Pamoja
for Transformation
Building Peace & Development Opportunities

PROMOTING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE TOWARDS PEACEFUL ELECTIONS

END TERM EVALUATION

KENYA|MARCH - OCTOBER 2022

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
DPC	District Peace Committee
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
KIIs	Key Informants Interviews
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
MSCS	Most Significant Change Stories
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
LICODEP	Likoni Community Development Programme
PCR	Promoting Community Resilience
OH	Outcome Harvesting
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

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Executive Summary

Every electoral cycle in Kenya is marked by widespread fear and suspicion on security, electoral integrity, underlying community prejudices and overall discontent with the management of election outcomes. Save for the August 2022 elections which saw a marked decrease in reported cases of electoral related incidences of violence and killings, Kenya has experienced recurrent community-based (tribal) animosity from 1997-2017. Consequently, and in partnership with the donor community and members of its network, Pamoja for Transformation developed and executed the **Promoting Community Resilience Towards Peaceful Elections (PCR)** project. The 8-month project was steered by a network of grassroot-level peace champions in our network including state and non-state actors, like minded CSOs, security operators, cross border Boda Boda peace champions' network. Through continuous community engagements, focus groups and interventions, the project set out to foster peace and security, and the reduction of violence (reported and unreported) in the run-up to the 2022 general elections, and the period after. This evaluation assessed the extent to which the project objectives and expected outcomes were achieved and documents best practices and lessons learnt to inform future initiatives.

To effectively evaluate and review the successes (or failures) of the different aspects of the project's focus areas, the evaluation deployed qualitative techniques mainly literature review, key informants' interviews and focus group discussions. In addition, the outcome harvesting technique was used to assess the project's specific contribution to the observed outcomes.

The evaluation exercise found the PCR project as one whose objectives were in harmony with community, CSO's, County and National government needs and expectations for safety and peaceful coexistence. The project embedded civil approaches, multi-stakeholder forums, gender inclusion and other range of fit-for purpose methodologies to strengthen the peace before, during and after Kenya's 2022 general elections. Through the different activities, the PCR project did indeed advance tolerance to diversity and enhanced the resilience of the communities especially the youth against social, economic and political pressures by reducing their susceptibility to political manipulation, marginalization and vulnerability to crime. Moreover, the evaluation found out that the project enhanced community-level peace and security structures' capacity to share timely and useful Early Warning Early Response (EWER) information in partnership with Peace volunteers, CSOs and National Government Administration Officers for Early Response. Across regions and communities, an increased sense of awareness and participation in peace campaigns, forums and initiatives was evident. Evidence gathered shows improved participation by youths and other participants in maintaining peace and security in the project areas, violence reduction related to electoral process, and improved confidence in engagements with various government agencies and other duty bearers. This has led to the emergence of more influential and respected peace champions and peace actors as well as mindset shifts on public participation at the local level. The creative use of sports and theatrical art, IEC materials, radio talk shows, community-level election security dialogue fora, trainings on leadership, governance and electoral processes opened up spaces for collaborations and positioned Pamoja and peace actors and volunteers as credible actors and interlocutors for peace and security. There was 'spill-over' of the peace and security activities beyond the 4 target sub-counties in due to increased collaboration and partnership among the peace ambassadors and volunteers.

"Strengthened evidence-based engagements has resulted in increased youth and other peace actors' participation to positively contribute to peace security before, during and after the 2022 general election in the project target areas of Kisumu Central, Muhoroni, Kisauni, and Likoni Sub Counties."

The second project outcome of reducing electoral violence in target project areas was also greatly achieved, drawing from participant responses during the evaluation process. Its efficiency objectives are mixed. On one hand, its embedded design, collaborations and work with local networks leveraged resources and various expertise for its execution.

The PCR project was found to be a relevant and timely initiative which was also in line with the GIZ CPS Joint Strategy for implementing Agencies 2019-2023 (TLS) which identifies peace-building needs: enhancing positive understanding, recognition of diversity in communities, increasing accountability in leadership. The project's sustainability objectives are supported by its design, local presence and collaborations nurtured over its eight-month duration. The skills and knowledge acquired by the peace ambassadors, volunteers, journalists, state actors, domiciled in the targeted and non-targeted Sub Counties will support the continuity of peace and security efforts. Further, the presence of peace committees that have the buy-in of the government at the local and regional levels will ensure that the peace and security issues are addressed and tackled appropriately even when it's not an electioneering season in Kenya.

The PCR project has broader relevance and application across all 47 counties of Kenya. However, in its recent cycle, the project only targeted four Sub Counties in 2 Counties – Mombasa and Kisumu. A scale-up would be a crucial step in ensuring that the peace and security efforts translate to tangible and improved peaceful coexistence of people before, during and after the enduring contestations that mark every election cycle in Kenya.

Post-Evaluation Recommendations

Inclusivity | Youth & PWDs

There is a need for an increased inclusion of youth and PWDs in PCR-like projects. Typically, marginalized groups like; youths, juveniles who dropped out of school, persons living with disabilities, informally employed youth at risk like cane loaders ('Bandaa') in Muhoroni, could be dependable assets to the cause.

Curriculum Design

As a key element of national building, cohesion, tolerance and cross-cultural awareness should be entrenched in the ongoing curriculum review. These national ethics, and values, if taught in schools early enough, will imprint and integrate peace matters into the learner's intellectual blueprint.

Longer-term Projects

Community stereotypes and prejudices that influence peace and security need sufficient time to demystify and deflate. As such, longer term projects of upto 2 years before or after the election would be preferred to deeply ingrain the campaign messaging and spur wider spill-over impacts.

Sport & Art Incorporation

There is a need in the future to espouse the less popular sporting activities like martial-arts, boxing, indoor games, weight lifting which are gaining prominence among various youth segments in the peace campaigns. Sport and art are a vital avenue to offload a decompress.

Rehabilitation & Inclusion

Reformed offenders and delinquents should be identified and approached in the future design and implementation of such project initiatives as success stories/ ambassadors of change. This will go a long way in fostering better and more harmonious communities.

Collaborations

To combat thematic overlaps in areas of focus or implementation, it is important for CSOs, CBOs and other related parties to advance their partnerships and collaborations to ensure adequate resource dispensation, and messaging & impact reach within common areas of thematic interest.

Combating Substance Abuse

Drugs & substance abuse remains a rampant vice that further impedes the prospects of achieving successful peace and security outcomes in focus areas. A project specific to this theme, with a view of having a summative effect to broader peace and security goals is recommended, especially in endemic areas.

Extended Reach

There is a need for Pamoja to set up more satellite offices to increase outreach activities and reduce the transport and coordination costs in future outreach activities.

