



# PROPEACEKENYA

Project for the Promotion of Peace and Cohesion in Kenya  
by Preventing and Mitigating Electoral Conflicts

## Final evaluation

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## List of Abbreviations

AAEA	Association of African Election Authorities
CCL	Centre for Creative Leadership
CAJ	Commission on Administrative Justice (The Ombudsman)
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CVR	Continuous Voter Registration
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CVE	Civic and Voter Education
ECES	European Centre for Electoral Support
EDF	European Development Fund
EUD	European Union Delegation
ELGIA	Electoral Law and Governance Institute for Africa
ELOG	Election Observation Group
EPEA	Electoral Political Economy Analysis
ERV	Election Related Violence
ESTA	Electoral Security Threat Assessment
EU	European Union
EWER	Early Warning, Early Response
EVR	Electoral Related Violence
FBO	Faith-Based Organisations
GoK	Government of Kenya
ICJ Kenya	International Commission of Jurist – Kenya Chapter
IcSP	Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
KFAs	Key Focus Areas
LEAD	Leadership and Conflict Management Skills for Electoral Stakeholders
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MM	Media Monitor
MMU	Media Monitoring Unit
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NCEWERS	National Conflict Early Warning and Early Response System
NCPWD	National Council of Persons with Disability
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
NSCPCM	National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management
ODPP	Office of the Director of Public Prosecution
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PEE	Post-election evaluation
PEV	Prevention of electoral violence
PMU	Project Management Unit
PPDT	Political Parties Dispute Tribunal
PPLC	Political Parties Liaison Committee
PRAG	Procurement procedures and practical guide
PWDs	Persons with Disability
RC	Regional Coordinator
RCMC	Regional Conflict Mediation Coordinators
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

## 1. Executive Summary

### 1.1. Purpose of the evaluation

The systematic and timely evaluation of its programmes and activities is an established priority of the European Commission (EC) and it is conducted by independent consultants.

The interventions are systematically evaluated on the quality and results of actions in the context of an evolving cooperation policy, ensuring a specific focus on results-oriented approaches and the contribution towards the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

In April 2023, an external evaluation of the Pro-Peace Kenya project was commanded by the European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES). This exercise was imperative to provide an overall assessment of the Pro-Peace Kenya project, paying particular attention to its results, as measured against its objectives and expected results.

The results from this evaluation will serve to present lessons-learned and best practices that can inform future similar activities and actions in the area of violence prevention and election-related conflict management.

The final evaluation of the Pro Peace Kenya was conducted in April and May 2023 and covers the entire life of the project, which corresponds to a 22-month project implementation period from 01/11/2021 to 31/08/2023 that includes a 4-month no-cost extension.

The evaluation has been carried out in accordance with the EU Evaluation methodology for projects/programmes, as set out on the website: <http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/node/71165>.

The evaluation used both primary and secondary data<sup>1</sup> as well as a variety of data collection methods to gather the information needed to conduct the work.

Given the geographical spread of project's activities, it was not possible to visit all the various sites covered. However, a field mission was conducted during several days in the upper eastern region, in the County of Issiolo<sup>2</sup>, where the project conducted several significant activities to prevent electoral violence.

### 1.2. Main conclusions / Overall assessment.

Below are the findings and conclusions that the evaluation expert deemed most significant.

#### Relevance

The design of the project to prevent, mitigate, and manage political and electoral conflict and violence before and after the 2022 elections in Kenya is based on an in-depth political and contextual analysis of the country in the run-up to the 2022 elections. Since 2007-2008 post-

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1: The documents consulted are listed in annex 2

2: This area is geographically considered the center of the country.

electoral violence, electoral-related violence and conflict has been a major concern for both the Government and the people of Kenya.

The project provided resources and expertise to the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) to operationalise the “Road Map of Peaceful Elections 2022” which, according to the NCIC, carried out activities that were not funded by the Government budget until ECES was established in Kenya at the end of 2021. This support was relevant as NCIC is a statutory body that was established in Kenya under the National Cohesion and Integration Act in 2008 following the post-election violence, aiming to address the lack of social cohesion in Kenya.

The financing of the Pro-Peace actions, facilitated through the EU Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), is highly relevant in a context where persistent insecurity during election periods is a factor that could rapidly deteriorate the integrity of the electoral process in Kenya.

Promoting peace and security, universal values, human rights, democracy, rule of law, and gender equality are key elements of the EU Comprehensive Strategy with Africa of 2022. Therefore, the design of the project is in line with the EU's policy and strategic objectives. Kenya stands as a pillar of stability in the region and, for the EU, peace and security are key conditions for sustainable development.

## **Coherence**

The project conducted by ECES in Kenya provides a high level of internal coherence as its activities constitute a response to the risk of electoral violence in Kenya, which was anticipated for the 2022 general elections and post-election period.

The Pro-Peace project provides a good level of external coherence as it was drafted to complement the interventions supported by other development partners operating in Kenya under the theme of election related conflict and violence. It is fully consistent with the interventions of the other implementing partners.

