Kenya

KE Conflict and Violence Risk Mitigation

Final Report

April 2020

SOC
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Guiding Theory of Change</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Context and Background</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Conflict, Crime, and Violence in Kenya</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Institutional Architecture</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Addressing underdevelopment in peripheral regions</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Conflict and Violence Prevention Activities</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 National and County-level Mapping of Conflict and Violence</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 County-level Mapping of Conflict and Violence in Isiolo</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Strengthening Capacity of the Frontier Counties Development Council</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 County Training on Violence Prevention</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Summary of Common Drivers and Implications for Action at the County Level</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 The Way Forward</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Strengthening FCDC as Regional Bloc for Development and Peacebuilding</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Mainstreaming Violence Prevention in KADP III</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Contributing to Conflict and Violence Prevention Across the World Bank Portfolio</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Establishment of Frontier Counties Development Council</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Experiences of CVPT Alumnae</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Key Findings of Rapid Assessments on Violence and Conflict in Isiolo, Mombasa, Kisumu, and Narok</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Theory of Change for KADP Violence Prevention Work</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Fatalities Due to Armed Conflict in East Africa</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Conflict Fatalities by County in Kenya, 1997–2016</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Regional Forms of Violence by County (1997–2016)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acronyms

CPA  County Policing Authority
CPC  community policing committee
CPTED  crime prevention through environmental design
CVPT  Crime and Violence Prevention Training
DFID  Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
FCDC  Frontier Counties Development Council
KADP  Kenya Accountable Devolution Program
KISIP  Kenya Informal Settlements Improvement Project
NCRC  National Crime Research Center
NEDI  North and North Eastern Development Initiative
USAID  United States Agency for International Development
Globally, it is well recognized that crime, violence, and conflict can hinder investments and economic development, and the cost of investing in conflict prevention vastly outweighs the cost of inaction (UN and World Bank 2018). Countries affected by major violence lag behind in terms of poverty reduction and development indicators (World Bank 2011a: 4). Kenya has tended to be more peaceful than many of its neighbors. The Global Competitiveness Report for 2019 ranks Kenya 109th out of 141 countries in terms of security indicators for a conducive business environment—is a higher ranking than Uganda and Ethiopia but lower than Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania (World Economic Forum 2019). Still, varying forms of conflict and violence, and the risk of their escalation, prompted the government to request World Bank Group support in this area.

In this context, at the request of the Kenyan government and following the April 2015 attacks on Garissa University by the extremist group Al-Shabaab, an increased focus on conflict mitigation was taken up within the World Bank’s broader agenda to support the devolution process in Kenya. This approach fits within the Bank’s focus on conflict and violence prevention as key impediments to the twin goals of poverty reduction and shared prosperity, which culminates in the Strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence 2020–25 (World Bank 2020b).

1. South Sudan and Somalia were not included in the list.
Kenya has a complicated history of underinvestment in peripheral regions dating back to colonial times layered with a legacy of ethnic divisions that have pitted groups against each other. These structural factors have fueled intergroup grievances as well as distrust and resentment toward the state. The existence of grievances based on group-based exclusion is a powerful driver of conflict. Thus, mitigating these risks is essential to both promoting stability and furthering development progress (UN and World Bank 2018).

The devolution process plays out in this complicated environment. Devolution has mitigated some risks of conflict and violence in Kenya while potentially exacerbating others. At the national level, the devolution of power and resources has the potential to diffuse risks by decreasing financial incentives. However, the influx of resources to newly formed institutions at the county level creates new risks there. In this context, the devolution of decision making and funding often leads to local political and ethnic competition—and even conflict—as new majorities and minorities seek to control and benefit from funding and decisions (Abdille and Abdi 2016). Some also argue that devolution reinforces the politics of ethnicity, intensifies questions about “belonging” (Mkutu, Marani, and Ruteere 2014), and even contributes to conflicts among clans for political power (World Bank 2020a).

The creation of new institutions as part of the devolution process can also contribute to risks of conflict if those institutions are not able to effectively manage the competing interests of different groups. As Menkhaus (2015) noted, devolution can enable a political environment of uncertain, nascent, and contested authority that lacks established “rules of the game” for local politics, and one with generally weak and inexperienced county administrators assuming control of expansive budgets and responsibilities. However, devolution can also mitigate the risk of conflict if local capacity to manage it is developed.

In this context, capacity building, especially for the new county-level institutions, was seen as a critical need in Kenya (Mkutu, Marani, and Ruteere 2014). Security is a national government function in Kenya, but counties are engaged in conflict prevention efforts, particularly in terms of development. Devolution creates an opportunity to examine locally relevant conflict prevention interventions that follow international best practices.

Devolution was one of three pillars in Kenya’s Country Partnership Strategy (2014–18), providing a clear entry point for further engagement. The World Bank has supported the devolution process through the Kenya Accountable Devolution Program (KADP), a multidonor trust fund that mobilizes donor support for financial and technical capacity building with the aim of strengthening institutions, improving service delivery, and enhancing citizen engagement with governance. Since its inception, KADP has worked to build capacity for devolved functions, such as financial management, revenue generation, performance management, and human resource management, as well as measures to enhance public participation.

The activities reviewed here represent a subtask focused on conflict mitigation within KADP with the objective of building critical

---

2. KADP is a multidonor trust fund with funding from DFID, USAID, DANIDA, the European Union, the Embassy of Finland and the Embassy of Sweden. It is designed as a multiyear platform that assists counties and national government in enhancing citizen engagement and devolved service delivery. It achieves this by providing analysis, technical assistance, capacity development and supporting knowledge sharing.
capacity in county institutions for dealing with the risks of conflict and violence that accompany the devolution of resources and power. The activities, which are described in greater detail below, took as their point of departure the experiences of county governments, working to integrate a contextual understanding of conflict dynamics into just-in-time technical assistance while simultaneously improving coordination across multiple levels of government.

KADP also supported the formation of a regional bloc of counties in the north and northeastern regions to address common dynamics of conflict and development challenges through collective action and regional integration. This region was targeted because of the historic underinvestment in it as well as its higher incidence of conflict.

The next section of this report provides an overview of the context and background of conflict and violence as well as Kenya’s experience with devolution. Implemented activities and linkages to operations are then described, including recommendations for moving forward in terms of dissemination, knowledge sharing, and capacity building. Next, lessons are drawn and implications for the way forward are presented.

The complementary documentation for this report consists of: (1) an assessment of the institutional architecture of conflict mitigation in Isiolo (Boru and Mkutu 2019); (2) a final report on KADP’s support to the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC) that describes the key supported activities such as strengthening institutions, enhancing the capacity and governance systems of FCDC counties for improved service delivery, developing a comprehensive plan to accelerate the socioeconomic development of FCDC countries and to increase citizen participation in development initiatives; and (3) four rapid assessments on crime and violence in the Kenyan counties of Isiolo, Kisumu, Mombasa, and Narok (World Bank 2019a, b, c; 2020) to contextualize learning events conducted by the Crime and Violence Prevention Training Program.

1.1. Guiding Theory of Change

Key outcomes of the subtask on conflict and violence risk mitigation are:

- A conflict-sensitive county integrated development plan based on a violence mapping and assessment of the peacebuilding infrastructure in Isiolo.

- The establishment and ongoing key role of FCDC as a bloc for regional integration to facilitate development operations, including the North and North Eastern Development Initiative (NEDI).

- A tested methodology to develop county-level capacity on crime and violence prevention through rapid assessments, customized training, and peer-to-peer learning, applied in four counties and informing county-level policymaking.