"Underneath the 'national pride' and popularity that comes with sporting excellence in rugby and athletics, Kenya bears deeply embedded divisions that come to the fore during every 5-year election cycle. The unemployed youth are the most vulnerable to radicalization and false indoctrination that breeds tribal animosity and adverse cultural relations across communities in Kenya"

Source: Topeas Okere | Pexels.com

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background Information

1.1.1 Pamoja For Transformation

Established in 2009, Pamoja for Transformation is a national Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) registered in Kenya as a Trust. The organization envisions a peaceful, just and prosperous society. Pamoja for Transformation serves communities affected by conflict with resources and tools to move from crisis and poverty to peace and development. It seeks to contribute to resolving structural and latent conflicts that commonly arise from weak governance systems, historical injustices, ethno-politics and economic inequalities. To this end, it has adopted an integrated approach to development that combines peace building, participatory governance and economic development strategies to attain sustainable change.

Pamoja for transformation main strategic intervention sectors include

- Skills & Enterprise Development;
- Governance, Conflict Transformation and Cohesion;
- Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation.

So far more than 15,993 women, men, and young people participated in Pamoja for Transformation programs.

1.1.2 The Electoral Landscape in Kenya

Being one of the more maturing democracies in Africa, Kenya's election cycle received increased attention every five years[1]. This is owing to its geopolitical positioning in Africa, and the implications of potential regional and economic instability that may result from any widespread breakouts of violence in the country[2].

Across the country, within and between communities, maintaining popular trust and confidence in the electoral management bodies and related institutions is vital to fostering the integrity and legitimacy of electoral outcomes[3]. Equally important is the responsible management of the social capital held by political leaders who spark incidences of violence through harmful political rhetoric[4]. Failures in establishing dependable institutions since independence, and the continuous casting of aspersions on newly formed institutions post-2010-constitution breeds a sense of mistrust both in institutions and between communities[5]. Such a scenario is a simmering pot that is incapable of promoting social cohesion and cooperation among divided communities in Kenya.

Consequently, this formed the basis for a strategic approach to the analysis, detection, prevention and response to any and all factors that may lead to any animosity between communities in Kenya.

1.2 About the PCR Project

Pamoja designed and implemented a peace and governance project targeting the youth including youth at risk and peace stakeholders from the Civil Society Organizations, Government, and community level actors. The project was to create awareness and build strong capacities for participation in peaceful and just elections in 2022. This engagement strengthened the existing early warning and early response systems, and experiences gathered in the two counties would help towards the development of institutionalized EWER coordination/ policy framework for the County Governments to enhance coordination of peace processes and participation at the County level. Pamoja worked with community mentors who led in monitoring context by use of early warning systems. The community peace mentors worked with the target participants and peace champions to promote post- activity follow-ups and provided linkage with existing peace structures and state actors and coordinated the collection of conflict alerts, verification and early response. Pamoja also leveraged on the gains made in the previous GIZ-CPS supported projects and worked with the trained community peace champions in the target areas. The peace champions acted as a link to other youths who were included in trainings and community level outreaches. The project was implemented in Kisumu Central and Muhoroni Sub counties in Kisumu County and Likoni and Kisauni Sub counties in Mombasa County.

Pamoja provided logistical and technical support, capacity strengthening & technical support, to peace champions, networks, state and non-state actors, like-minded CSOs, security operators, and cross border Boda Boda peace champions' network in Mombasa and Kisumu Counties. The activities spearheaded by Pamoja aimed at increasing tolerance to diversity and enhancing the resilience of the communities especially the youth against social, economic, cultural and political pressures by reducing their susceptibility to political manipulation, marginalisation, and vulnerability to crime. Consequently, community-level peace

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1   Opalo, K.O. (2012). African Elections: Two Divergent Trends. Journal of Democracy 23(3), 80-93. doi:10.1353/jod.2012.0039.
2   Ndonye, M. M. (2019). Emergence of ethnopolitical journalism in Kenya: lessons from the 2017 televised political analyses shows. Editon Consortium Journal of Media and Communication Studies, 1(1), 36-51.
3   Erlich, A., & Kerr, N. (2016). 'The local mwananchi has lost trust': design, transition and legitimacy in Kenyan election management. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 54(4), 671-702.
4   Mueller, S. D. (2011). Dying to win: Elections, political violence, and institutional decay in Kenya. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 29(1), 99-117.
5   Cheeseman, N., Lynch, G., & Willis, J. (2014). Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections. Journal of Eastern African Studies, 8(1), 2-24.

and security structures' capacity to share timely and useful of Early Warning Information were enhanced, and linkage with National and County security apparatus strengthened for Early Response.

The project worked with peace champion networks, state and non-state actors, like-minded CSOs, security operators, cross-border Boda Boda peace champions' network advocates and policymakers across four Sub Counties: Kisumu Central, Muhoroni, Likoni and Kisauni.

2.0 Evaluation Methodology

The end-term evaluation was a participatory approach, ensuring the engagement of all the project's key stakeholders. Inception meeting was duly held with Pamoja for Transformation to clarify the terms of reference as well as the modalities of work for the effective delivery of the evaluation. OECD criteria (Relevance, Effectiveness & Impact, Efficiency, Sustainability, Challenges, Recommendations/Opportunities) provided the overall framing of the evaluation as per the terms of reference[6].

The above method of evaluation assures consistency and high-quality analysis of the data and information gathered in the field. We will apply both principle one and two to the criteria thoughtfully and non-mechanically to produce well evaluated data from the project at hand.

 A simplified illustration of this criteria is shown below.

This end-of-project evaluation drew significantly from the data and information gathered during the recent field documentation of PCR's project achievements using the outcome Harvesting technique[7].

To assess performance, the evaluation tracked the results chain using indicators such as:

- Qualitative and quantitative factors that allow results measurement.
- Reliable signs that prove change happened.

2.1 Methods and Tools

This evaluation relied on literature review, Focus Group Discussions and key informant's interviews (KIIs) to bridge data and information gaps. Key informants' interviews were administered via face-to-face sessions. Convenience and purposive sampling techniques were used to select respondents guided by the ToR as well as the data gaps from the evaluation process. Table 1 shows the distribution of respondents while tools used and the respondents for KIIs and FGDs are in Annex 2.

Table 1: Summary of sample

Methods	Total	Kisumu Central	Muhoroni	Likoni	Kisauni
KII	13	2	4	4	3
FGD	4	1	1	1	1

KII- The qualitative method of research involved in-depth interviews of a select number of people (14) with project-based knowledge for data collection.

FGD - The topic of interest led us to a group of people with share the relevant experience to allow us first hand knowledge of the project.

6   https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/evaluation-criteria-flyer-2020.pdf
7   Wilson-Grau & Britt, 2013. Outcome Harvesting. Ford Foundation 2012.