The decision of the government of Kenya to limit the influence of foreign funding on Kenyan elections affected the coordination among development partners involved in election support. This coordination was traditionally ensured through the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) leadership through the Electoral Technical Assistance Providers (ETAPs). As a result, coordination came late at the institutional level, although several institutional mechanisms related to the peaceful elections were put place during the electoral period to ensure the complementarity of interventions and their overall coordination. This primarily included the inter-Ministerial task force on elections, chaired by the Ministry of justice, and the donor group on Elections and the UWIANO platform, which is a consortium of peace organisations coordinating peace-building interventions and conflict management initiatives towards the general elections and beyond.

At the level of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the majority of the partners were running their own programs. The commission tried to ensure that there were no overlapping of activities.

In the absence of a very centralised mechanism of coordination, the ECES-led project has endeavored to participate in the existing platforms and maintain a certain level of communication with a number of stakeholders operating in Kenya, intending to avoid any overlap of activities and to strengthen synergies.

## Effectiveness

The project delivered a multitude of outputs, particularly after the workplan was revised in May 2022. This revised workplan, as requested by the NCIC, placed a significant amount of emphasis on public outreach and media campaigns to support NCIC to undertake its roadmap for the 2022 elections.

This was in line with the main objective of the project to promote peace, cohesion and political dialogue, and to prevent, mitigate, and manage conflicts and political and election-related conflict and violence ahead of the new electoral cycle in Kenya.

Most of the activities were delivered through peace messaging, advisory support, training and coaching, continued technical backstopping, consultation forums, and dialogue sessions.

Pro-Peace Kenya implemented the project with a multistakeholder approach that was very effective in gathering a large number of stakeholders surrounding the issue of peaceful elections.

Although ECES implemented the project with the NCIC as its main partner, the Project was able to work with many other stakeholders and institutions dealing with elections, such as the IEBC, the Commission on Administrative Justice (CAJ)<sup>3</sup>, and the Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC) without displaying any bias to any of the parties.

The Project undertook a variety of research to determine the root causes of electoral conflict in several regions of Kenya. Hot spot areas were identified and conflict mapping was undertaken to prevent and mitigate electoral violence. The Election Situation Room established by the project was very effective. It was designed as part of the early warning<sup>4</sup> and rapid response mechanism for an immediate resolution of diverging views with risk for conflict escalation in real space and time.

As well, the media led campaign, the Peace Education Campaign (Caravans, billboards, bulk SMS and peace songs) peace messaging was very effective to increase understanding, tolerance, trust, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

Leadership and Conflict Management Skills for Electoral Stakeholders (LEAD) training has been one of the pillars of the Pro-Peace during its implementation, with a lot of positive feedback indicated by the beneficiaries. LEAD training was implemented as an effective way to disseminate information regarding best practices for nonviolence during electoral periods.

Many activities were implemented at the grass root level. This approach had a positive effect on the disenfranchised groups that were encouraged to participate in the electoral process. This type

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3: The Commission on Administrative Justice (CAJ), also known as the Office of the Ombudsman is an independent commission established by the Commission on Administrative Justice Act, 2011 pursuant to Article 59 (4) of the Constitution of Kenya.

4: 30 regional focal persons were recruited by the project to support the election-related early warning system.

of intervention was quite positive as the Constitution of Kenya includes the principle that at least five per cent of the members of elected bodies should be persons with disabilities (PwD). However, this has not been given effect in law or in practice<sup>5</sup>.

Among the key activities of this component, the Media Monitoring Unit of the NCIC was set up and monitors were trained by the Project on addressing electoral violence and countering hate speech.

Despite the time constraint, the project was able to achieve most of its original intended deliverables. The level of effectiveness is high.

## Efficiency

ECES was directly awarded the contract by the EU to implement the Pro-Peace project. As the agreement between the EU and ECES was only signed in April 2022, and the general elections in Kenya were scheduled for 9 August 2022, ECES was authorised by the EU to prefinance the activities of Pro-Peace Kenya during a 5-month period of retroactivity. This mechanism allowed for start of activities to occur much earlier. Thus, the mechanism was a factor of efficiency but it also gave the project a limited time to engage the stakeholders and beneficiary institutions in capacity building activities. These normally require time and continuous engagement.

To implement the Project, a management structure was set up to ensure a cost-effective operationalisation of the activities. A Project Coordination Unit (PCU) was established in December 2020 to implement the project's activities and proceed to the monitoring of the activities.

For some of the stakeholders, the administrative procedures for committing and disbursing funds are very burdensome due to the supporting documents required by the funding agencies. However, the budget and arrangements mechanisms of the Project have been designed to ensure the best possible value for money and cost to activities ratios. This ensured that the implementation of the Project was done in full conformity with EU regulations as well as PRAG and ECES Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs).

## Impacts

The 2022 elections were the most peaceful elections since the introduction of a multi-party system in the country. The political and electoral-related violence was significantly reduced. According to the NCIC chairman, ECES contributed to the success of the peaceful elections in 2022.

Through the identification of hot spots, the Project provided a direct response to repeated incidents in some of the areas affected by local conflicts. It improved peaceful and effective conflict resolution mechanisms, particularly in the Counties where intensified efforts needed to be provided to support the development of an environment free from electoral violence.

The project supported initiatives that increased inclusion and citizen participation to the electoral process and had very positive effects on women, youth, and elders. It provided them with an

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5: EUEOM KENYA – August 2022

opportunity and a platform to engage in various issues related to peaceful elections, particularly at the grass root level.