- County assessments on crime and violence to inform the design of World Bank operations. The Mombasa and Kisumu rapid assessments, for example, were helpful in designing the menu of interventions on violence prevention for the Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project II (P167814). And the Isiolo assessment provided inputs for the design of a grant for the Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery to address the intersections between conflict and climate change.
grant is expected to generate methodological tools that will be scaled up by the upcoming Financing Locally-Led Climate Change Action Program (P173065).

The guiding theory of change for this work is that a multisectoral, integrated approach to conflict mitigation will help address the complex and interrelated drivers of violence in Kenya, by developing a comprehensive understanding of drivers and risk factors (WHO, UNODC, and UNDP 2014) and by building capacity at the local and regional levels to coordinate prevention activities. This theory of change also applies to the establishment of regional blocs to accelerate socioeconomic development in marginalized and conflict-affected areas.

The work was firmly positioned in the development response to conflict and violence and in partnership with other development actors. While security and law enforcement actors play an important role in responding to conflict and violence and in facilitating law and order generally, development actors also have a key function in addressing the underlying drivers and triggers of conflict. The work was also substantially informed by an understanding of the political economy surrounding the devolution process, further discussed in section 2.

Activities also had a geographical concentration in the north and northeastern counties, which have experienced a history of marginalization and/or are affected by various forms of conflict. The north and northeastern region of Kenya is historically underserved and performs below the national average on development indicators: the 68 percent poverty level is higher than the national average of 36 percent, the few road networks that exist are of poor quality, and the electricity access rate is only 14 percent. Only 57 percent of households in this region have access to safe water and 34 percent to improved sanitation, compared with national averages of 72 and 59 percent, respectively. Primary school attendance in the north and northeast is on average 55 percent compared with a national average of 82 percent. Secondary school attendance is 19 percent versus 37 percent nationally. Thirty-four percent of births are assisted by a skilled provider compared with the national average of 71 percent. The average literacy rate among women is 41 percent compared with 89 percent for the entire country.

The primary counterparts for the work were county-level actors, including county government officials and administrators, as well as other county-level nongovernmental actors, including civil society organizations.
### Figure 1.1. Theory of Change for KADP Violence Prevention Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Outputs</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Violence mapping and assessment of county capacity for violence prevention and peacebuilding</td>
<td>• Assessment of the institutional architecture for conflict prevention and peacebuilding in Isiolo, including a methodology applicable to similar contexts</td>
<td>• Expanded understanding of county-level dynamics and drivers of violence</td>
<td>• Strengthening of county-level capacity to address conflict and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Technical assistance to FCDC</td>
<td>• Establishment of FCDC secretariat</td>
<td>• World Bank operations informed by analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• County-level crime and violence prevention training</td>
<td>• Socioeconomic blueprint for the northern Kenya region, including conflict mitigation</td>
<td>• County integrated development plan includes conflict mitigation measures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Design of a mechanism to deploy technical assistance to county members</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Support to citizen engagement in FCDC counties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• County-level curriculum on crime and violence prevention</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Implementation of training of trainers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Rapid assessments on crime and violence in four counties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Training of 120 local stakeholders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• County crime and violence prevention manual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FCDC = Frontier Counties Development Council; KADP = Kenya Accountable Devolution Program.
2. Context and Background

2.1. Conflict, Crime, and Violence in Kenya

Kenya experiences various forms of violence that tend to concentrate in particular geographic regions and among different populations. These forms range from political violence, usually occurring around elections, to communal violence in border areas, to urban gang violence and organized crime, to activities by violent extremist groups.

It is difficult to assess the full scale of violence in Kenya without the reliable and consistent collection of data. Despite public commitments to improving data systems, current efforts give only a partial picture. The National Crime Research Center (NCRC), established in 1997, constitutes the Kenyan government’s data collection and management on crime-related matters. The NCRC has the legal mandate to solicit data from all government departments, which it then analyzes in regular advisory reports on security issues for the National Security Council. These briefs are not public. Police data on individual crimes are available by county on the website, however this has not been regularly updated—the current listings are from 2016.

Efforts have been underway to establish a national crime data repository within the NCRC that would provide a common platform for the collection and sharing of information, including data from law enforcement and primary data collected via county-level rapid assessment surveys. Only a handful of these were available on the website as of early 2019. In addition, the NCRC collects data via
a mobile phone application through which citizens can submit information on crimes.³

In 2015, given these data constraints, the World Bank conducted a violence mapping to categorize the various manifestations of violence in Kenya, identify trends and interconnections between the forms, and inform the ongoing policy dialogue regarding an appropriate response. The mapping relied on official sources, including police data and the ACLED international conflict database and geospatial technology, to locate different forms of violence and their concentration in different regions. The analysis was informed by inputs from international experts and validated through consultations with experts in Kenya.⁴

More details are provided in the section 3).

The mapping revealed a complex interplay of multiple forms of violence. It is clear that certain forms of violence tend to concentrate in specific regions. For example, as discussed further below, incidence of criminal and gang violence tends to cluster in urban areas, while violence around natural resources, such as cattle rustling, tends to occur in northern regions, and extremist violence along the coast.

³ According to an interview with NCRC management, the data from the mobile phone monitoring were shared with police in cases where it could be useful for law enforcement efforts, and stored in the data repository. Currently, there is no mechanism for the state to respond to a citizen submitting information via the mobile phone application.

⁴ For a full list of the organizations and individuals consulted within Kenya and outside of Kenya as part of the development of the mapping, see World Bank (2015).
In terms of political violence, Kenya compares relatively favorably to neighboring countries, several of which have experienced civil wars or large-scale conflicts (figure 2.1). There has not been a full-scale civil war or interstate conflict in Kenya, with the notable exception of a spike in violence following the 2007 elections.

The World Bank mapping looked at political violence at the subnational level, demonstrating that levels of fatalities from political violence have been higher in the northeast and northwest counties as well as in urban hotspots (map 2.1).

Turkana has experienced the highest levels of fatalities (1,444 conflict-related deaths since 1997), followed by Nairobi (988), and the northern counties of Mandera (844) and Marsabit (637). However, there is evidence that these trends may be shifting. Turkana County, while highest overall in the 1997–2016 period, is showing more recent declines in violence, especially since 2011.

Manifestations of violence vary substantially across Kenya, including livestock rustling, criminal networks and organized crime, communal conflicts over natural resources and land, ethnopolitical clashes, interpersonal violence, and—more recently—violent extremism in the north and northeastern counties. These forms of violence tend to be geographically concentrated and are fueled by distinct drivers.


5. The World Bank Group has developed a working definition of violent extremism as: “the use of violence, driven by ideology, in order to advance socioeconomic and political objectives, and which results in sustained, destabilizing economic and social impact” (World Bank 2015b.)
Sexual and gender-based violence is high in some parts of the country. According to the Demographic and Health Survey, 14 percent of women and 6 percent of men in Kenya have been victimized by sexual violence (DHS Kenya 2014). A 2016 mapping exercise estimated a higher lifetime prevalence of gender-based violence in the west of the country and some urban areas compared with the east of the country (World Bank 2016). Furthermore, sexual violence is often repeated (World Bank 2011b). A key challenge with this type of violence is the tendency for survivors not to report for fear of retaliation by perpetrators (DIGNITY 2018).

Violence against children affects about one third of Kenyans. The most recent survey on violence against children, conducted in 2012, asked women and men about their experiences of physical and sexual violence prior to age 18. Sixty-six percent of women and 73 percent of men reported having experienced physical violence; and 32 percent of girls and 18 percent of boys in Kenya had experienced sexual violence. Family members were the most common perpetrators. Notably, teachers and police were common perpetrators of violence against boys (UNICEF 2012).

Political and election-related violence tends to be most pronounced in urban areas and in the former Rift Valley province. This type of violence tends to be driven by unrest surrounding elections or other political processes as well as by efforts of political entrepreneurs to manipulate political grievances. At various points in Kenya’s history, urban gangs and rural militias have been mobilized for violence on behalf of political actors. ACLED data for 2008–19
demonstrate peaks of riots and protests in the postelection periods of 2007 and 2017, with high levels of violence against civilians in urban settings.