2.2 Evaluation Focus Areas

1. Kisumu County

- Kisumu Central Sub County
- Muhoroni Sub County
- Tinderet Sub County (Spillover)

2. Mombasa County

- Likoni Sub County
- Kisauni Sub County
- Nyali Sub County
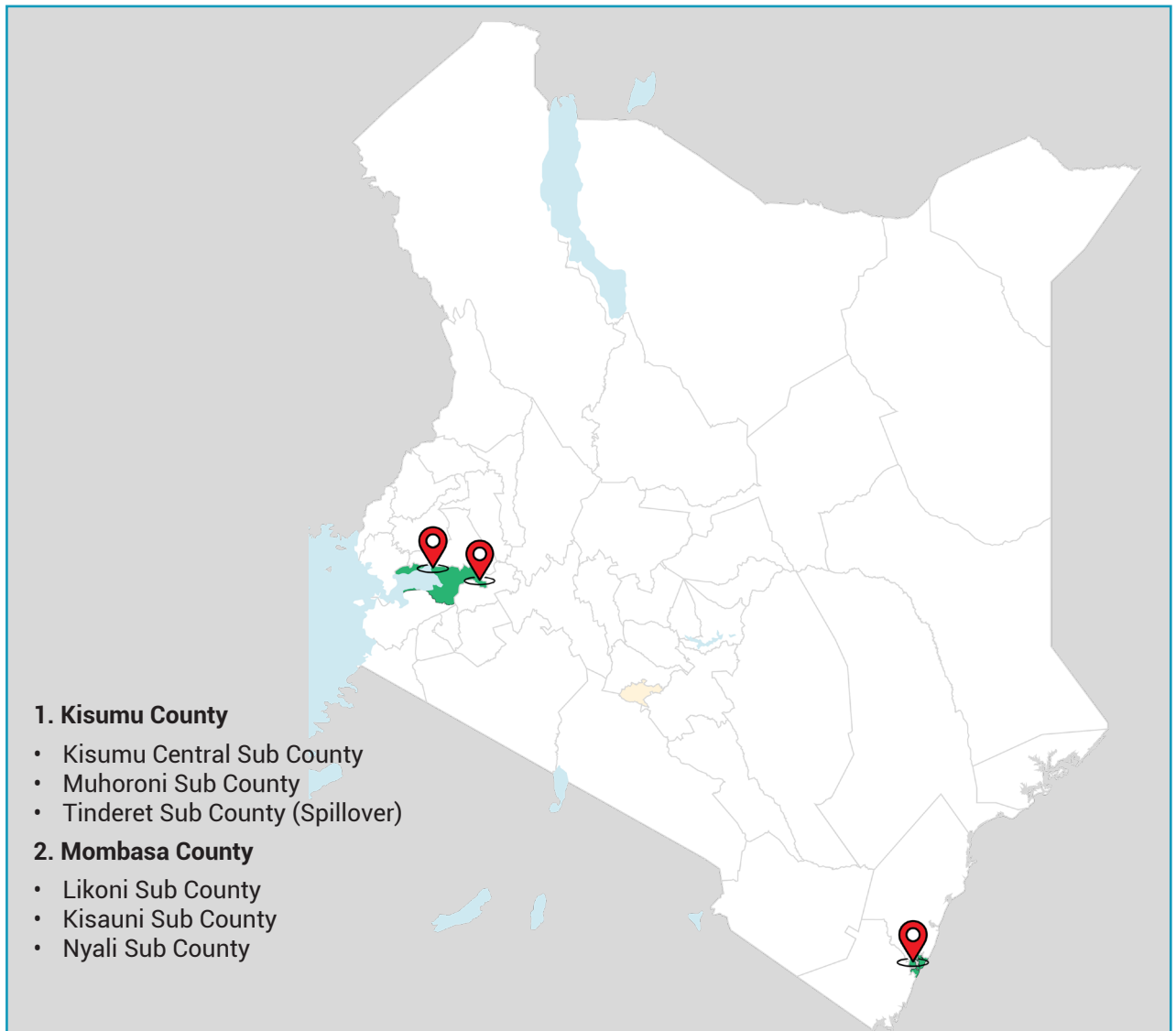
2.3 Limitations of the Project

The project was conceived to support peace actors including peace volunteers/champions, CSOs, state actors and other special interest groups like Youth, in embedding peace and security aspects in the 2022 electioneering season. In the circumstance, the evaluation documented outcomes that were realized within the duration of the project including those whose implementation began long before the project itself started. An important aspect was understanding and showing PCR project-specific contribution and its significance. The planning of numerous peace and security-related activities by Pamoja and Peace actors took place in a limited time of about eight months in an environment where politics took center stage with a lot of pressures and rallies. This affected the overall delivery of the project in terms of outreach and coverage.

3.0 Evaluation Findings

3.1 Project's Relevance

The promulgation of Kenya's new constitution of 2010 came with new changes and amendments to the old constitution with segments of social, economic and political landscape being shaped. The outstanding change has been the five-year cyclic general elections of various elective positions both in the national and county governments. Despite the great strides and amendments done to Kenya's constitution, seasoned political violence pegged to elections has been observed in various regions of Kenya and Kenya being labelled the 'hot spots for political violence'. Coastal and Nyanza regions have made headlines of elections related violence for the last four general elections which is currently managed by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission. Promoting Community resilience towards a peaceful election by Pamoja with focus in Kisumu and Mombasa counties is commendable for emulation by other peace actors in Kenya and across Africa region.

Peace and security before, during and after Kenya's general elections of 2022 was a priority intervention thematic area that Pamoja and its peace ambassadors and volunteers focused on due to the previous cycles of violence in the project locations, stemming from party nominations to the General Elections. Peace and elections therefore illuminate the first relevance of the Pamoja Initiative to the project areas of Kisumu and Mombasa County. The peace and security activities by Pamoja and peace ambassadors were aimed at increasing tolerance to diversity and enhancing the resilience of the communities especially the youth against social, economic and political and cultural pressures by reducing their susceptibility to political manipulation, marginalization, and vulnerability to crime and politically instigated violence.

"The main objective of this project was peace. We did not want anything to do with politics. If I remember well, we had a meeting before elections and during the meeting, we were preaching and advocating for peace"

John Thoya Hari, Village Elder from FrereTown Ward, Kisauni-Nyali Sub County

As per Kenya's 2019 National Census spearheaded by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Kenya has over 40 tribes. The tribal aspect has been a factor in Kenya general elections with the electorates partly voting basing on tribe of the leader. Election related violence before during and after Kenya's general elections has been reported to cross-border communities who support different political parties and are also from different communities. The project came in handy to address the peaceful coexistence of cross-border communities of Muhoroni and Tinderet of the Luo and Nandi tribes respectively with the Kopere town center being the apex town for the peace initiatives.