The impact of the Project's activities extends beyond the electoral period and towards a broader scope of the Project's intervention, particularly in addressing issues of inter-community violence, as it contributed to the strengthening of social cohesion within the affected communities during the 22 months of implementation.

The project contributed to reviving the institutionalised dialogue between and among communities in several conflictual areas, such as in Laikipia in the Rift Valley where the Samburu, the Masai, and the Pokot are fighting over grazing land in three districts<sup>6</sup>.

The immediate effect of the Project interventions is the de-escalation of violence through community-led peace initiatives. Community sessions raised a lot of broad issues among the participants to promote harmony among racial, ethnic and other interest groups, as well as particular peace messages ahead of the election period. It also made use of existing early warning systems, such as the Peace Committees<sup>7</sup>, to help communities better anticipate the risks of having the violence spreading in several regions of the country and to bring together traditional dispute resolution mechanisms involving elders, women, and religious leaders, involving modern mechanisms for conflict resolution (security agencies, NGOs).

## Sustainability

For many stakeholders interviewed, "politics" in Kenya in 2022 has shifted from an ethnic to a "thematic basis". This was the first time in Kenya's history that "issue-based campaigning" was encouraged more than others such as ethnicity-based campaigning. For the NCIC, the biggest challenge is developing a strategy to sustain the progress that has been made during the electoral process.

Efforts have been made by ECES during the post-election period to transfer knowledge and capacity through the dashboard being developed and the training provided to the NCIC.

Given that the Project's greatest contribution has been to tackle the immediate context to support peaceful elections and did not prioritize long term capacity building, the current specific challenge is to consolidate the democratic successes achieved so far to support peaceful, transparent, and

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6: <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/kenya-tracing-roots-conflict-laikipia>. "The raids over grazing land are often exacerbated by drought when the rains are inadequate to accommodate the grazing needs of the pastoralists. This conflict cuts across all the communities and can be differentiated from what transpired in the past month in Laikipia West."

7: Peace Committees are community representative institutions that facilitate peace forums at the various governance level and bring together traditional dispute resolution mechanisms involving elders, women, & religious leaders and modern mechanisms for conflict resolution (security agencies, NGOs). The peace committee model has come a long way and is now embraced by non-pastoralists communities facing different levels of communal tensions (negative), violence and conflict within themselves. Its delegation to the drought-prone districts is no more, rather, the post-election violence (PEV) of 2008 witnessed in the country precipitated the replication of the DPC model in non-arid areas of Central, Coast, Western, Nyanza and the Rift Valley.

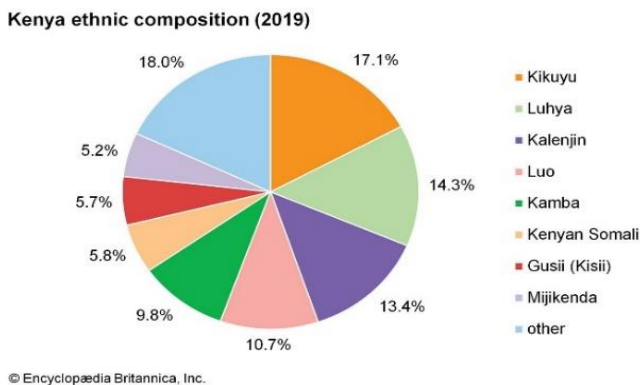


more inclusive elections. This approach was consistent with the nature of the intervention and in line with the financial instrument used to address the short-term crisis coming from the elections.

## 2. Political Background and Context

### 2.1. Political background

Kenya has a very diverse population that includes most of the major ethnic, racial, and linguistic groups found in Africa. Its total population was 47,558,296 at the time of the 2019 census. The largest native ethnic groups are the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo, Kamba, Somalis, Kisii, Mijikenda, Meru, Maasai, and Turkana.



Since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1990, elections have been marked by ethnic tensions, political violence, and unrest. This history includes the ethnic clashes of the 1990s and the post-election crisis of 2007-2008, which were particularly violent. Over 1,000 people were killed and almost 700,000 displaced<sup>8</sup> during the 2008 post-election period, leaving the citizens of the country with a deeply traumatic experience.

As per the Center for Strategic International African Studies (CSIC), which is one of the world's preeminent public policy institutions on foreign policy and national security issues, the 2008 post-election violence played out largely on ethnic lines, with ethnicity continuing to play an inordinate role in Kenyan political life<sup>9</sup>. Ethnic-based violence has a long history in the country, fueled by grievances over land, privilege, and inequality. The violence following the December 2007 election was not the first of its kind—the 1992 and 1997 elections saw a similar level of death and displacement<sup>10</sup>.