Violence perpetrated by gangs and organized crime has been on the increase since the 1990s in major cities such as Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu. A national survey on organized crime by the NCRC identified 46 groups operating in Kenya in 2012 (NCRC 2012). A subsequent survey in 2017 included surveys in informal settlements, where residents identified a total of 125 different organized criminal groups in their neighborhoods (NCRC 2017). While it is difficult to document empirically, media reports suggest that criminal groups are increasing as militias used in election-related violence diversify into other criminal activities, particularly in informal settlements (Mukinda 2010).

Most organized crime groups primarily operate in specific geographical areas, where they engage in basic criminal activities such as protection rackets. This type of crime is driven by the presence of international trafficking networks, particularly for wildlife and illegal drugs. A number of West African trafficking networks are reportedly operating in Kenya, and the country is allegedly a transit point for cocaine and heroin as they make their way to Europe and North America (Felbab-Brown 2018).

Common crime is a challenge for urban areas. The rapid assessments carried out under the Kenya Accountable Devolution Program (KADP) in Kisumu and Mombasa found certain types of crime and violence to be common in Kenya’s urban centers, including robberies and assaults involving public transportation vehicles, routes, and stands, as well as youth violence manifest in criminal gangs and political militias (World Bank 2019b, c).

Cattle rustling tends to be concentrated along the border regions in Turkana, Tana River, Marsabit, Mandera, and Isiolo. Cross-border rustling includes Uganda, Ethiopia, and—to some extent—Somalia. This kind of activity has its roots in long-standing mechanisms for balancing power and wealth across communities but in recent years has become entrenched with organized crime groups. In 2019, 30 people were killed in Kenya’s West Pokot and Elgeyo-Marakwet counties alone (Omondi Gumba 2020).

Communal violence is often related to disputes over the use of natural resources, including land and water, by owners, farmers, or pastoralists. The KADP crime and violence assessments for Isiolo and Narok counties reveal resource-based conflict dynamics, including tensions between pastoralists and other land users around land ownership, cattle raids, and intercounty border conflicts (World Bank 2019a, 2020a). Climate change, particularly desertification, has exacerbated this form of violence in recent years as people compete for more limited resources. In addition, the presence of large infrastructure projects is an important driver, increasing hostilities related to land ownership and restrictions of pastoral mobility.

Violent extremist activity has historically been focused on the northeastern counties bordering Somalia as well as on the coast. The January 17, 2019, attack by Al-Shabaab on the Dusit Hotel in Nairobi revealed that the threat of this violence remains real. This came after several years of declining attacks by the group—the last significant attack was on Garissa University in 2015—and just as the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was beginning to draw down troops in neighboring Somalia (ACLED 2018). While in the past, extremist groups mainly hailed from
neighboring Somalia, extremist groups have steadily gained a stronger local presence in Kenya (Botha 2013). Media reports suggest the 6 attackers and 12 suspects in court for the recent terror attack on Nairobi’s Dusit hotel complex are mostly Kenyans, primarily from counties like Isiolo, Nyeri, Kiambu, Mombasa, and Machakos, all of which are far from the Somali border (ISS 2019). The activity of extremist groups is concentrated in certain areas, particularly in areas close to the border with Somalia, the Coastal region in the southeast, and in Nairobi.

While violent extremist attacks are geographically concentrated, their impacts reach across Kenya. Between 2011 and the end of May 2016, there were 163 recorded violent extremist attacks in the country, resulting in 596 casualties. The attacks included ones in the Westgate Mall in Nairobi, those in Lamu and Mandera, and the 2015 attack on Garissa University (World Bank 2016). The January 2019 attack on Dusit hotel alone killed 21 people. The heavy-handed security tactics of Kenyan security forces—most prominently Kenya’s Operation Linda Nchi and the subsequent involvement of the African Union Mission in Somalia as well as the operations of the Anti-Terror Police Unit—have not helped matters. Empirical work shows that these tactics have contributed to the polarization and radicalization of the minority Muslim population in Kenya and, in many cases, have been counterproductive to strategies to win over the hearts and minds of youth through countering violent extremism programs (USIP 2016). This is in line with the global evidence on violent extremism, which highlights that muscular security responses are among the strongest push factors for radicalization (UNDP 2017).

Forms of violence are not static; they may morph from one into another type with changing contextual conditions. Political violence, for example, can spill over into communal violence. Following the 2007 general elections, tensions around political conflicts erupted into communal violence in urban and rural areas, eventually taking more than 1,000 lives and displacing over half a million people. Likewise, urban criminal violence has increased as political militias have been converted into urban gangs (Mukinda 2010).

2.2. Institutional Architecture

The approval of a new constitution in 2010 resulted in the establishment of 47 new county governments and systems of devolution that assign powers and development functions to county governments. Recognizing the historic inequalities in development investment, particularly the underinvestment in the north and northeastern region, Kenya adopted a highly redistributive county revenue allocation formula. Furthermore, the constitution created an equalization fund comprising 0.5 percent of all revenues collected by the national government. These funds are allocated to marginalized areas to finance the delivery of services for roads, water, electricity, and health, presenting an unique opportunity to foster sustained security and development in the region. However, this mechanism is not yet fully implemented, increasing tensions and frustrations.

Devolution has also had the effect of introducing a range of new stakeholders to manage local-level conflict. While this has helped diversify the response to conflict dynamics,

---

6. For example, the 1998 attack on the U.S. embassy in Nairobi was carried out by foreign operatives, with Kenyans playing a small role as facilitators. By 2011, the frequency and scale of attacks in Kenya began intensifying as Al-Shabaab increased its presence in Kenya.
it has also brought increased challenges in terms of coordination and accountability. Tensions between national and county governments have slowed the implementation of new violence prevention structures, and some of the new county-level institutions have faced delays in becoming operational. The reconfiguration of community institutions occurring at the same time that former civil society bodies were being institutionalized into county government structures (such as district peace committees) has also disrupted power dynamics. Challenges in reconciling local efforts to foster community engagement for conflict prevention with the top-down national-level structures continue to hamper prevention efforts in Kenya.

National level

There is no national overarching policy on conflict and violence prevention in Kenya. However, elements of prevention are incorporated in other national planning documents. For example, Vision 2030 includes a pillar on security peacebuilding and conflict management primarily on policing and surveillance. Within the law enforcement sector, national policies on policing and community policing have been drafted, but implementation has stalled.

Most traditional security functions remain concentrated at the national level, although the devolution process has resulted in some restructuring of the different bodies and lines of accountability between county and national levels. With the 2010 constitution, the National Security Council was established to oversee the Kenyan Defense Forces, the National Intelligence Services, and the National Police Service. The police service is headed by an independent inspector general to decrease the potential for political interference. Oversight mechanisms were also put in place.

For example, the National Police Service Commission develops and oversees policies on police recruitment, promotions, transfers, and discipline; and the independent policing oversight authority deals with public complaints regarding the police.

Other ministries carry out prevention activities through various sectors. The Ministry of Land, Housing, and Urban Development focuses on urban and slum upgrading the Ministry of Health plays a key role in improving the policy environment for addressing sexual and gender-based violence; and the Ministry of Education runs school-based prevention programs.