"We are at the border and we have two communities and that has been a conflict issue – there is violence, stealing of property so the first thing we addressed is living in peace and harmony as two different communities. During our engagements and meetings, we had many interactions with each other but the main goal was to have a good relationship of the Luo and Kalenjin"

Boda Boda Representative from Kopere Town – FGD in Muhoroni

Kenya's youth of age 18-35 have been pivotal players in the general election. As per the 2022 general election, youth accounted for at least 40% of the registered voters. According to Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission voter register of 2017, Mombasa County had 580,223 registered voters while Kisumu County

youth voters aged 18-35 years for the two counties was estimated at 51% . In 2013, a Peacework Study collaboratively done by United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and its partners: the Constitution Reform and Education Consortium (CRECO) and the Interparty Youth Forum (IPYF) as on of the findings noted that youth at risk with the case of Boda Boda (motorbikes) were reportedly used to disperse hate leaflets before and during election time in 2013 whilst making exclusionary and inciting statements[8]. The ever-changing and branding of political camps in Kenya for the last four general elections have taken advantage of the youth for their political mileage Pamoja together with other peace actors ensured that the youth at risk in the two counties were reached out for the peace work.

> *"Most of the target groups that I was involved in working with were the youths and the Boda Boda people. Because when you talk about matters of peace or issues that bring a lot of resistance in the community, the youths and Boda Boda people being used a lot"*

Male Peace Champion – Kisumu Central

Reduction of violence across Kenya Country is primarily pegged to the Government of Kenya Security and other institutions. The action of reducing violence before, during and after elections cannot be fully achieved by the Government of Kenya alone. There was need to have peace actors like those in civic and Pamoja was no exemption.

> *"One of the issues we were addressing was peace and how our area of Likoni has had history of violence during the election period. So, we were trained on ways we can prevent post-election violence which leads to death and destruction of property"*

Youth Peace Champion from Manyatta Area – FGD Kisumu Central

In any political contest, there must be losers and winners. There was bitter political rivalry between Kenya Kwanza and Azimio political factions. Pamoja working with the peace champions and volunteers through the civic education forums stressed the importance of resilience both for the political leaders and their supporters.

> *"We also stressed the importance of resilience because there are winners and losers in elections but life has to move forward; so we urged them to exercise peace if their candidates loses and to accept rather than incite violence. So we tried to bring that cohesion and resilience. There was so much tension and resilience. There was so much tension between the UDA AND ODM supporters in Mombasa County. So we tried to urge the people to accept the outcomes of the elections"*

Female Youth Champion from Shika Adabu Area – FGD Likoni

Kishindo Alib Bamama, Youth Peace Champion, Shika Adabu Area, Likoni Sub County.

Conclusively, this evaluation reveals the Pamoja – Promoting Community Resilience Towards Peaceful elections Project – as a timely and unique initiative that sought to challenge the conventional way for advocating peace in community towards the elections in Kenya. It ushered in the critical targeted outreach approach to youth at risk and other peace actors and addressed the importance of resilience in prevention of the post-election violence by use of: Early Warning Mechanism, civic education, training of peace actors

8   https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW101-Elections-and-Violent-Conflict-in-Kenya-Making-Prevention-Stick.pdf

and volunteers, mapping out of perceived hot spot areas. Evidence gathered reinforces the initiative as relevant and key pillar in realization of youth peace and violence prevention during the general election periods in Kenya and partnership of other peace actors in a multi-stakeholder approach.

3.2 Efficiency

The efficiency of the project was assessed against timeliness in the delivery and completion of planned activities and outputs, cost-effectiveness in the design of operations as well as networking and collaborations with various peace actors.

This evaluation finds that the design and delivery of the PCR project hinged both on existing Pamoja networks and new peace actors. The existing Pamoja networks included members who have previously engaged Pamoja in other projects. New members who showed interest in the PCR project were competitively selected after training and online applications. Various channels were used to select the Pamoja representatives like WhatsApp invite, online and email application and training.

> *"We were sensitized on peace and safety through a one day dialogue sessions. We enjoyed it. We were told how to create awareness to more people, how to mobilize them to sustain peace. After that they took our numbers and I was selected to participate in the peace project."*

Business Lady, Kopere Town, Muhoroni

> *"I got a WhatsApp invite. The advertisement was captured by one of my friend and it was shared with him by a friend through WhatsApp. Fortunately, I applied online because it was an application done online and then sent via email."*

Male Peace Champion, Obunga Area – Kisumu Central

"Youth are the people put on the frontline. They're the ones who start the demonstrations and again violence, so they're always at risk"

Daniel Odongo Ayieko, Peace Champion for Manyatta and Malenga Area, Kisumu Central Sub County.

Pamoja applied the lean structure of at the secretariat level whilst investing more in the local capacity for peace initiatives. At the local level in the project areas, Pamoja harnessed its peace initiative by the use of existing structures such as dialogue forums, youth Barazas, after prayers in church and mosque platforms. The duty bearers like the Chiefs, youth leaders, village elders (Wazee wa mtaa) were instrumental and supported the peace initiatives. The support and engagement with the duty bearers came at little or no additional cost to the program. Pamoja leveraged on existing partnerships and collaborations which led to cost effectiveness of operations which led to cost effectiveness of operation. Pamoja team leveraged on use of tools and resources like Onion Tool and Tree Tool during the training to participants which were strategically applied in the peace initiatives in the two project areas: Kisumu and Mombasa Counties.

> *"The best strategy was the application of tools that we were given to use. We were trained and given different tools to use. And through these tools, we could get what we wanted from the people we worked with or the target groups that we worked with – the Onion Tool and the Tree Tool. So these tools made it work well."*

Male Peace Champion, Manyatta Area – Kisumu Central

By its design, PCR project sought to strengthen the effectiveness of women participation in peace initiatives.

Gender equality and diversity was entrenched in the project because in the case of political violence and crime both women and men were affected. Pamoja team ensured that gender participation was espoused in the trainings, meetings and outreach activities. However, participants interviewed in Kisumu Central and Muhoroni sub counties raised an issue with gender inequality since women presence was less as compared to male counterparts. There was a need for Pamoja and the other peace actors to increase the participation of women in the peace activities.

> *"There were different groups and I would say that they were well represented – the village elders and the security team had a good mix of male and female; I from IEBC was female and my colleague from ORPP was also female and the Pamoja facilitators had a mix of different gender."*

Former Female IEBC voter Educator – Nyali/Kisauni Sub County

There was an increased collaboration from the Government of Kenya State and non- state actors. The IEBC collaborated with Pamoja in voter sensitization which was indeed in the attainment of peace and tranquility previously marled as 'hot spot' areas for elections violence. In Likoni Sub County there was increased participation of other security agencies like the Kenya Navy due to their proximity to the center. Through its representatives, they participated in local peace meetings in Likoni areas and at nightfall, they set out the army to help in night patrols. This was instrumental in violence reduction, an outcome envisaged for the project.

> *"I joined Pamoja because they came to my residence in Nyali, Frere Town ward and that is where they also conducted their meeting. Upon their arrival they wanted an employee from IEBC – and I was instructed by my boss to attend their awareness meetings. And that is how I came to work for Pamoja Organization."*

Former Female IEBC voter Educator – Nyali/Kisauni Sub County

The use of Radio talk shows was used as strategy to mainstream media to reach out to the masses in the target area. In Kisumu County, the use of Radio Nam Lolwe and Radio Lake Victoria were used in talk shows focusing on youth peace and violence reduction. As community Radio broadcasting in Luo language, the community radio stations not only held talk shows bit also covered the activities as news items. With an estimated average of 1.2 million listeners reached on daily basis this harnessed the peace initiatives of Pamoja and its peace actors.