After the violent elections in 2007, the country engaged in a series of reforms to address the causes of the post-election violence with the aim to promote national identity and social cohesion. Following the 2007–2008 post-election crisis<sup>11</sup>, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) was established in 2008 to mitigate ethno-political competition and ethnically motivated violence, to eliminate discrimination on ethnic, racial and religious basis, and to promote national

8: <https://theconversation.com/kenyas-elections-are-proof-of-change-since-2007-violence-but-more-reform-is-needed-190043>

9: Source <https://www.csis.org/blogs/smart-global-health/background-post-election-crisis-kenya>

10: Source <https://www.csis.org/blogs/smart-global-health/background-post-election-crisis-kenya>

11: Source <https://www.csis.org/blogs/smart-global-health/background-post-election-crisis-kenya>

reconciliation<sup>12</sup> and healing<sup>13</sup>. Along the course of this reform process, a new constitution was adopted in 2010. This framework introduced a number of reforms, including the limitation of presidential powers, changes of the electoral system, asserting the independence of the judiciary, and creating a more decentralised political system. Eventually, it redefined the relationship between the national government and localities, initiating a process that saw the transfer of certain powers from the national government to 47 newly created local counties, ranging from economic development to health care, education, and infrastructure<sup>14</sup>. The new constitution was welcomed in the country as a vital step to avoid the repetition of the violent outbursts after the 2007 general elections<sup>15</sup>.

Since 2010, Kenya has been divided into 47 semi-autonomous counties<sup>16</sup>, which are headed by governors, 290 constituencies, and 1,450 wards. Constituencies of Kenya are used to elect members of the National Assembly, the lower chamber of the Kenyan Parliament.

In the run-up to the 2022 general elections, the unpredictable political violence that could occur before, during, and after the 9 August elections was perceived by the population of Kenya as a major threat in a context where the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) was already negatively impacted by the conduct of 8 August 2017 General Elections<sup>17</sup>.

It is in this sensitive political environment that the Project for the Promotion of Peace and Cohesion in Kenya by Preventing and Mitigating Electoral Conflicts, dubbed “Uchaguzi Bila Noma 2022” (Pro-Peace Kenya), was drafted in 2019 by the by the European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES) and implemented in close partnership with the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) ahead of the 2022 elections.

## 2.2. Overview of the project

The Project’s overall objective is to: promote peace, cohesion and political dialogue, and prevent, mitigate and manage conflicts as well as political and election-related conflict and violence ahead of the new electoral cycle in Kenya. It has a budget of EUR 3,499,673 and it has been funded by the European Union, through the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), for an initial period of implementation of 18 months.

As the agreement between the EU and ECES was only signed in April 2022, ECES was authorised by the EU to prefinance the activities of Pro-Peace Kenya during a 5-month period retroactivity, which refers to the project funds disbursed before the formal agreement was signed between the EU and ECES.

The implementation of the intervention started on 1 November 2021. The project is benefiting from a 4 month no-cost extension until 31 August 2023. The total period of implementation is 22 months. The Pro-Peace Kenya project cuts across the period before, during, and after the general and presidential elections of 9 August 2022 and is organised around four main outcomes:

12: The mission of the NCIC – promote national unity, equity and the elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination by facilitating equality of opportunities, peaceful resolution of conflicts and respect for diversity among Kenyan communities.

13: <https://cohesion.or.ke/index.php/about-us/ncic-at-a-glance>;

14: <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/reports/kenya/2017-report/economy/moving-forward-a-new-constitution-has-ushered-in-an-era-of-political-change>

15: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Kenyan\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Kenyan_constitutional_referendum)

16: The 47 counties form the first-order divisions of Kenya.

17: The elections were nullified by the Supreme Court

- 1 - Outcome 1: Strengthened capacities of peace, cohesion, and electoral stakeholders to prevent conflicts and electoral related violence at the Local, County, and National levels;
- 2 - Outcome 2: Strengthened conflict resolution and peace infrastructure that effectively resolves conflicts and curbs electoral related violence;
- 3 -Outcome 3: Increased understanding, tolerance, trust, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans;
- 4 -Outcome 4: Reduced incidences of hate speech and ethnic contempt in social media and public spaces.

### 2.3. The intervention logic of the project and the assumptions underlying

The intervention logic is the set of assumptions explaining how the intervention was expected to meet its objectives and produce the expected effects.

Figure 2: Intervention Logic

Outcome	Component	Assumptions	Judgement criteria (JC)
1	Strengthened capacities of peace, cohesion, and electoral stakeholders to prevent conflicts and electoral related violence at the Local, County and National levels	If communities, CSOs and relevant state institutions (including NCIC) produce and share a common understanding of the root causes and drivers of election-related violence (ERV) and areas at risk, this will contribute to prevent conflicts and electoral violence at the Local, County, and National levels	The capacity of the project to increase knowledge on the hotspots and root-causes of electoral related violence.
2	Strengthened conflict resolution and peace infrastructure that effectively resolves conflicts and curbs electoral-related violence	If community leaders, CSOs and relevant state institutions (including NCIC) form a coalition groups are capacitated to monitor, mitigate and respond to instances of ERV, this will contribute to resolve conflicts and curb electoral related violence	The capacity of the project to support a peace infrastructure <sup>18</sup> to curb electoral violence.
3	Increased understanding, tolerance, trust and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.	If communities, in particular marginalised groups and people living in areas with a heightened risk of ERV, understand electoral processes and contribute to pro-peace messaging, then coexistence will be peaceful.	The capacity of the project to promote tolerance and trust among Kenyans to foster peaceful coexistence.
4	Reduced incidences of hate speech, ethnic contempt in social media and public spaces	If Journalists, media houses and NSAs are trained on conflict-sensitive election reporting and active monitoring and response to hate speech, it will help	The project's capacity to address hate speech and ethnic contempt in social media and public spaces to reduce conflict and election-

18: Including the establishment of an early warning mechanism.

	reduce conflict and election-related violence	related violence.
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## 2.4. Evaluation questions

For each of the evaluation criteria and building on the specific areas of analysis specified by the TORs, the evaluation expert has developed a comprehensive set of research questions, then regrouped and consolidated them into overarching Evaluation Questions.