Given the concern over youth involvement in conflict and violence, in 2018, the Ministry of Public Service, Youth, and Gender has formulated a national youth policy. Vulnerability to violence is noted in the policy, and eliminating all forms of violence against youth is listed as a guiding value (section 3.7). Crime, security, and peacebuilding is considered a priority area, with a number of initiatives listed to address youth’s involvement in crime, especially increasing participation of youth in peacebuilding, improving livelihood opportunities, and school-based prevention. The Kenyan government undertakes a myriad of training and employment programs for youth: The National Youth Service, the Youth Enterprise Development Fund, and the Women Enterprise Fund. In addition to these government initiatives, hundreds of projects related to youth empowerment and employment are delivered by nongovernmental organizations, faith-based groups, and community-based organizations, mainly funded by international donors. Most of these are small in scale, often limited to settlements or neighborhoods within a city. The private sector also directs some youth-focused programs.
Coordination between the national and county levels is a serious challenge to the effective engagement of youth for the prevention of conflict and violence. The Ministry of Public Service, Youth, and Gender works through youth development officers appointed at the national level, who are tasked with outreaching to youth and working through offices set up in the county capitals that are separate from the county administration. Other programs, such as technical and vocational education training, work directly through county governments.

Much of the criminal justice system, including prisons, is regulated and enforced at the national level, but it relies on local-level staff for implementation. Prisons are regulated by the national government, but probation officers who work on the rehabilitation and reentry of offenders sit in the county government. This often means that national and county programs operate in parallel, with many duplicated efforts and confusion at the local level.

County level

County governments do not have a formal security role, but county governors do play a role in issues that have a bearing on security. Traditional security provision—police and intelligence services—remain under the purview of the national government. That said, county governors control prevention-related areas, such as the control of illicit drugs, the regulation of alcohol sales, control over common nuisances, basic infrastructure—such as street lighting and parks, and some aspects of employment policy (such as through technical and vocational education training). With the increase of donor interest in countering violent extremism over recent years, some counties have developed county action plans to combat extremism, incorporating many aspects of youth violence prevention. Many counties have received funding for countering violent extremism officers, who sit in the county government. Likewise, sexual and gender-based violence has received an increased focus by county governments as well, often with donor support. For example, the Nakuru County government established and equipped a full wing for handling such cases at the provincial hospital to provide treatment and counseling services for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (DIGNITY 2018).

Many counties had established Peace Directorates and District Peace Committees, which were instrumental in preventing further violence during the period after the 2007 election (Agade and Halakhe 2018). These were heavily supported by donors immediately following the 2007 election; since then however support has waned, and many are no longer functional.

National policy on security and crime prevention is coordinated at the county level by county commissioners. The commissioners are career public servants, appointed by the president, who represent the national government at the county level through their position as chairs of the county security committees. They also oversee the duties of the deputy county commissioner, assistant county commissioner, chiefs, and ward administrators in a structure that replicates the hierarchy under the previous provincial administrations.

County commissioners and governors are meant to coordinate with one another to align national and county-level policies and initiatives on security and crime prevention. The extent to which this happens varies considerably from county to county.
One of the most challenging areas for coordination between the national and county levels has been law enforcement. The Kenyan National Police are responsible for enforcing county laws, but they formally report to the national level. This can cause problems if county objectives are at odds with national ones. For example, some rural and border region counties have struggled to engage police in addressing communal conflicts or cattle rustling (Burbidge 2017).

Legislation and frameworks have been developed to institute community policing, but implementation has been limited. The push for community policing has its roots in pre-devolution, with efforts by bilateral partners (DFID and USAID) in the 1990s to push for security reforms toward more accountability and citizen engagement. Official policy on community policing was drafted in 2003 as part of the Governance, Justice, Law and Order Sector (GJLOS) Programme, which resulted in pilots of community policing programs in Isiolo, Ruai, Kikuyu, Kajiado, Kimlili, and Sotik (Government of Kenya and Saferworld 2009). The postelection violence of 2007–08 accelerated the momentum, and in 2010, a national task force on police reform was established to oversee a move toward community policing.

Counties are meant to oversee community policing bodies through the new County Policing Authorities (CPAs), planned to be established under the 2011 National Police Service Act. The CPAs are to be headed by the governor of each county, bringing together 13 representatives from county, national, and local community security interests, six of whom are lay members. CPAs are responsible for monitoring trends and patterns of crime; developing proposals on priorities, objectives, and targets for police performance; monitoring progress and achievements; overseeing and promoting community policing initiatives; facilitating public participation; and providing financial oversight for the budget for policing. To date, most counties have not established CPAs.

Below the CPAs, the legal framework provides for the establishment of community policing committees (CPCs) to represent various levels (sublocational, area, and subcounty CPCs). The CPCs comprise representatives from the community, resident associations, community-based organizations, faith-based organizations, the private sector, and law enforcement agencies. Each CPC is supposed have its own written constitution, including the demarcation of the cluster area, membership, codes of conduct, rules for elections procedures for resolution of conflicts, and conduct of meetings.

More detailed guidance for community policing is being developed by the National Task Force on Community Policing, established in 2013 in the wake of the Westgate attack (CHRIPS 2017). According to the Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies, the draft policy has not been approved or adopted by the Kenyan government. In addition, the committees are not yet operational in most counties due to various administrative delays (Agade and Halakhe 2018).

Further confusion has been created by the establishment of the Nyumba Kumi (Ten Homes) committees in 2013, an initiative meant to anchor community policing at the household level (Andhoga and Mavole 2017). Nyumba Kumi committees include the heads of 10 households in a neighborhood who closely monitor the security in their location. While the community policing committees are established by the police and fall under their leadership, Nyumba Kumi fall under
leadership of chiefs working in the national government administration office, a body that under the formal provincial administration was tasked with coordinating local security but was restructured under devolution. The efforts of the CPCs and Nyumba Kumi are meant to be coordinated by the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, but this has been weak and, in many cases, there is competition between the two (CHRIPS 2017).

Community level

At the community level, the devolution process has given rise to many new actors and reconfigured existing ones. There remains a large gap between the national commitments to devolve many prevention functions and the myriad efforts at community engagement at the microlevel.

For example, district peace committees had been an integral part of grassroots conflict mitigation. Many were vital in calming the 2007 election-related violence in Kenya. However, the loss of direct funding for them from the national government creates a considerable gap in county-level peacebuilding architecture. These structures must now apply to the counties for funding; many have ceased to exist. Some have transitioned into peace or cohesion departments within county government, but they are at early stages and lack capacity. In some cases, counties have formed county peace forums, with former members of the district peace committees incorporated into them. However, with limited resources and charges of political interference in many cases, these forums have struggled to gain credibility and exercise their functions.

The devolution of resources, and an increase in donor funding, particularly for countering violent extremism initiatives, has fed the proliferation of community-level actors, including faith-based organizations, community-based organizations, and more traditional forums—such as elders. For example, the Nakuru CSO Network currently has more than 30 members working throughout the 11 subcounties. These tend to be small in scale and fragmented, often limited to particular neighborhoods. Many were or are dependent on external support.

The experience of Isiolo is an instructive case. The institutional mapping identified several important developments in terms of how structures have changed with devolution. For example, security functions previously carried out by chiefs and militias were now under the purview of local police. However, the police force remained thin and poorly resourced, which hindered efforts to respond to threats of violence and crime, especially in the more remote areas. The assessment also highlighted the important role played by informal actors, such as village chiefs and faith-based organizations, in mediating conflicts and recovering stolen cattle after raids. It also uncovered gaps in coordination among other informal actors, such as community-based organizations and government bodies, as well as a duplication of efforts in cross-cutting challenges such as gender and youth empowerment.

2.3. Addressing underdevelopment in peripheral regions

In the challenging political economy of devolution, the creation of the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC), which includes Garissa, Isiolo, Lamu, Mandera, Marsabit, Tana River, Samburu, Turkana, Wajir, and West Pokot, offered a strategic entry point for supporting the Kenyan government with conflict mitigation and regional socioeconomic transformation.
The FCDC is a relatively new player in the institutional landscape. It was created to serve as a coordination body to assist member counties in the context of national efforts to address underdevelopment in peripheral regions. By developing mechanisms to share lessons and build institutional infrastructure, the FCDC was meant to support the member counties as they worked together on common challenges. Some of those common challenges included climate change, infrastructure investment, and conflict mitigation.