"Radio Lake Victoria as a community-based Radio Station broadcasting in Luo Language with an outreach average of 1.2 million people in a single day. We have been able to work hand in hand with Pamoja for transformation for peace project. Our engagement was through news stories and talk shows."

Richard Omondi Oyoo, Radio Presenter – Radio Lake Victoria, Kisumu Central Sub County.

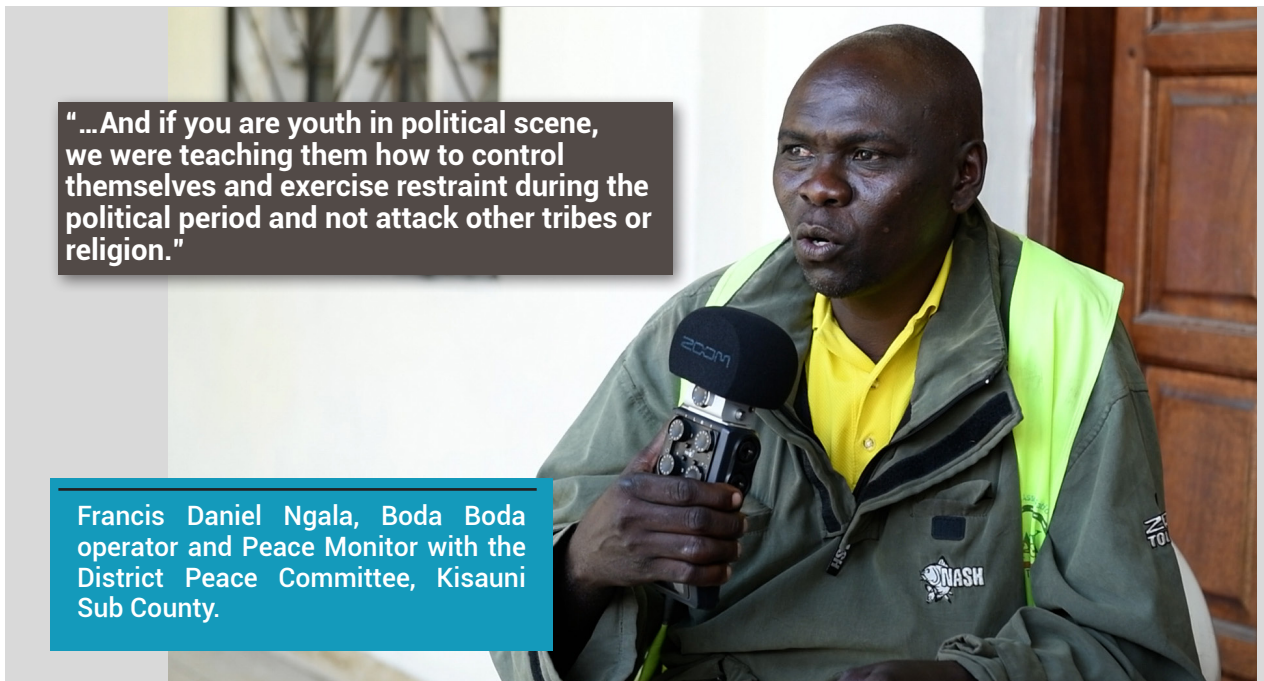## 3.3 Project Effectiveness and Impact

This section discusses the achievement and outcomes of the PCR project after the closure and its end-term evaluation. It is organized by the broad outcomes in project's monitoring and evaluation framework. Reference has also been made to some of the performance indicators in providing a better understanding of the performance indicators in providing a better understanding of the performance and the significance of observed outcomes. Reflections on project strategies are presented at the end of the section.

Outcome 1: Youth/participants will positively contribute to peace and security before, during and after 2022 elections in the project target areas.

Under this objective, Pamoja sought to build capacity of the peace champions, youth at risk, state actors, business persons and volunteers. Pamoja conducted 4 days trainings on leadership, governance and electoral processes that targeted youths, peace champions and volunteers both in Kisumu and Mombasa County. The trainings successfully conducted at the commencement of the project, equipped the participants with skills and tools for developing advocacy and training plans to cascade to their networks. In Mombasa County, the trained peace agents in Likoni, Kisauni and Nyali approached the targeted youths at risk category in their 'Maskani', 'Youth Bunges', 'Chief Baraza's' areas by use of transformative leadership, approaches and dialogues. Post-election violence prevention was also imparted to the trainees organized by Pamoja and LICODEP – a local CSO in Shika Adabu area of Likoni.

> *"One of the issues we were addressing was peace and how our area of Likoni has had a history of Violence during the election period. So we were trained on ways we can prevent post-election violence which leads to death and destruction of property."*

Village Elder from Mtongwe – Participant in Likoni FGD

"…And if you are youth in political scene, we were teaching them how to control themselves and exercise restraint during the political period and not attack other tribes or religion."

Francis Daniel Ngala, Boda Boda operator and Peace Monitor with the District Peace Committee, Kisauni Sub County.

The use of sporting activities and theatrical plays to educate and reach out to the target groups including youths at risk was used to spread peace messages before and after the 2022 general elections. The sporting events took the form of football and rope pulling. In Muhoroni and Tinderet as the cross boundary Counties, a football match was held in Kopere town centre which was organized by Pamoja and peace messages shared. In Shika Adabu area of Likoni Sub County a football match was organized by Pamoja and LICODEP. The recognition and use of theatrical plays by the peace ambassadors of Pamoja was used in harnessing peace both in Kisumu and Mombasa counties.

Henry Kiplagat Chumba, a Boda Boda Chairman from Potopoto area of Tinderet Sub County of Nandi County, is a member of cross border peace committee also works with Amani People's Theatre (APT) used acting to pass peace messages to the bordering communities of the Nandi and Luo.

In Kisauni and Nyali area, the peace team through a youth group called Safe Pwani collaborated and used a film called '*Ni Sisi*" to pass peace messages and it talked on good qualities of a leader.

> *"We used a film called Ni Sisi to pass peace messages. We were doing community screening of this film. We produced this film when we started our youth group and the youths are called Safe Pwani. So it talks about the qualities of good leader and how to determine a bad leader."*

Female Youth Champion – Kisauni/Nyali FGD

> *"The other way of tackling conflict was by organizing sporting events. We played football and some other games between the Nandi versus the Luo. We met and interacted well."*

Boda Boda Representative from Kopere Centre – Participant in Muhoroni FGD

There was involvement of the mainstream media for peace initiatives. In Kisumu County, Radio Namlolwe and Radio Lake Victoria supported the Pamoja PCR project through the radio talk shows and news items. In Chemilil area, one Pamoja peace champion – Geofrey Lagat was able to participate in peace cohesion talk shows in the Chem Chem TV station based in Tinderet Sub County, which borders Muhoroni Sub County.