Figure 3: Evaluation questions

CRITERIA	EVALUATION QUESTIONS
RELEVANCE	Q1: To what extent has the Project's intervention addressed Kenya's critical needs to address election-related violence in the run-up to the 2022 elections?
COHERENCE	EQ2: To what extent are the Project's interventions complementary to other interventions to support peaceful elections in Kenya?
EFFECTIVENESS	EQ3: To what extent has the Project been instrumental in preventing, mitigating, and managing conflicts related to the 2022 elections in Kenya?
EFFICIENCY & value for money	EQ4: To what extent has the implementation of the Project modalities lead to an efficient use of the donor's resources?
IMPACT	EQ 5: Is there any evidence that the Project has achieved significant and sustainable higher-level change, or other effects in Kenya?
SUSTAINABILITY	EQ5: To what extent will the main beneficiary of the intervention be able to sustain the results of the Action (programmatically, politically, and financially)?

## 3. Development of the Findings

### 3.1. Relevance: To what extent has the project's intervention addressed Kenya's critical needs to address election-related violence in the run-up to the 2022 elections?

The design of the Project is based on a thorough political and contextual analysis of the country in the run-up to the 2022 elections. Electoral violence is a major concern for the people of Kenya.

The Project was designed to ensure the 2022 elections take place in an environment free of election-related violence. In the run-up to the 2022 general elections, there has been widespread concern among the Kenyan public and the country's authorities about holding peaceful elections as previous elections in Kenya were notoriously described as being marred by electoral violence

and election-related conflicts<sup>19</sup>. The electoral process was perceived as being at high risk of instability and inter-ethnic violence. Therefore, providing support to this thematic area was highly relevant as it addressed the country's priorities during this critical period of its democratic life. Although, the Kenyan political scene seemed much more stable and robust than it was 15 years ago<sup>20</sup> after the 2007 post-electoral violence.

The analysis of the project documents shows that the design of the project was built on the lessons learned from the Prevention of Electoral Violence project (PEV), which was implemented successfully in Ethiopia by ECES during the last 2021 general elections in order to prevent electoral violence. Pro-Peace Kenya adopted the same multi-stakeholder approach to develop and strengthen the skills, instincts, capacities, and resources of various targeted stakeholders because of very similar challenges with Ethiopia.

The design of Pro-Peace tried to adjust as much as possible to the specific context of Kenya, which recognises peacebuilding activities as vital for the achievement of Vision 2030, which is the country's new development blueprint<sup>21</sup>.

The design of Pro-Peace stems from structural challenges rooted in political, economic, and socio-cultural processes so it can ensure that targeted stakeholders engage in the electoral process and contribute to a peaceful electoral environment.

Based on this contextual analysis, project implementation focused heavily on a multi-stakeholder approach in counties where emerging issues were identified as potential sources of electoral violence. As an example, the design of the project was informed by climate change issues, which affect hundreds of thousands of citizens living in the Rift Valley and who are struggling to access livelihoods and natural resources.

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The project is highly relevant because it provided resources and expertise to the NCIC to operationalise the "Road Map of Peaceful Elections 2022", which was not funded by the Government budget.

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Initially, the Pro-Peace Kenya project was designed to be implemented in partnership with the IEBC, and also the NCIC, but in 2021, the Kenyan government-imposed restrictions on direct funding to IEBC from foreign donors and it became difficult for ECES to work directly with the electoral management body. The circular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prevented such initiatives, and for ECES it was already very late to go through a cumbersome process to get permission from the Ministry and to work directly with the electoral commission on issues that were more within the mandate of the NCIC.

It is also important to recall that the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is a statutory body established in Kenya under the National Cohesion and Integration Act No.12 of 2008 after the 2007 post-election violence. The establishment of NCIC recognised the need for a national

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19: Since the first elections of the 6 December 1969, after the Independence.

20: <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/reports/kenya/2017-report/economy/moving-forward-a-new-constitution-has-ushered-in-an-era-of-political-change>

21: <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/peacebuilding-policies-and-frameworks-in-kenya/>

institution to promote national identity and values, mitigate ethno-political competition and ethnically motivated violence; eliminate discrimination on ethnic, racial and religious basis and promote national reconciliation and healing.

In the context of 2022, the restrictions on donor support to the IEBC was an opportunity for ECES to engage further with the NCIC and support its road map of peaceful election 2022.

The NCIC road map provides a strategy, action plans, and targets to ensure a peaceful electioneering period during the 2022 General Elections<sup>22</sup>. For the NCIC Chairman, Rev. Dr. Samuel Kobia, the Roadmap was a culmination of one-on-one engagement with Kenyans across the country and the voices of Kenyans concerning peace in the country<sup>23</sup>.

Pro-Peace Kenya came at a time where the roadmap crafted by the NCIC was not funded by the Government Budget and when NCIC was looking for donor support<sup>24</sup>.