While devolution increased fiscal space to address major infrastructure and service gaps, FCDC counties were starting from a situation of very low capacity, and serious development challenges. FCDC counties have a shared history of protracted marginalization and persistent inequality with respect to other regions in Kenya. Consequently, the counties confront the highest rates of poverty, vulnerability to disasters, limited access to and use of basic services such as health and education, and low levels of infrastructure and investment.

In this context, it was not realistic to simply scale up investment. Starting from a low base, marginalized counties have weaker institutions and face unique challenges. They face challenges attracting and retaining skilled personnel to take up management and technical positions in government and private enterprises. These conditions make it harder for them to effectively program, deliver development services, and access performance-based funding.

Box 2.1. Establishment of Frontier Counties Development Council

In 2016, the seven northern frontier counties of Garissa, Isiolo, Lamu, Mandera, Marsabit, Tana River, and Wajir, which share similar experiences of historical political and economic marginalization in addition to security challenges, united to create the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC) economic bloc. The FCDC has since been joined by the Samburu, Turkana, and West Pokot counties. FCDC counties expect to gain a greater voice in negotiations with the national government and other stakeholders, to create a larger economic area that attracts increased investments, and to engage in collective action to address common development challenges.
3. Conflict and Violence Prevention Activities

3.1. National and County-level Mapping of Conflict and Violence

As an initial step, a joint team from the Fragility, Conflict and Violence Cross-Cutting Solutions Area and social development developed a national mapping of conflict and violence in Kenya, supported by the country management unit. The mapping drew on existing data sources to develop a typology of violence, a geospatial mapping of different forms of violence, a literature review on broad drivers of violence, and identification of entry points for addressing violence through World Bank Group engagement in Kenya.

The mapping formed the basis for discussion during a series of consultations held in Nairobi during November 2015. Over 30 organizations and government agencies were consulted. During the consultations, key stakeholders identified specific risks related to violence that need to be mitigated, including: the risk of increased violence, especially at the county level, ahead of the 2017 elections; increasing frustration and potential for violence among youth, especially in urban areas; and growing conflict over land and natural resources.

7. See World Bank 2015a for a full list of those consulted for the mapping.
In response to a request by the office of the president, visualizations of the national violence mapping were shared with the government. It was also disseminated with World Bank task team, particularly infrastructure, education, and health, to illustrate risks of conflict and violence associated with development projects. The national mapping also produced a mapping methodology that could be applied to the county level and was piloted in Isiolo.

### 3.2. County-level Mapping of Conflict and Violence in Isiolo

Drawing on the methodology developed for the national mapping, a county-level version was designed and piloted in Isiolo County under KAPD’s support. The objective of this mapping was to assess the dynamics of violence and conflict as well as the prevention and peacebuilding capacity at the county level to support county-level capacity building.

The mapping exercise in Isiolo included the following components: (1) a compilation of existing data on the incidence and locations of various forms of violence; (2) the identification of key conflict dynamics, including those related to devolution; (3) an understanding of how historical conflict dynamics in the county are interacting with emerging dynamics; (4) the identification of risks and protective factors across time, geography, and specific target groups; and (5) an assessment of the institutional architecture for conflict mitigation in Isiolo. The Isiolo conflict mapping was finalized and disseminated in 2019 (World Bank 2019a). It included a set of recommendations for various levels, from the Isiolo county government to national ministries and agencies, as well as for local and international civil society organizations and donors.

#### Impact of Isiolo mapping

The Isiolo mapping and institutional assessment, with its detailed recommendations, were taken up by several actors as valuable tools to understand the unique dynamics underlying conflict in Isiolo, and the institutional environment. Both were widely disseminated among local and national stakeholders working on violence prevention as a way to support dialogue and collaboration among the institutions responsible for peace and conflict mitigation.

The mapping had measurable influence on county government capacity and dialogue. A key follow-up activity to the Isiolo mapping was a series of participatory consultations with key stakeholders that was led by the county government in coordination with Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC). The consultations drew on the mapping as a basis for discussion and were aimed at generating a basic consensus on the prioritization of capacity-building needs, including timelines, areas, and target groups.

In March 2018, with further KADP support, the mapping’s recommendations were taken up in the county integrated development plan through several specific measures designed to address key risk factors for violence and conflict identified in the mapping:

- Construction of educational and vocational training centers, and staff recruitment for training programs. An emphasis on vulnerable groups resulted in the inclusion of increased physical access measures and recruitment of staff trained in special needs education.

- Construction of new sports facilities, along with recruitment of staff for programs.
- New advocacy efforts to raise awareness about gender-based violence, one of the most pervasive forms of violence identified by the mapping.

- Measures to enhance inclusion, aimed at promoting greater social cohesion and reducing violence, such as the creation of new by-laws for a 30 percent access to government procurement for youth, women, and people with disabilities.

- Measures to increase enforcement of the county's child protection policies, including parenting support, data collection to identify needs and monitor response, and outreach programs for vulnerable children, especially those living on the street.

The impact of the Isiolo mapping has extended to other counties. Samburu has adopted similar tools and FCDC is planning to support all counties to mainstream conflict prevention across their county integrated development plans. The Isiolo mapping has been taken up in World Bank projects that will operate in Isiolo. For example, analysis on risks of conflict and violence were considered in the operationalization of the North and North Eastern Development Initiative (NEDI) initiative.

3.3. Strengthening Capacity of the Frontier Counties Development Council

This subtask contributed to establish the FCDC and build its capacity to convene, coordinate, and implement development initiatives across the counties of Garissa, Isiolo, Lamu, Mandera, Marsabit, Tana River, Samburu, Turkana, Wajir, and West Pokot. The creation of the FCDC secretariat was critical to support a coordinated effort to provide technical systematic and customized technical assistance in underserved and marginalized areas affected by conflict and violence. The specific activities supported by the subtask are described below.

**Establishing the FCDC secretariat**

KADP collaborated closely with FCDC to build its foundational structure and operating procedures. This included a strategic plan that set the long-term mandate, vision, mission, and branding of FCDC as a corporate entity through an operational manual, a resource mobilization plan, and a communications strategy. This initial support allowed for the establishment of a functional unit and a more structured engagement among counties, government stakeholders, and development partners. These outputs contributed to the development of the FCDC’s capacity to coordinate development initiatives in its member counties effectively and efficiently, including procurement, financial management and conflict prevention. FCDC is currently implementing initiatives supported by several donors, including DFID and USAID, and with Swiss cooperation.

As initial step, KADP conducted a comprehensive review of existing resources, including analytical and institutional assessments in north and northern Kenya. Fieldwork was carried out in consultation with counties at various stages to collect data on skills and capacity gaps as well as to examine development challenges, with specific attention to the barriers and bottlenecks related to the region’s development. Building capacity also entailed staffing the FCDC secretariat, including a project coordination team and an advisory committee.
Enhancing the capacity and governance systems of the FCDC counties for improved service delivery

KADP supported the development of a mechanism to deploy technical support on project design and delivery to FCDC member counties. The program mobilized experts from multiple teams to address the multisectoral nature of the technical assistance provided to FCDC. A surge capacity team of experts with diverse specialties was put in place and made available to counties to address technical and professional gaps.

This mechanism also involved dissemination of existing policy and program guidelines to enhance the capacity for planning and service delivery in FCDC counties. For example, KADP supported the adaptation and dissemination of national guidelines to county-specific dynamics, including the Rapid Results Approach; affirmative action in the recruitment of women, youth, and people with disabilities; and addressing conflict and violence prevention in county-planning tools.

