most of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the traditional response mechanisms by the state ranging from intervention by Chiefs at the local level, especially for domestic violence cases, and arrest and prosecution of perpetrators by the Police. They accused the Chiefs and the police of ineffectiveness and corruption. They highlighted cases where perpetrators of SGBV were released after they allegedly bribed authorities.

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

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

2.20.2 Effectiveness of responses to Violence against children

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

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

At the State level, the respondents noted that the police responses take the traditional approach of rescuing victims of such violence and taking them to Children's Homes and prosecution of perpetrators. The challenge, however, is that most cases are not reported, given that they occur within the privacy of a home or school. The other challenge, which is particularly, more pertinent is that the children may not want to be separated from their parents. As such the legal approach of charging the parents and taking the children away may not be fully acceptable. Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why many such cases are not reported. Expressing the inadequacies of mechanisms to protect abused children, a police officer said:

“Children who are abused at home are sometimes rescued by police and taken to children's homes; some are taken to borstal schools even though they are not delinquent, the fear is that they will run from normal homes”¹¹⁷

2.20.3 Effectiveness of Current responses to Criminal violence

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

The respondents to the study noted that individuals have come up with their own coping mechanisms to deal with the risk of victimisation. In response to the common theft of motor bikes from Boda Boda operators, the latter avoid taking clients after dark and to well-known crime spots. As is the case elsewhere in the country, some businessmen and citizens across the selected study sites often hire private security services (from private firms or the Police)¹¹⁸ at their business premises and homes.

117 Interview with police officer on GBV Desk, Kaptembwo

118 Interview with Businessmen in Naivasha Town.

At the community level, several mechanisms for responding to insecurity have been developed. For instance, due to the common theft of motor bikes, the Boda Boda operators have come up with a system in which they escort one another whenever working late or maintain contact with colleagues - as a tracking system - while taking clients to presumable violence-prone destinations. Also, a local non-state actor in Nakuru Town developed Mulika Uhalifu, a mobile phone program, which enables individuals to report cases of violence by sending a simple message to a given number that is linked to various Police station heads. The respondents acknowledged that the program has been effective in increasing reporting and Police interventions¹¹⁹. Another mechanism has been the growth of Matatu SACCOS, which have helped to improve the financial stability of their members. The respondents noted that this has created meaningful opportunities, which have kept the youth away from crime. As one respondent attested:

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

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

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

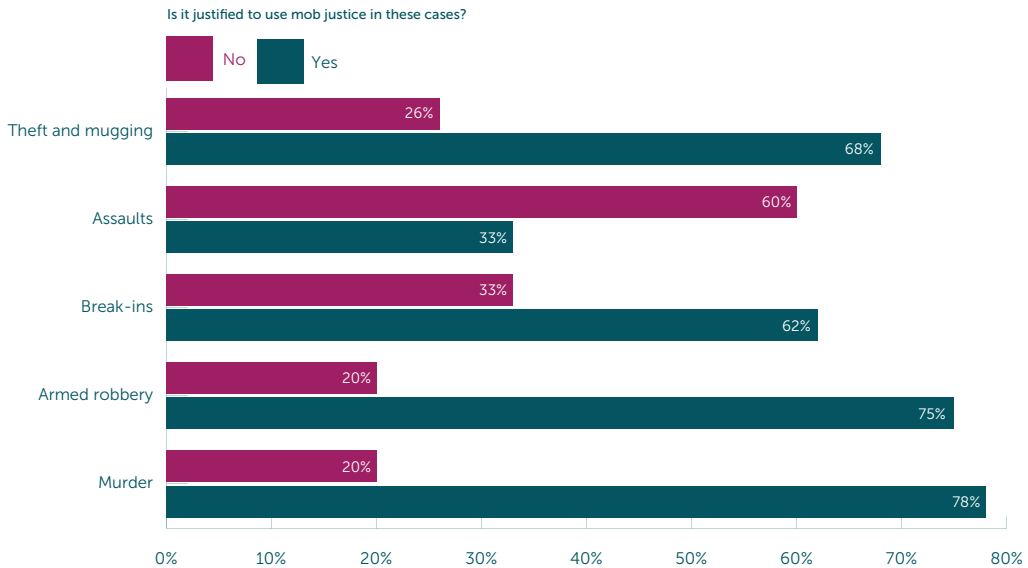
Respondents from Naivasha, noted that the Community Policing program, in which 64 % of respondents expressed trust, has been useful in improving the timeliness of the response of police officers to public reports of violence. They noted that the Community policing committee meets regularly, sometimes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

They also noted efforts by the County government, including street lighting project in towns that have made public spaces safer at night. Respondents in Nakuru Town, however, noted that the initiative is being undermined by gangs who have been vandalizing some of the lights¹²⁰.