According to the majority of the respondents at the commission, the biggest challenge was the financing of the strategy to address electoral violence and election conflict related issues prior to the 2022 elections. The national budget covered the recurrent costs but was not sufficient to finance the NCIC program.

The project is highly relevant as it gave the commission the technical opportunity to implement the road map and addresses issues of hate speech, divisions on ethnic lines and ethnic boundaries before, during and mainly after the elections.

As per the Commission chairman: "If it was not from ECES and the EU, we would not have been able to finance the road map for peaceful elections, especially mitigating election violence. The project supported us to fill the critical gap we had, and this was highly relevant".

On the ECES side, the partnership with NCIC has enabled the Pro-Peace Kenya project to be implemented within a very strong institutional framework to address the issue of election-related violence in Kenya.

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The project is in line with the EU's policy and strategic objectives to strengthen democracies in the region and to respond quickly and flexibly to conflicts and crises.

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A few months before the Kenya general elections, Katrin Hagemann, Deputy Ambassador, EU Delegation to Kenya, offered assurance that the EU would support the NCIC in ensuring peaceful elections. Promoting peace and security, universal values, human rights, democracy, rule of law and gender equality are key elements of the EU comprehensive strategy in Africa<sup>25</sup> as per the Joint

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22: <https://cohesion.or.ke/index.php/media-center/latest-news/336-the-launch-of-roadmap-to-a-peaceful-2022-elections>

23: Sources <https://cohesion.or.ke/index.php/media-center/latest-news/336-the-launch-of-roadmap-to-a-peaceful-2022-elections>

24: The roadmap was launched the 10th December 2020, at the Kenya School of Government

25: Towards a comprehensive Strategy with Africa" sources EU 2020 [https://international.partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final\\_en.pdf](https://international.partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final_en.pdf)

Communication to the European Parliament and the Council, entitled “Towards a comprehensive Strategy with Africa”. Ensuring long-lasting peace and security in Africa is as much in Africa’s interest as it is in the EU’s.



Peace and security are key conditions for sustainable development. For the EU, priority should be given to regions where tensions are the highest<sup>26</sup> to achieve peace and security throughout Africa. Surrounded by instability in Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia, Kenya stands as a pillar of stability in the region for the EU.

For the Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Kenya’s relative stability over the years is in stark contrast with most of its neighbours. Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Rwanda have all been at various times convulsed by violent conflict far worse than anything Kenya has experienced. But the post-election violence of January 2008, which left over 1,000 dead and some 350,000 displaced, was a stark illustration of the enduring tensions and challenges the country must overcome and the fragility of its democratic trajectory”<sup>27</sup>.

To that end, Pro Peace Kenya was funded in 2021 by the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace<sup>28</sup>, which was the EU’s financial instrument<sup>29</sup> that focused on crisis management and peacebuilding (i.e. crisis preparedness, crisis response, conflict prevention and peacebuilding). The financing of the Project actions through the IcSP was relevant in the context of Kenya prior to the 2022 elections.

### 3.2. Coherence: To what extent are the project’s interventions complementary to other interventions to support peaceful elections 2022 in Kenya?

Pro-Peace project was drafted to complement the interventions supported by other development partners operating in Kenya on the thematic of election related conflict and violence.

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Within the IEBC, coordination between partners supporting the electoral process came late as it was affected by government restrictions on donor funding.

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26: [https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final\\_en.pdf](https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final_en.pdf)

27: Sources <https://www.csis.org/blogs/smart-global-health/background-post-election-crisis-kenya> ( By Jennifer Cooke, director, CSIS Africa Program)

28: The Instrument for Stability (IfS, more commonly referred to as the Stability Instrument) was a financial and political instrument at the disposal of the European Union. It was prepared at strategic level by the EEAS and implemented by the European Commission. In 2021 the IfS was merged into Global Europe.[1]

29: On 11 March 2014, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union adopted the Regulation establishing an Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP) which succeeds the Instrument for Stability (IfS).

The overall mechanism of coordination among Electoral Technical Assistance Providers (ETAPs), and Development partners involved in the election support was traditionally ensured through the IEBC leadership. During the 2022 elections, the coordination was affected by the decision of the government of Kenya to limit the influence of foreign funding on Kenyan elections. Several donors such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Britain's Department for International Development (DFID), International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the European Union and Scandinavian countries that have perennially funded Kenyan elections, were holding onto their money as they awaited government consent during the 2022 elections, until a very late stage of the preparation of the elections.

As a result, although the IEBC developed a stakeholder mapping tool and disseminated the same to the counties and constituencies to aid in the mapping exercise<sup>30</sup>, coordinated efforts in the area of electoral assistance came very late as the IEBC was negatively affected by the government decision. However, speaking during a stakeholders' dialogue forum on the August 9 post-election evaluation (PEE) in Nairobi, European Union (EU) Donor Group on Elections co-chair Guy Harrison said that development partners supported the IEBC with \$100 million USD for the 2022 elections. Most of the funding, as well as technical support, went towards voter education, security, and support in the area of technology<sup>31</sup>.

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The existence of an annual platform gathering a consortium of peace organisations supported coordination arrangements among partners.