Developing a comprehensive plan to accelerate the socioeconomic development of FCDC counties

The “Socioeconomic Blueprint for the Frontier Counties Development Council: Towards a Regional and Territorial Approach for Local Development” was a strategic output from KADP. It recognizes that underdevelopment in the region is attributed to low density in terms of economic and population concentration; poor infrastructure, which leads to costly and long distances to the markets for the goods and services from the region; and major social divisions arising from insecurity, conflicts, and harmful social and cultural practices. The blueprint provides a roadmap for identifying and prioritizing policies and development initiatives for implementation by the FCDC counties over the 2018–30 period. The strategy utilizes an analytical approach that combines an interplay of economic geography, market forces, and government policies to promote economic integration and development. It recommends addressing regional development challenges by building institutions, improving connectivity, and addressing social and cultural barriers through appropriate interventions and incentives. The blueprint, developed through an extensive consultation process with local and national stakeholders, has been used by several development partners, including DFID and USAID, in the design of their operations, and has also informed the implementation of the NEDI initiative.

Increasing citizen participation

KADP also supported the revision and adaptation of county guidelines to enhance community participation and accountability in FCDC counties during project design and implementation. Marsabit has already adopted the revised guidelines. The guidelines, produced by the Ministry of Devolution and Planning in coordination with the governors of FCDC counties, were intended to sensitize citizens regarding their role in holding county government officials accountable for their use of public resources. With FCDC, a civic education program and training materials were developed and presented to stakeholders during workshops that rolled out the guidelines. Information obtained in a pretraining survey that examined the status of civic education in FCDC counties were then used to improve the training program. The civic education training familiarized county officers with the
legal provisions governing county-level public participation and civic education and provided tools to include minority and marginalized groups, including youth and women.

Impact of support to FCDC

The support to FCDC has generated demonstrable impact. FCDC is currently operating as an efficient, reliable, and fully operational regional bloc for the north and northeastern region. KADP was in a unique position to provide systematic and specialized support to help FCDC transiting from its conceptualization stage to concrete actions. KADP’s support was also instrumental in understanding and responding to the implications of conflict and violence for frontier counties’ investments, services, and planning processes, as well as for intercounty cooperation to respond to and prevent risks of conflict.

FCDC has made important gains in establishing itself as a credible coordinating body. First and foremost, it is facilitating a dialogue between the World Bank and FCDC counties regarding NEDI, which integrates a package of crucial infrastructure investments in energy, transport, and water to connect traditionally marginalized and conflict-affected areas in the north and northeastern region to national markets. The infrastructure investments are complemented by operations to improve health outcomes; expand support to the most vulnerable households through regular cash transfers; and enable sustainable livelihoods with targeted support to farmers, pastoralists, and communities with large influxes of displaced populations. In addition, FCDC has passed the FCDC Bill in 5 out of the 10 FCDC counties and mobilized resources from the national government, development partners, and the private sector to finance capacity building and sectoral development issues in the region.

Over the last three years, FCDC developed an organizational structure capable of managing and mobilizing resources and technical assistance for its members. FCDC currently has a database of experts who can be mobilized on demand and at short notice to undertake specific tasks to support, mentor, and assist the FCDC counties. This involves several areas such as: (1) procurement; (2) financial management; (3) engineering supervision; (4) delivery of basic services; (5) development of strategic plans and county integrated development plans; (6) project management, monitoring, evaluation, and reporting of development initiatives; (7) performance management systems; and (7) conflict-sensitive programming—all of this underpinned by accountability and transparency. This technical assistance played an important role in accessing new projects and resources. For example, urban planners identified by FCDC assisted counties in preparing grant applications for the DFID-funded Sustainable Urban Economic Development Programme. As a result, the municipalities of Mandera, Lamu, and Isiolo were awarded grants.

Furthermore, FCDC has played a key role in managing community/clan dynamics associated with infrastructure projects, such as the North Eastern Transport Improvement Project and the Kenya Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project. Overall, the visibility of FCDC and its achievements has encouraged the Kenyan government to develop policies and legislation that would guide the formation of regional blocs.
3.4. County Training on Violence Prevention

KADP supported the Crime and Violence Prevention Training (CVPT) program, conducted in collaboration with the Kenya School of Government, the United States International University, and the National Research Crime Center (NCRC). The CVPT was designed to support county governments in understanding the dynamics and drivers of violence and to improve the institutional capacity for violence prevention and peacebuilding at the county level.

The CVPT in Kenya convenes representatives from the government, civil society, and academia to learn about crime prevention. It seeks to: (1) promote policy and public discourse on crime and violence prevention and safety; (2) explore strategies, tools, and methods of crime and violence prevention in Kenya; (3) facilitate the emergence of a multisector group of public, private, and civil society actors who are engaged in crime and violence prevention in Kenya; and (4) equip stakeholders of crime and violence prevention with adequate skills to conceptualize, design, implement, and monitor crime and violence prevention programs and interventions at the national and county level.

The rolling out of CVPT received KADP support in four counties: Isiolo, Mombasa, Narok, and Kisumu, involving 120 participants from multiple sectors, including key policy makers and civil society organizations. Part of the rationale for the selection was that the World Bank already had a presence in those counties and that the CVPT could harmonize and add value to existing initiatives, including in FCDC counties. In addition, the CVPT team wanted to introduce an urban-rural balance to the program. Urban areas tend to confront challenges such as poor urban planning, informal settlements, and youth gangs; rural areas tend to struggle with land and resource-based conflicts. Four activities were undertaken under CVPT, described below.

Updating and reviewing CVPT curriculum

The KADP supported a curriculum review in the early stage of this initiative to ensure that it was in line with evidence-based approaches on violence prevention. New insights provided by the World Bank and other national and international experts were incorporated into the training and the training of trainers. The curriculum is now available for future CVPT phases and key partners. The Kenya School of Government is expected to incorporate the revised curriculum into other training programs targeted at public administrators. A training manual based on the course content is under preparation.

Implementing the training-of-trainers program

Alumni of previous CVPTs were recruited to participate in a five-day residential training-of-trainers course conducted May 18–23, 2018, with the primary goal of equipping local practitioners to deliver high-quality violence prevention programs, facilitate the exchange of good practices among counties, and promote cost-effective solutions. An investment in the creation of a local pool of specialists sought to reduce intervention costs by decreasing the need for outsourced support and external consultants. Participants became key resources for training activities conducted in counties supported by the KADP.
Performing rapid assessments of county-level crime and violence

In order to contextualize the CVPT training, rapid assessments were conducted of each county.

The rapid assessments on crime and violence were crucial to customizing the training to the specific challenges faced by the counties. They provided common ground for discussion among participants and those for whom the training might be a useful investment, and they addressed questions regarding the identification of the county’s main challenges regarding crime and violence; the visible risk factors or drivers, enabling factors, and protective factors; and the existing players, strategies, and partnerships for mitigation and prevention activities.

The methodology that CVPT had previously used for assessments during earlier iterations of the training was refined as part of this exercise. The KADP supported expert consultations and an extensive peer review exercise to help the CVPT team improve the methodology for the county-specific assessments.

The five-day assessments primarily consisted of qualitative research as well as a quantitative component (a questionnaire) in one county and in-depth desk-based research. Focus group discussions were held with various members of the community and other sectors. Secondary data were sourced from civil society and donor reports, academic papers, official records, and reports by national and county governments. However, efforts to engage quantitative methodologies, such as conducting a representative survey, were limited by time, logistical, and budgetary constraints.