119 Interview with senior county administration official, Nakuru.

120 Noted in FGD for Men in Bondeni area.

Figure 13: Use of mob 'justice' in response to violence



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

2.20.4 Effectiveness of Current responses to Police violence

Key informants cited Nakuru as one of the counties trying very hard to improve police-citizen relations and interactions.¹²¹ Most respondents, across the County, indicated that citizens are afraid of reporting cases of Police violence for fear of becoming targets themselves, especially by what they termed as 'rogue officers'. This fear is undergirded by the perception of corruption and impunity by the Police. Respondents noted that the police are known to have links with perpetrators of violence.

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

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

121 Interview with Regional Coordinator for FBO in Nakuru

2.20.5 Effectiveness of Current responses to Political and ethnic violence

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

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

Respondents highlighted civic education to the public through Barazas to promote understanding and tolerance carried out by Ward administrators in Nakuru Municipality. Some also acknowledged the existence of Peace Committees but complained that these lacked sufficient financial support from the National and County Governments. Peace Committees are reportedly more effective in rural areas than urban; and they are said to work closely with CSOs and churches in identifying and planning interventions. These include peace related events, dialogues and mediation between rival communities, business groups and families involved in violence¹²².

3. Conclusion and recommendations

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

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

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

i Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV)

Future programs seeking to address the challenge of SGBV need to take proper cognisance of the community dynamics of this type of violence including the causal and/or trigger factors and the effectiveness of the current response mechanisms. The study noted that the most prevalent forms of this violence include domestic violence, rape, threats and acts of intimidation that mainly targets women and girls. Our respondents identified alcohol and drug abuse, infidelity, material conditions within the family. From the conceptual framework, it is important for us to note that these perspectives however take away the agency of the victims and perpetrators. For instance, it should be clear that while alcohol contributes to domestic violence, not all people who use alcohol are violent. As such, the focus should be in understanding the underlying factors.

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

Recommendations for programmatic interventions:

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

ii Violence against children

Violence against Children is another predominant form of violence in Nakuru with 54% of our respondents identifying it as a problem. The study found that parents and teachers are the main perpetrators of violence against children though fellow students were also found to be perpetrators of this violence. The violence takes the form of beating, corporal punishment and bullying. It is important to bear in mind that most children are at the risk of repeated victimisation as this is often seen as an acceptable way to discipline children. Another important finding is that children rarely report such cases, partly because they may also see it as normal and also for fear of further victimisation. As such, these issues come into the fore only in extreme circumstances. The respondents noted that drug and alcohol abuse by parents and poor parenting were to blame. It was evident that this is a neglected area even though some NGOs such as the Mid-Rift Human Rights network are working to raise awareness across the county on this type of violence. The study also noted that the traditional state response of rescuing victims from the parents and prosecuting the parents may not be effective as the children may not want to be separated from their parents.

Recommendations for programmatic interventions:

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

iii Violent crime

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

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

Recommendations for programmatic interventions:

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

iv Police violence

Similarly, to the national level picture, police excesses and violence were found to be prevalent in Nakuru County.¹²³ Our respondents noted that the police often intimidate and extort money from matatu operators¹²⁴, businessmen and hawkers. Some of the respondents, especially from Kaptembwo and Bondeni in Nakuru municipality, noted that the police collude with criminals. 40 % of the respondents to the household survey indicated that the police use unnecessary violence/force when responding to incidents of violence.

The study found that local NGOs have been active in campaigning against police violence for a long time within the county. These institutions have a high level of trust in the community. It was noted that some of these NGOs, such as the Mid-Rift Human Rights Network, has helped people know about police work and their rights vis-à-vis the police. Respondents noted that these kinds of trainings have resulted in reduction of police violence and brutality in the dealings with citizens.