Gender inclusivity and participation in the project were realized in both Mombasa and Kisumu Counties. Positive participation of women to peace and security was through Women Chamas (merry-go-round) and use of women's groups. The use of Women Chamas was detailed by Christabel Anyango, a business lady and Pamoja Peace Champion from Kopere town center which borders the Luo and Nandi communities in Muhoroni Sub County. Peace talks and initiatives were harnessed in the weekly women merry go around and weekly meetings in the women's groups.

In Likoni Sub County, Amina Juma, Pamoja woman peace champion and nick-named as Mama Sauti (Bold and Loud Lady) collaboratively harnessed the peace initiatives whilst ensuring that the gender concerns were in place through a movement called Sauti ya Wanawake – Pwani Shika Adabu Chapter as the gender advocate.

"Gender equality in our Boda Boda operators group was positive because they gave us room as women to sell our views. And before that, those guys never gave us the chance to talk - all of them were only talking about themselves and not even giving a lady or a woman a chance to speak. So that is what they were doing before."

Christabel Lynet Oyoo, Business Lady at Kopere Center, Muhoroni Sub County.

There was considerable change in management of youth at risk groups and also the local security apparatus. The trainings conducted by Pamoja which included types of leadership styles. In Kopere town centre, the Boda Boda which considerably has majority youth at risk had to change and re-organize the leadership structure after numerous meeting which are attributed to trainings from Pamoja by some of the members. The change in leadership increased discipline, communication and coordination before , during and after the 2022 general elections hence the observed peace and security in the area – Kopere town Centre.

"Next, we gathered Boda Boda operators from Kopere and we elected a new Chairman (Mr -Jorim – Pamoja Peace Champion), the secretary (Mr. Allan) and treasurer (Mr. Vincent – Pamoja Peace Champion). So we informed the Boda Boda operators from today you are allowed to do Boba Boda business as long as you don't incite violence"."

Boda Boda Representative – FGD in Muhoroni

In Kisauni, Mombasa County, the peace meeting involving various local peace actors led to the mapping out of hot spot zones and potential conflict. One incident prompted the District Peace Committee of Kisauni, which included a Pamoja-trained youth representative, to replace village elders for their laxity in not reporting on time incidences of violence and peace disruption before the 2022 general elections.

"There was a meeting that was held and included DPC, ACC, police officers and Chiefs. After discussions, we identified the potential conflict in these hot spot zones. So, ACCs and police officers started mapping out why these areas are marked hotspots. They came to realize that there are elders in these areas that are not accountable and hence do not report these incidences of conflict that happens in those areas. So DPC and his team conducted a series of Barazas in those areas and they replaced the elders in those areas who were not performing their roles."

Youth Representative in District Peace Committee -Frere Ward, Kisauni/Nyali

There was increased participation of various youth at risk groups in community policing and security in their local areas after attending Pamoja Peace meetings and training, In Frere Ward, various youth gangs came together after sharing a peace platform initiated by Pamoja Peace ambassadors. They agreed to work together and put aside their differences to maintain peace and security in the electioneering season of 2022, with community policing being one of the activities. An area in Frere Ward, that was previously called '*Vietnam*' (An area known for violence) was renamed to '*Vienna*' (A city of happiness).

"The youth gangs came together and ironed out their differences and promised to maintain peace in their communities. And also some went through Pamoja trainings – also youth from 'Vietnam' (An area known for violence) went through the training and now they are reformed and so they changed the area name to 'Vienna' (A city of Happiness). And youth from 'Vienna' were at the forefront of maintain peace in these communities."

Vincent Ouma, Youth Representative in District Peace Committee, Nyali Sub County.

Outcome 2: Reduced electoral violence in Likoni, Kisauni, Muhoroni and Kisumu Central Counties.

Over the last four Kenyan general elections, electoral violence has been witnessed before, during and after the elections across various regions of Kenya. Pamoja for Transformation in its project design chose the four Sub Counties of Likoni, Kisauni, Muhoroni and Kisumu Central due to the perceive of the label – 'hot spot' for election-related violence. In as much as the four sub counties were the target areas the peace initiatives, there was 'spill-over' of the activities to other neighbouring sub counties. Tinderet, sub county in Nandi County and borders Muhoroni Sub County had peace initiatives taking place in towns like Potopoto and Chepsweta. In Mombasa County, Nyali Sub County which borders Kisauni Sub County had numerous peace activities taking place in Frere and Shimo la Tewa Ward. The teams in Nyali and Kisauni jointly held peace activities together because of their proximity. The collaborative working of peace actors in the bordering Sub Counties was instrumental in reduced electoral violence attributed to peace initiatives initiated by the PCR project.

"So we later organized activities in partnership with Pamoja, some other forums like here in Chemilil we had others in Kopere Town; we had others in Miwani; we went towards those sides of Nyangore (the other side of Chepsweta – In Tinderet Sub county) because we wanted to go to the ground so that we actually achieve this issue of peace."

Boda Boda Youth Chairman from Tinderet Sub County – Participant in FGD in Muhoroni

The evaluation finding is that there was reduced electoral violence in the project areas which was greatly contributed by the numerous training, outreach activities and logistical support offered by Pamoja for the peace initiatives. The youth, peace mobilisers, volunteers and State and non-State actors outreach activities greatly led to the reduction of electoral violence before, during and after 2022 general elections.

"Pamoja Transformation has brought us good things in a short time. I can say that we now have peace that we didn't have before. In other elections after the outcome of presidential elections was determined, you could not set foot on either side of the border (Near Kopere town centre) but in 2022, we can go whenever we want. Its refreshing and we urge Pamoja to continue."

Boda Boda representative from Kopere Town Centre – Participant in Muhoroni FGD

"Previously, it was known that during elections a contingent of police force would be sent to Kisumu but this time around, there was no similar incident. Violence prevalence came down and not to the same magnitude that we had in past. I think the youth, churches and even political leaders themselves bought into the ides of promoting peace looking at the election as not an end to itself but a means to an end."

Youth Representative from Manyatta Area in Kisumu Central – Participant in Kisumu FGD

"When we approached the elections, this area was mapped as a hot spot. But through the engagements, that hot spot agenda did not work out because the election was peaceful so, Pamoja and other actors, what they have done has made this place to be peaceful."

Senior Chief -Chemilil Town

"We achieved our objective because after the elections, there were no issues or incidences of post election violence. Because everybody voted and went home. And even after the announcement of election outcome, people remained calm and continued with their work peacefully."

Former Female IEBC voter educator – Nyali/Kisauni

"I can say congrats on peaceful elections because Likoni was identified as a hot spot zone yet there was no single case of violence. I was also an observer and there was no case of violence – though there was disorder when money was distributed among the youth but we cannot call them violence."