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In the thematic area related to the promotion of peace within the country an existing mechanism of coordination was in place at the institutional level through an annual platform which gathered a consortium of peace organisations co-shared between the NCIC and the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC). As an interagency mechanism, the NSC brings together peace stakeholders in a bid to co-ordinate and consolidate efforts geared towards peace building and conflict management in Kenya as well as cross-border.

At the local level, particularly at the County level, coordination among interventions seems to have been quite effective under the leadership of the local Peace Committees, which are community representative institutions that facilitate peace forums at the various governance levels and bring together traditional dispute resolution mechanisms involving elders, women, and religious leaders, as well as modern mechanisms for conflict resolution (security agencies, NGOs).

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30: Sources IEBC "<https://www.iebc.or.ke/uploads/resources/pabjKTV6Xa.pdf>

31: <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/economy/-donors-wired-sh12-billion-to-iebc-for-august-9--4053912>



Faced with increased pressure to effectively support the increasing number of peace committees after the 2008 post-election violence (PEV), the NSC formed the peace forums<sup>32</sup> at the provincial level to ease the demands and provide on-spot support where needed<sup>33</sup>.

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At the NCIC, partners were running their own programs and the commission tried to ensure that there was no overlapping of activities.

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Through Pro-Peace Kenya, ECES became the main partner of the NCIC as of 2021.

In the thematic area of prevention of the electoral violence, as per the stakeholders interviewed during this evaluation, several organisations came separately at different timing with their own programs to support a peaceful electoral environment in 2022. As a consequence, USAID<sup>34</sup> has been running its own programs on electoral violence, DFID<sup>35</sup> came with their own package and Interpeace<sup>36</sup>, Uwiano Platform<sup>37</sup>, UNDP<sup>38</sup>, SIDA<sup>39</sup>, and Act Kenya<sup>40</sup> adopted the same approach.

Although there are several mechanisms of coordination in this thematic area, it is the view of different stakeholders that during the elections 2022, there was not a strong, institutionalised coordination platform to support synergies between partners. During the past elections, Uwiano Platform took the lead of the coordination. However, in 2022, there was no strong leadership to support partners' coordination.

### 3.3. Effectiveness: To what extent has the project been instrumental in preventing, mitigating and managing conflicts related to the 2022 elections in Kenya?

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Project funds absorption is high and, in terms of products, the Project delivered on a multitude of outputs in an impressive way as per several stakeholders interviewed.

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32: Source official website of the NSC . <https://www.nscpeace.go.ke/work/national-peace-coordination>

33: Presently, the peace forums that exist are: Rift Valley Provincial Peace Forum , Coast Provincial Peace Forum , Eastern Provincial Peace Forum

34: USAID supported peaceful elections through peace messaging.

35: The Department for International Development (DFID) Some of the key highlights of DFID include supporting media campaigns with an aim of influencing the general public to embrace tolerance in an environment with diverse beliefs that often leads to conflict

36: Interpeace is an international organization that prevents violence and builds lasting peace. Interpeace's mandate is to strengthen the capacities of societies to manage conflict in non-violent, non-coercive ways by assisting national actors in their efforts to develop social and political cohesion.

37: Uwiano Platform : The Commission together with the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC), PeaceNet Kenya and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) came together to establish a Platform for Peace dubbed UWIANO.

38: Through UNDP, the Commission has also benefitted from EU. Hence, EU has supported programs. EU funds are transmitted through UNDP. Some of the programs that include; media campaigns, sensitization, training, reconciliation and mediation forums among other key strategic programs.

39: Through UNDP, the Commission has greatly benefitted from SIDA in a number of ways. Consequently, SIDA has supported programs geared towards CVE capacity building on the need for peaceful coexistence. Other programs that have been supported include strengthening of Amani (peace) clubs that have been rolled out in over 1000 schools in Kenya.

40: ACT Kenya is monitoring the electoral violence.

Effectiveness was demonstrated in the level of expenditure as the spending of project funds is quite high. In April 2023, as per the project administrative and finance manager, 2,630,220 Euro of the financial resources of the project had been disbursed. It corresponds to 75.15% of the overall funding provided by the EU. By the end of the project implementation in August 2023, it is expected that 100% of the budget will have been spent as initially scheduled as the remaining funds are already committed.

As per the stakeholders interviewed, there was an overall positive response to the Project, which is due to the fact that ECES was a new player in Kenya and, in term of products, the project delivered on a multitude of outputs in an impressive way. Responses were even more positive after the institutional related issues were overcome after that the workplan was revised in May 2022. Most of the activities were delivered through training, capacity building workshops, peace messaging, advisory support and coaching, continued technical backstopping, consultation forums, and dialogue sessions.

For the NCIC, a lot of activities that needed a lot of resources were undertaken during the election period to implement the road map for peaceful elections 2022. The media led campaign, the Peace Education Campaigns (Caravans, billboards, bulk SMS and peace songs), and peace messaging were very effective to promote peaceful elections under Outcome 3, which has the objective to increase understanding, tolerance, trust, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

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LEAD training has been one of the pillars of the Pro-Peace during its implementation, with a lot of positive feedback from the beneficiaries.

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For the majority of training beneficiaries, this was the first time they had taken part in a LEAD training course introduced by the project and, according to them, it was a unique course to support the development of their skills in order to change their perception of how they would conduct subsequent training. Several stakeholders interviewed mentioned that the Lead trainings were very beneficial.