Conducting the CVPT at the county level

The training courses, which took place April 16–May 18, 2018, and June 2–28, 2019, brought together over 100 crime prevention practitioners from across Kenya, including key national and county government officials from a variety of ministries and departments, such as those related to internal security, the judiciary, the national police service, youth, gender, planning, monitoring and evaluation, children, and welfare, in addition to nonstate actors from the private sector, religious organizations, community groups, nongovernmental organizations, academia, and the media.

The training program used a variety of teaching and learning methods, including lectures, case studies, plenary group discussions, focus groups, videos, and field trips; it also made use of local and international facilitators. Field visits included walkabouts to conduct safety audits in public spaces in Nairobi, a tour of a one-stop facility for gender-based violence in Nakuru, and a visit to an informal settlement in Dandora.

Impact of CVPT rapid assessments and training

The CVPT training activities have generated impact in several areas. First, the convening of actors across governmental, nongovernmental, and civil society institutions has improved awareness of crime and violence and helped foster greater trust and collaboration. The CVPT has expanded violence prevention awareness among decision makers and enhanced the capacity of nonstate and state actors to design, implement, and manage integrated violence prevention programs. While security management has traditionally
remained a preserve of the national government, and a relationship of mistrust has existed between members of civil society and Kenya’s law enforcement agencies, CVPT has promoted understanding and partnerships among the actors, many of whom have remained in contact with one another.

Second, the CVPT support had impact in building the professional capacity of Kenyans working on conflict prevention. The training was expected to directly impact the work and careers of its participants, and this has proven true in many cases (see box 3.1). Some have been promoted into roles where their new skills can be used; some have applied their new skills to the development of crime and violence prevention interventions, and some have conducted workplace trainings.

The assessments of individual counties have been taken up in local policy dialogue as well as World Bank operations in those geographic areas, such as the Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project KISIP II (P167814), which included Crime Prevention through Environmental Design activities in their menu of interventions that considered the local dynamics of crime and violence. Box 3.2 summarizes the key findings of the county assessments.

---

**Box 3.1. Experiences of CVPT Alumnae**

**Walter Kurtis, chair of Mombasa County Peace Committee**

Mr. Kurtis’ experiences with the Crime and Violence Prevention Training (CVPT) field trip to Dandora and with the rapid assessment of Mombasa inspired his peace committee to conduct their own research and outreach interventions into youth gangs, attracting the attention of international donor-funded organizations interested in carrying out further research.

**Adan Haro, ward administrator for Isiolo County**

Mr. Haro worked with stakeholders to mainstream crime and violence prevention measures into the county’s 2018–22 integrated development plan. The meetings enhanced cooperation and coordination among national and county governments; and the relationship between the community and security agencies has been greatly improved. Structures have been created or strengthened through the Nyumba Kumi initiative to allow for alternative dispute resolution mechanisms and community policing.

**Amos Leuta, chair of Sponsored Arts for Education (SAFE), a civil society organization in Narok**

Mr. Leuta recognized that the knowledge and partnership resources facilitated by CVPT would be useful in leading a peaceful dialogue on illegal mining in Loita, Narok South sub-county, which involved a foreign company as well as a local politician. Efforts to strengthen community dialogue and consultations on mining activities have been successful.
Box 3.2. Key Findings of Rapid Assessments on Violence and Conflict in Isiolo, Mombasa, Kisumu, and Narok

Isiolo is a multiethnic county, where pastoralism is the predominant livelihood. There is a long history of resource-based and ethnopolitical conflict there; and conflict is ongoing on the Isiolo–Meru border, exacerbated by devolution and speculation over the introduction of mega-infrastructure projects, particularly the Lamu-Port-South-Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) corridor and resort city. Radicalization is a problem: several youths have disappeared from local schools, presumably to join Al-Shabaab in Somalia. Isiolo is an arms trade hub, with guns smuggled in from northern neighbors being used for defense and for the raiding of livestock. The report highlights that land issues must be addressed with laws and frameworks that protect community land ownership and strengthen community policing initiatives and local structures, such as community and peace groups, interfaith organizations, and traditional institutions.

Mombasa, a metropolitan county situated on Kenya’s tourism-attracting coast, suffers from a history of land-related conflicts and the subjugation of its indigenous peoples, which has spawned secessionist agitation and which contributes to the county’s significant radicalization problem. The dynamics of urban crime and violence, especially youth gangs, are extremely visible. Mombasa’s geographic position on the coast makes it vulnerable to the drug trade, and substance abuse poses severe challenges to law and order. Many youths are using a wide range of illegally traded pharmaceutical drugs, increasing the prevalence of criminal acts. Recommended measures to mitigate the risks of violence include strengthening the county’s capacity for enforcing regulations aimed at controlling substance abuse; supporting community-based programs that target at-risk youth to help them avoid radicalization; and facilitating coordination among nongovernmental organizations and civil society organizations working in the county.

Kisumu is home to Kenya’s third largest city as well as to rural subcounties. Its majority Luo population perceive themselves as politically and economically marginalized since the country’s independence. A major problem in its urban areas is the creation of politically sponsored gangs during the election season. Once the elections are over, these gangs no longer receive support, leading many to become involved in criminal activities. The county’s transport sector experiences a high rate of crime and violence, especially among motorcycle taxi operators who are vulnerable to attack and theft and among those who use the vehicles to commit crimes. Kisumu’s rural communities face challenges such as cattle raiding and a border conflict with Nandi County. Kisumu’s location near the border of Uganda makes it the receiving ground for the importation of illegal alcohol products. Interclan tensions affect rural and urban areas alike, manifesting in political struggles and conflicts over land. Key suggested interventions to address the risk factors for violence include applying crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) in urban development projects, supporting youth employment initiatives, and conducting an in-depth analysis of the intersections between youth and political violence.

(continued)
3.5. Summary of Common Drivers and Implications for Action at the County Level

The individual county assessments were undertaken with the objective of contextualizing the ToT exercise. Due to time and budgetary constraints, they were rapid assessments, and their findings are therefore limited in scope. With such caveats in mind, a few cross-county lessons can be drawn from the assessments, which have fed into policy dialogue with local governments, including FCDC.

Overall, the reports illustrate that understanding local dynamics of conflict and violence is essential for development investments. The assessment of risks and mitigation measures should be community-driven and involve a wide range of local, regional, and national stakeholders. County-led analytical work is also important to frame mitigation measures based on existing community and local resources to sustainably respond to violence.

Many of the deeper drivers of conflict and violence stem from historic marginalization of peripheral regions. The north and north-eastern region of Kenya has historically been underserved and continues to lag in development progress. While there have been important efforts to address regional disparities, especially over the past 10 years, these conditions change slowly over time, and perceptions of unfair treatment by the state persist. Grievances around these regional disparities feed into mobilization tactics by violent entrepreneurs, including violent extremist groups or political actors who mobilize urban gangs during elections cycles in the various counties.

Other drivers have to do with an increase of investment in the NEDI region. Since the 2000s, the country’s development plan—as articulated in its Vision 2030 blueprint—has emphasized infrastructure and energy as key components of economic growth. Several county assessments note that the presence of large infrastructure projects can exacerbate

---

Box 3.2. Continued

Narok is a largely rural county, historically home to a majority of Maasai pastoralists but more recently the receiver of an influx of non-Maasai agriculturalists. Protected areas, such as the Maasai Mara National Reserve, the Mau Forest reserve, and several conservancies, are located there. Land-related conflict is a major theme in Narok. There are problems associated with the subdivision of community land, which has enriched a few pastoralists at the expense of many others. There is extensive settlement and clearance of valuable forest, which disrupts water catchment areas and leads to conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. Northern Narok is planning to host a dry port at the terminus of the new standard gauge railway, and the accompanying loss of land that will be compulsorily acquired may cause severe impacts to local pastoralist communities. Cattle rustling is a concern, especially near the Tanzania border and in the Transmural area bordering Kuria County. The assessment’s key findings suggest the need to focus on promoting intercommunal peacebuilding interventions, addressing land conflicts, and strengthening the capacity of county authorities to manage the risks of conflict and violence associated with development projects.
historical grievances and deepen tensions, particularly around land ownership and competition over natural resources by pastoralist communities. This points to the need for strengthening land ownership mechanisms and spaces for intergroup dialogue.