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

Recommendations:

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

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

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

v Political and ethnic violence

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

The respondents noted that several NGOs, such as Mercy Corps, USAID, Peace Caravan and Faith Based Organisations such as the NCKK have played a major role in reducing instances of political and ethnic violence in Molo by collaborating with community leaders to foster peace and harmony. They noted Peace Circles, organised by the Catholic Church in Bondeni to promote peace, where small groups of about twenty people to discuss matters of peace and social cohesion as effective. Though they didn't speak much of state level interventions. They noted the use of civic education through Barazas to promote understanding and tolerance carried out by Ward administrators. Some also acknowledged the existence of Peace Committees but complained that these lacked sufficient support from the Government. Peace Committees are reportedly more effective in rural areas than urban; and they are said to work closely with CSOs and churches in identifying and planning interventions. These include peace related events, dialogues and mediation between rival communities, business groups and families involved in violence¹²⁵.

Recommendations for dealing with this type of violence:

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

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

vi Intersectoral violence prevention

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

Participation and Norm change on how to prevent violence perpetration from happening and reducing risk factors for people becoming perpetrators, by participation and change of norms.

Trust-building between police and community, as recommended by the World Bank.

Leadership development for intersectoral coalition building should be strengthened.

Forward looking we see a need for more studies and research into data on perpetrators as opposed to victim-based.

4. References

- ACLED. (2013). Country Report: Kenya. Armed Conflict Location & Event Dataset, December, 1.
- Akech, M. (2005). "Public Law Values and the Politics of Criminal (In) Justice: Creating a Democratic Framework for Policing in Kenya", *Oxford University Commonwealth Law Journal*, 225-256.
- Alice. 2009. "Policing in Kenya: A Selective Service." Chap. 11 in *Policing Developing Democracies*, by M S Hinton and T Newburn.
- Amnesty International. (2015). *The State of the World's Human Rights: Report 2014/15*.
- Anderson, D. (2014). Vigilantes, Violence and the Politics of Public Order in Kenya, *African Affairs*, Auyero, J., de Lara, A. B., & Berti, M. *Violence and the State at the Urban Margins*.
- Anderson, D M. 2002. "Vigilantes, violence and the politics of public order in Kenya'." *African Affairs* 101 (405): 531-555.
- Baker, B. 2009. Multi-Choice Policing in Africa, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 47:01, 154-155.
- Baker, B. (2006). "Beyond the State Police in Urban Uganda and Sierra Leone." *Africa Spectrum*, 41(1), 55-76.
- Baker, B. (2004). Protection from crime: What is on offer for Africans." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 22(2): 165-188. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 43(1), 94 - 116.
- Fajnzylber, P., Lederman, D. & Loayza, N. (2002) 'Inequality and Violent Crime', *Journal of Law and Economics*, XLV (April), pp. 1-40.
- Hillier, D. (2007) 'Africa's Missing Billions: International arms flows and the cost of conflict', Oxfam briefing paper, <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/africas-missing-billions-international-arms-flows-and-the-cost-of-conflict-123908>
- Hornberger, J. (2013). "From General to Commissioner to General: On the Popular State of Policing in South Africa." *Law and Social Inquiry*, 38(1), 598–614.
- Human Rights Watch. (2015). *World Report : Events of 2014*.
- IMLU (2017). Extra- Judicial Executions Full Report. Independent Medico-Legal Unit, Nairobi.
- IMLU (2016). Extra- Judicial Executions Full Report. Independent Medico-Legal Unit, Nairobi.
- IMLU (2015). Extra- Judicial Executions Full Report. Independent Medico-Legal Unit, Nairobi.
- IPOA. (2013). Baseline Survey on Policing Standards and Gaps in Kenya. Independent Policing Oversight Authority, Nairobi, PP. 13-20.

Owen, O., & Cooper Knock, S. (2015). "Between vigilantism and bureaucracy: Improving our understanding of police work in Nigeria and South Africa." *Theoretical Criminology*, 19(3), pp. 355-375.

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

Kagwanja P. (2003). "Facing Mount Kenya or facing Mecca? The Mungiki, political and ethnic violence and the politics of the Moi succession in Kenya, 1987–2002." *African Affairs*, 102(406), 25–49.

Katumanga, M. (2005). "A city under Siege: banditry & modes of accumulation in Nairobi, 1991-2004." *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(106): 505-520.

KDH. (2014). *Demographic and Health Survey*. Kenya Demographic and Health Survey. 291-322.

KNBS. (2016). *Statistical Abstract 1.0.0*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi.