Former Kenya Army Service man - Likoni

"One of the achievements is that the elections were conducted peacefully – there was no violence and I can say it's like the youths looked mature. They saw the importance of having peace because we told them to stop being taken advantage of by political aspirants."

Hilaria Mluli Farrar, Assistant Chief, FrereTown Sub Location, Nyali Sub County.

There was an observed continuation of economic, cultural and social activities in the project areas. The peace initiatives by Pamoja and Its ambassadors and volunteers led to little or no disruption on the business activities. The retail shops, the Boda Boda, agricultural activities were least affected and this is attributed to the peace and security in project areas. Socially, there was little or no movement or migration of people for fear of violence which was the norm in cross-boundary towns like Kopere which previously experienced mass migration. There were other notable continuations of social and cultural activities like the traditional Swahili wedding in the Coast region. The continuation of economic, social and cultural activities evidenced the reduction of electoral violence and is attributed to PCR project of Pamoja and its peace ambassadors and volunteers.

"I stay in Awasi which is a market in Kisumu County. So on the very, very fateful day of the announcement of the presidential outcome by IEBC, I was shocked because it is something that has never happened. The traders from the Kalenjin side bring a lot of foodstuff; we were with them together. And as the announcement went by they were saying – we did our part and voted and whoever wins will not even bring food to my doorstep. I'm here in the market to do business and I depend on you more than I will depend on the winner of the presidential outcome, and nothing happened."

Male Gender – Based Violence Desk Officer in Muhoroni, Participant in Chemilil FGD

"My biggest achievement was that we conducted peaceful elections and after three days some were even planning for their weddings and resumed normal operations as compared to previous elections, when people would relocate for fear of electoral violence."

Amina Juma (Mama Sauti), Women Peace Champion and Committee Member of Peace, Cohesion and Security in Likoni – Participant in the Likoni FGD

Peace mediation was a strategy used by some peace ambassadors and volunteers to prevent violence in the project areas. The mediation activities were either; youth to youth, youth gangs to youth gangs, youth and the community, youth gangs and the security/administration. The trained peace ambassadors attributed the mediation skills to the training and skills impacted by Pamoja which has been instrumental in the reduction of election violence in the project areas.

"That is why I was recognized to join Pamoja for Transformation to get the training and skills and teach my fellow youths who have been devastated by conflict or violence or drugs or substance abuse, But through the trainings offered by Pamoja for Transformation, I have been able to teach fellow youths how to live in peace and to mediate conflicts among themselves."

Youth Peace Champion, Shika Adabu – Likoni FGD

The conflict and early warning mechanism was a strategy that was applied by Pamoja and its peace actors. Various approaches were applied by various peace actors. First, the local and regional administrative units from the County Commissioner to the village elders have an existing Early Warning and Conflict prevention mechanism was collaboratively shared to Pamoja and its platform members for violence prevention. Boda Boda, as an instrumental group in the project, through their network members instrumentally alerted the administrative and security teams in case of any threat in electoral violence in their locality.

"Security as a Boda Boda in terms of Early warning for instance, if a place has been marked as a hot spot, we provided contact/information/numbers for the chiefs, OCS, County Commissioner and D.C. So any information that reaches me is also forwarded to them."

Boda Boda operator and peace monitor- Shimo La Tewa Area, FGD in Kisauni

Social media monitoring was used as tool for conflict, early warning and response for violence prevention by the peace actors. The various social media platforms gave lively online updates for activities that deemed a threat to peace before, during and after elections.

"Social media was used very well. It was one of the online activities that we conducted and through monitoring, we realized that people used various social media such as Twitter, WhatsApp and Facebook to pass both peaceful message and elections-related warnings. The early warning and early signs mechanism was used widely because it's a quick means of communicating in society."

Female Youth Champion from Kisauni, FGD Kisauni

Reformed Youths from youth gangs in Likoni were part of the PCR project and greatly played part in violence reduction by sharing information on any violence and security matters having got them from former gang members. The information was shared to the peace platform members of which Pamoja was instrumental in its creation hence the reduction of electoral violence incidences.

"So, we asked them to provide us with information on the situation in the community in terms of security matters. They told us youths gathered at night at certain places or politicians conducted secret gathering late in the night – so these were the early warning, And innocently, the youths were giving us what we wanted without knowing that is what we wanted. That is part of the early warning system we were using with the boys and they were part of the project for Pamoja for Transformation."

William Kurtz, Chairman of Peace, Cohesion and Security - Likoni Sub County

William Kurtz, Chairman of Peace, Cohesion and Security - Likoni Sub County.

3.4 Project's Sustainability

The sustainability of PCR project's initiatives and outcomes is supported by its design, ongoing work by the implementing partners and their network peace members as well as collaborations forged throughout its implementation.

The partnerships and relationships forged and nurtured with various level of government actors (Regional, County, Sub County and Local Areas) throughout the project are crucial for the continuity of projects advocacy and peace engagements. The projects downstream peace champions/volunteers worked closely with and got the buy in from government officials like County Commissioners, Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs, Police and Village Elders. The collaborative working and partnership will go a long way in sustaining the peace initiatives even when the projects come to closure. During the evaluation exercise the collaboration and cooperation of the government actors was exhibited by their comments during the face-to-face interviews conducted; Chemilil Town Senior Chief, Frere Ward Assistant Female Chief and Assistant Female OCS – Chemilil Police post.

A team of local administration and security officials during a post PCR community outreach, Muhoroni Sub County.

"We met for several meetings in the youth group offices and also the office of County Commissioner, we had several engagements and we went for peace caravan along the border, We started from Tinderet, along the highway, and preaching peace to the people, We finished our caravan in Migori along the Nandi border and Kericho Border."

Degla Cheptoo, Assistant OCS, Chemilil Police Post, Muhoroni Sub County.

The creation and created committees that were peace-oriented are useful in the eventual sustainability of peace in the various localities at which the project was implemented. The District Peace Committees, Peace, Cohesion & Security Committee which were at the local level in all the project areas and were socially inclusive in matters of gender, age groups and tribes' inclusion. The committee's composition of youth representatives, women, security personnel, administrative officers, and other special interest groups will go along way to project sustainability. The peace and security committees were and will in future be the cornerstone for the conflict, early warning and early response from various peace actors, not only in the project area but also replicated across the country – Kenya.

"Mostly as the peace committees, we addressed electoral violence, resilience and cohesion. Before election, there was a focus on Mombasa County because of the Youth Gangs. There

was a window for political candidates to use Juvenile gangs to cause destruction or election violence. So we as the District Peace Committee focused on the juvenile gangs."

Youth Representative in District Peace Committee, FGD Kisauni/ Nyali

The knowledge and skills imparted to the peace champions and volunteers will go along way on the creation of other peace initiatives. In Kisumu Central, Daniel Ayieko, a peace champion together with other peace members formed an initiative to harness peace among the youths and Boda Boda. Self-driven initiative accruing from training will go a long way in sustaining peace and reducing electoral-related violence.