As previously mentioned, some development efforts can inadvertently contribute to conflict dynamics by creating new perceived winners and losers and by increasing competition for resources (Menkhaus 2015). Community land and water sources are under threat, which is of particular concern in arid and semiarid areas occupied by pastoralist groups (Boro and Mkutu and Boru 2019: 10). Furthermore, delays in registration of community land and the lack of protection has caused significant conflict in the north, especially in Isiolo.

Political manipulation of local youth gangs constitutes another risk factor in several counties. These gangs are mobilized during election cycles; during other times they prey on transport workers and commit common crimes. Those on the coast are vulnerable to interference by larger trafficking and organized crime operations; others are susceptible to violent extremist groups. Measures to address these problems include coordinating programs for youth engagement as alternatives. Initiatives to decrease political manipulation of these gangs is a deeper and highly politically charged issue.

Finally, the existence of common drivers and response challenges underscores the need for regional platforms to share lessons and build on common infrastructure and coordination mechanisms. The FCDC is critical in this regard, and is now seen as an example for other regions.
The devolution process in Kenya provides a singular opportunity to build robust and resilient at county-level systems that foster inclusion and equity, social cohesion, and poverty reduction. Such systems are equally vital to mitigating the risk of conflict and violence. The Kenya Accountable Devolution Program (KADP) has been instrumental in informing the World Bank’s support to violence prevention and conflict mitigation in Kenya, with a particular focus on marginalized counties. Its approach of combining county-level analysis, technical assistance, and capacity building on violence prevention and conflict mitigation is based on an understanding that targeted, sustained, and customized support to local systems and stakeholders is essential to addressing the development challenges related to conflict and violence.

As an initial step in supporting county-level capacity building, this project offers important lessons. The process of supporting a regional body and new institutions as they emerged was not linear, requiring much learning-by-doing. Key lessons include:

- **Activities must be anchored in a thorough understanding of the realities of the county.** In this respect, the institutional analyses and conflict and participatory violence mappings were key. It was also critical to involve a wide range of stakeholders in developing these assessments, both to enrich the analysis as well as to generate greater buy-in and build trust between the new county institutions and their constituents.
• Providing technical assistance to emerging blocs such as the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC) requires systematic, sustained, and flexible support. As the implementation of the KADP grant progressed, some activities proved to be complex, requiring more time than had been anticipated, such as the recommendation by World Bank experts to apply a territorial approach to development, which necessitated additional guidance and expertise. The project’s scope and deliverables had to be reviewed in response to the changing needs and priorities.

• Supporting evidence-based policy dialogue is key to ensuring the prioritization of conflict and violence mitigation. The project worked to provide analytical inputs to a dialogue that had often been primarily based on perceptions or experiences rather than on hard data. By focusing on uptake of the analysis in county integrated development plans, the project was able to influence the conversations about county priorities through planning and budgeting systems. Working within plans also contributes to sustainability.

• Training local stakeholders in violence prevention can build trust and mobilize new partnerships, including private sector and faith-based organizations. The trainings provided space for academics, government officials, and community leaders to discuss conflict and violence dynamics with each other. This has the potential to contribute to more collaborative initiatives with greater buy-in at multiple levels.

• Integrating conflict and violence in the country portfolio is critical for risk mitigation. The KADP approach of linking context analysis, conflict-sensitive tools, and capacity-building activities to operations provided practical and operational resources to manage risks of violence associated with projects, including large infrastructure projects. The geographical concentration of KADP’s conflict prevention activities in north and northeastern Kenya was also critical to better understanding how regional dynamics of violence impact development outcomes and how to address risk factors in operations.

Looking forward, the KADP approach could continue supporting violence prevention and conflict mitigation with key counterparts, by: (1) developing FCDC capacity as a regional bloc to facilitate and implement development investments, peacebuilding, and social cohesion; (2) integrating violence prevention and conflict mitigation across the program’s interventions, especially citizen engagement, climate change, and social risk management; and (3) contributing to conflict and violence prevention across the World Bank portfolio in Kenya.

4.1. Strengthening FCDC as Regional Bloc for Development and Peacebuilding

Support to FCDC is critical to ensuring its sustainability and its ability to continue operating as a regional interlocutor to mobilize, design, and implement development interventions. Given the promising results of the support to FCDC and its link to ongoing World Bank operations under the North and North Eastern
Development Initiative (NEDI), KADP—which is currently designing its third phase—should sustain key areas of engagement, including:

- Enhancing FCDC capacity on stakeholder coordination and intergovernmental relations, especially between FCDC county governments and the national government, and ensure the incorporation of regional integration priorities into county integrated development plans for individual member counties;

- Operationalizing the socioeconomic blueprint, including the development of an investment plan in consultation with development partners, the private sector, and national government stakeholders;

- Supporting the implementation of NEDI projects in a coordinated and integrated manner by building on existing capacity for citizen engagement and social risk management; and

- Developing a regional strategy on conflict prevention, giving special attention to addressing the risks associated with the presence of large infrastructure projects, such as land disputes, community violence, and ethnic conflicts.

### 4.2. Mainstreaming Violence Prevention in KADP III

The analysis and mapping tools developed by KADP I can contribute to the mainstreaming of violence prevention across the program. For example, emerging efforts to address the intersections between conflict and climate change, including the Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery grant and the upcoming Financing Locally-Led Climate Action Program, are promising practices of synergies and collaboration among KADP’s components. Similarly, violence prevention can be integrated in activities aimed at building county capacity for social risk management and citizen engagement, particularly those targeting youth. Specific activities can be identified under KADP III preparations.

KADP can continue supporting the integration of violence prevention across the urban portfolio in Kenya, including the Kenya Informal Settlements Improvement Project (KISIP) II and the Kenya Urban Support Program and the Kenya Urban Support Programme. KISIP II has included conducting specific activities on community violence mapping, supporting counties and communities to develop crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) interventions, and facilitating access of groups at risk of violence, such as youth, to social protection and job opportunities. Additional activities for urban violence prevention could focus on specific forms of violence, such as school-based violence prevention activities or gender-based violence prevention. The project’s solid relationships with community and neighborhood-based organizations offer good entry points.

Finally, KADP III can facilitate dialogue and collaboration with the Kenya School of Government in coordination with the National Crime Research Centre and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission to integrate the Crime and Violence Prevention Training (CVPT) curriculum and manual into their programs. Furthermore, the CVPT manual and curriculum could serve as a resource for the leadership development program and the Diploma of Public Administration.
conducted by Kenya School of Government, which also targets civil servants and stakeholders working at the county level.

4.3. Contributing to Conflict and Violence Prevention Across the World Bank Portfolio

The experience of KADP in Kenya offers lessons for the World Bank’s work on conflict and violence prevention generally. This report comes at an opportune time, as the Bank has recently released its 2020–25 strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence, intended to help streamline the Bank’s approach to this key development challenge across client countries. Many elements of the Fragility, Conflict and Violence framework for understanding the drivers of conflict and violence play out in Kenya, particularly the mobilization of group-based grievances based on historic marginalization.

The methodology used for the mapping and institutional assessments could prove especially useful by assisting task teams working in other environments where conflict and violence are present. The team will continue to partner with the Fragility, Conflict and Violence group to ensure global knowledge on fragility, conflict, and violence is brought to bear on operations across the World Bank portfolio in Kenya.
References