KNCHR. (2015). *The Error of Fighting Terror with Terror*. Kenya National Commission of Human Rights, pp. 3.

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

Lemanski, C. (2012). "Everyday Human (in)Security: Rescaling the Southern City." *Security Dialogue*, 43(1), 61-78.

McEvoy, C. (2012). *Battering, Rape, and Lethal Violence – A Baseline of Information on Physical Threats against Women in Nairobi*. Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (GIAL), Working Paper, No. 13.

McKee, R. (2013). *Lynchings in modern Kenya and inequitable access to basic resources: A major human rights scandal and one contributing cause*. Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics & College of International Studies (GIAL), Special Electronic Publications, pp 1.

McIlwane, C. (1999). *Geography and Development: Violence and Crime as development issues*, *Progress in Human Geography*, 23(3), pp: 453-463.

Moser, C. (2004) 'Urban violence and insecurity: an introductory roadmap', *Environment and Urbanization* Vol 16, No 2, pp. 3–16.

Moser, C. & McIlwane, C. (2006). *Latin American Urban Violence as Development Concern: Towards a Framework for Violence Reduction*. *World Development*, 34(1), pp.89-112.

Muggah R. (2012) *Urban Resilience in Situations of Chronic Violence: Case Study of Nairobi, Kenya*, Center for International Studies.

Mwangi, J. 2013. "Administration and Supervision in early Childhood Education." Centre for Open and Distance Learning, Vol 1.

NCRC. 2013. Organized Crime Profiling. National Research Centre. 23 -25.

NPS. (2015). Crime Situation Report. National Police Service (Nairobi: Government Printers), p 8.

Okoth et al. (2014). "Services provided to households enrolled on orphans and vulnerable children intervention programmes in Kisumu County, Kenya. " *Global Journal of Human Social Science, Arts & Humanities Psychology*, 14(9), pp. 1-9.

Oucho, J. (2002). *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya*. Leiden: Brill, 100-146.

Owen, Olly, and Sarah Jane Cooper-Knock. 2014. "Between Vigilantism and bureaucracy: Improving our understanding of police work in Nigeria and South Africa." *Theoretical Criminology*, 1-21.

Rasmussen, J. (2013). *The chameleon and the mugumo tree: the politics of the Kenyan Mungiki movement*. Roskilde Universitet.

RCSA (2015). *A Report of Analysis on Armed Crimes in East Africa Community Countries : Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda*. Regional Centre on Small Arms, pp 9.

Republic of Kenya. (2008). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence*. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Republic of Kenya. (1999). *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Republic of Kenya. (1992). *Report of the National Assembly's Select Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and other Parts of Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Ruteere, M., & Pommerolle, M. (2003). Democratizing Security or Democratizing Repression ? The Ambiguities of Community Policing in Kenya. *African Affairs*, 102, 587-604.

Ruteere, M. (2008). *Dilemmas of Crime, Human Rights and the Politics of Mungiki Violence in Kenya*. Kenya Human Rights Institute.

Stewart, F. (2008) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding Group Conflict in Multiethnic Societies*, Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Syanda, J., & Ndeti, D. et al. 2007. "Bullying in Public Secondary Schools in Nairobi, Kenya." *Journal of child and adolescent mental health*, 19(1), 45-55.

Tankebe, J. (2009). "Self-Help, Policing, and Procedural Justice: Ghanaian Vigilantism and the Rule of Law." *Law & Society Review*, 43 (2): 245-270. Vol. 101, No. 405 (Oct., 2002), pp. 531-555.

UNICEF. (2010). *Violence Against Children in Kenya: Findings from a 2010 National Survey*. United Nations Children's Fund.

UNODC & KIPPRA. (2010). Victimization Survey in Kenya. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 4.

Wairuri, S K. (2015). 'Thieves should not live amongst people: Popular support for police violence in Nairobi.' Unpublished dissertation. University of Oxford.

Winton, A. (2004) 'Urban violence: a guide to the literature', *Environment and Urbanization*, 16(2).

World Bank. 2011. *Violence in the City: Understanding and Supporting Community Responses to Urban Violence*



Midrift Human Rights Network
www.midrifthurinet.org



Danida
www.um.dk/da/danida



CHRIPS - The Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies
www.chrips.or.ke



DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture, Denmark;
www.dignityinstitute.org