"After the training, we formed an initiative and it was called 'Political Intolerance among the Boda Boda riders and the youth'. Basically, we were talking about this because we could see politics was taking very high chances and in fact, at a high speed."

Daniel Ayieko – Male Peace Champion, Kisumu Central

The interaction and knowledge of the peace champions and volunteers can further be sustained by the creation of more community-based organization that not only focus on peace-related issues but other important livelihood aspects empowerment projects and family related projects.

"Other livelihood programs can be introduced by Pamoja and peer organization for general improvement of the society."

Female Peace Champion in Frere Ward, FGD Nyali/Kisauni

Participants at a PCR training forum in Likoni Sub County, Kenya.

3.5 Challenges

- Unacceptance and rejection of reformed youths from outlawed and juvenile gangs back into their respective communities, especially in Kisauni and Likoni Sub Counties. Apart from rejection and unacceptance of the reformed youths and juveniles supported by Pamoja and the project actors, they also faced death threats from their previous outlawed gangs for the fear of sharing information with security personnel. The intervention of Pamoja and the state actors like the Likoni District Peace Committee resulted to no deaths by use of Early Warning Mechanism and mediation especially in Likoni and Kisauni Sub Counties.
- The planning of numerous peace and security-related activities by Pamoja and Peace actors took place in a limited time of about eight months in an environment where politics took center stage with a lot of pressures and rallies. This affected the overall delivery of the project in terms of outreach and coverage.
- Some youths involved in the project were involved in drugs and other substance abuse. The project advocated for abstinence from drugs and substance abuse. The peace ambassadors numerously received threats from drug peddlers with reported cases in Kondele-Kisumu Central, Likoni and Kisauni areas.
- The logistical support was not sufficient to cover the projects peace activities like training, outreach via sports, peace caravans, training materials and the IEC materials.
- Poor leadership and corruption was experienced in some peace actor groups like the Boda Boda group leadership in Kopere affected the peace initiatives.
- There was unequal women representation in some peace and political events and this impacted full participation of women in the project with terms like '*Yuko Jamna*' and '*Taasubi ya Kiume*' political rhetoric being used.
- The cattle rustling and theft in the cross-bordering areas of Tinderet and Muhoroni Sub Counties has been ongoing vice and the perpetrators used the political season to destabilize peace and security in the bordering communities of Luo and Nandi.
- The expectation of money handouts from participants attending peace meetings and likening it to political meetings affected the attendance and outreach activities of the project.

4.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusion

The PCR project was a unique initiative that sought to challenge the conventional way of promoting peace in Kenya communities. It embedded communalism, multi-stakeholder engagements, gender inclusion and other range of fit-for-purpose methodologies to strengthen the peace before, during and after Kenya's 2022 general elections. Its objectives were well aligned with community needs, collaborative CSO's County and National government needs for peace and rightful coexistence. The PCR project is relevant and timely initiative which is also in line with the GIZ CPS Joint Strategy for implementing Agencies 2019-2023 (TLS) which identifies peace-building needs: enhancing positive understanding, recognition of diversity in communities, increasing accountability in leadership.

The project is credited with a direct and demonstrable increase in the capacities and capabilities of peace ambassadors, volunteers, collaborative CSOs and the state actors (both National and county) at maintaining peace and security in their respective areas. Evidence gathered shows improved youth participation by youths and other participants in maintaining peace and security in the project areas, violence reduction related to electoral process, and improved confidence in engagements with various government agencies and other duty bearers. This has led to the emergence of more influential and respected peace champions and peace actors as well as mindset shifts on public participation at the local level. The creative use of sports and theatrical art, IEC materials, radio talk shows, community-level election security dialogue fora, trainings on leadership, governance and electoral processes opened up spaces for collaborations and positioned Pamoja and peace actors and volunteers as credible actors and interlocutors for peace and security.

Strengthened evidence-based engagements have resulted in increased youth and other peace actors' participation to positively contribute to peace security before, during and after the 2022 general election in the project target areas of Kisumu Central, Muhoroni, Kisauni, and Likoni Sub Counties. Despite the project being implemented in the four target Sub Counties, there was 'spill-over' of the peace and security activities to the neighbouring Sub-Counties like Nyali and Tinderet Sub Counties due to increased collaboration and partnership among the peace ambassadors and volunteers. The second project outcome of reducing electoral violence in target project areas was also greatly achieved as evidenced by participants during the evaluation process.

Its efficiency objectives are mixed. On one hand, its embedded design, collaborations and work with local networks leveraged resources and various expertise for its execution. Strengthened demand for peace and security by local peace ambassadors, volunteers and state actors further leveraged resources for improved delivery of peace and security before, during and after the 2022 general elections. On the other hand, politics took center stage with a lot of pressures and rallies. This affected the overall delivery of the project in terms of outreach and the coverage of the project areas.

PCR project sustainability objectives are supported by its design, local presence and collaborations nurtured over its eight-month duration. The skills and knowledge acquired by the peace ambassadors, volunteers, journalist, state actors, domiciled in the targeted and non-targeted Sub Counties will support continuity of peace and security efforts. Further, the presence peace committees which have the buy-in of the government at local and regional level will ensure that the peace and security issues are addressed and tackled appropriately even when it's not an electioneering season in Kenya.

The PCR project has broader relevance and application in wider Kenya which had 47 counties and the project only targeted four Sub Counties in 2 Counties – Mombasa and Kisumu. A scale-up would be a crucial step in ensuring that the peace and security efforts translate to tangible and improved peaceful and coexistence of people before, during and after the seasoned general elections of Kenya.

4.2 Recommendation

With the PCR project having come to an end, this evaluation recommends:

- Drugs and substance abuse among the youths and juveniles is still rampant not only in the project target areas but across the country for it was a great impediment to achieving efficiently the peace and security matters before, during and after the 2022 general elections. A project targeting this vice whilst espousing peace and security matters is highly recommended to Pamoja and like-minded partners.
- In as much as sports activities and theatrical arts were used in the peace and security efforts, there is a need in the future to espouse low-key sporting activities like boxing, indoor games, and weight lifting which are gaining prominence among various youth segments.
- There is a need for the future inclusion of related projects to marginalized groups like; youths and juveniles who dropped out of school, persons living with disabilities, other youth at risk like cane loaders – in the case of Muhoroni also known as '*Bandaa*'.
- There is a need for Pamoja to set up more satellite offices to increase outreach activities and reduce the transport and coordination cost in future outreach activities.
- The leadership of the outlawed youth and juvenile gangs could be identified and approached in the future design and implementation of related project initiatives.
- Kenya's education and curriculum system players should be reached out to have a section for national ethics, and values to be taught in schools early enough with intention of integrating peace matters into the school's curriculum.
- The is a need to increase more partnership with other local CSOs and CBOs for outreach and networking.
- The peace and security projects should be proactive and reactive, Civic education on peace and security matters should take place early like two years before elections.

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