One of the factors that facilitated the smooth implementation of the activities was the physical presence of the project next to the NCIC, which supported the delivery of the activities and a common understanding with the Commission members. ECES and the Commission interacted at institutional level and also at personal level. For the NCIC leadership, this involvement contributed to the success.

For the IEBC, this project was very effective as the issue around peaceful elections was highly relevant, and stakeholders attended to many of the Projects' activities. The IEBC recommended starting the activities earlier in order to increase the impacts in future electoral processes.

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Pro-Peace Kenya implemented the project with a multistakeholder approach which was very effective to gather a large number of stakeholders around the issue of peaceful elections.

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Although ECES implemented the project with the NCIC as its main partner, the project was able to work with many stakeholders and institutions dealing with elections, such as the IEBC and Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC), without showing any bias. “[ECES] brought them together to build trust, inclusion, cohesion and political space, with a view to supporting the ‘Roadmap for peaceful elections in 2022’ published by the NCIC”<sup>41</sup>.

For the NCIC members, multi-Stakeholder engagement for peaceful elections is mandatory. Particularly at the grass roots level, a plethora of actors came together, as per the stakeholders interviewed including the NCIC commissioners, National Government administration, office of the County commissioners, securities agencies, local Government (County government), the national cohesion commission, national committees for peace, IEBC members, judicial officers, youth groups, women groups, CSOs and media.

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Pro-Peace Kenya tried to implement the project at the grass root level, which had a positive effect on the disenfranchised groups that were encouraged to participate in the electoral process.

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One of the most successful interventions was the peace caravan that the Commission was able to organise across Kenya to ensure two main outcomes. Firstly that people were reached at the grassroots level and, secondly that the commission could organise high-level meetings with stakeholders. It turned out to be very useful for the Commission to campaign for a peaceful election. It was the first time that the Commission had done so for elections. This strengthened the NCIC’s ability to reach people at the Grass-roots level. This activity also supported disenfranchised groups, mainly women and youth, to engage into the electoral process.

The following activities have been carried out in the 4 outcomes:

#### Component 1

**OUTCOME 1:** Strengthened capacities of peace, cohesion, and electoral stakeholders to prevent conflicts and electoral related violence at the Local, County, and National levels.

**OUTPUT 1:** Conduct conflict mapping and analysis to increase understanding of the underlying causes and drivers of conflicts and election-related violence, as well as to identify hot spot areas in Kenya.

- The result area was built upon the limited capacity to identify hotspots area and root-causes of electoral violence in Kenya during the last 2017 elections.
- The project undertook a variety of research to increase knowledge about the root-causes of electoral conflict in several regions of Kenya.

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41: From the Chairman of the NCIC

- Evidence demonstrated that the NCIC can accurately identify hot spots areas in Kenya to prevent and mitigate electoral violence as well as that conflict mapping and analysis are effectively used in the prevention of electoral violence.
- Most engaged participants reported the utility of the EPEA and ESTA research findings and recommendations in designing effective means of addressing envisaged challenges before, during, and after the elections.
- As for the level of implementation, in August 2022, 100% of the number of activities planned were already completed as illustrated below:

	Activities	Level of achievement
Activity 1.1	Electoral Political Economy Analyses (EPEA).	Completed
Result 1.1	The project used EPEA to produce a baseline data set on election-related violence (ERV), a baseline report in the early months to inform later activities and flash reports throughout the project for immediate use and dissemination to the EU, EU-funded projects, and other NSAs and research centres, allowing for the development of information hubs. This activity was undertaken between January to March 2022 and subsequently reviewed in June 2022. The report identified the triggers for potential violence emanating from each step before, during, and after elections, such as: the Voter Registration process; Political party primaries; Candidates registration; mobilisation of electorates; campaign discourse; election-day violence; tabulation of votes; recognition of the election results and the role of Election Observers.	
Activity 1.2	Electoral Security Threat Assessment (ESTA).	Completed
Result 1.2	ESTA is conducted in Kenya on a quarterly basis throughout the project, producing reports including hotspot <sup>42</sup> and conflict maps that are made available to project beneficiaries, relevant electoral stakeholders, other implementing organisations, NSA electoral platforms, and the contracting authority. The ESTA was completed in April 2022, updated in June 2022 and subsequently reviewed in October 2022. The objective of the ESTA is to inform targeted project activities, generate hotspot maps, and monitor triggers identified in the EPEA report and escalation points.	
Activity 1.3	Mapping of relevant actors, including potential spoilers and also pro-democracy and pro-peace groups at the national, regional, county, and local levels.	Completed
Result 1.3	Actors are mapped in fragile localities to identify potential sources of ERV and entry points <sup>43</sup> .	
Activity 1.4	The NCIC Review of the election episode (and strategic planning retreats <sup>44</sup> ).	Completed
Result 1.4	The NCIC draws lessons before and after the 2022 elections and has its strategic plan updated towards the consolidation of the efforts towards peace and cohesion in the country and specifically during electoral periods.	
Activity 1.5	Documentary on the 2022 elections.	Completed

42: On 23rd May 2022, the Commission held an external validation of the Conflict Hotspot Mapping report where the findings of the said report were shared with stakeholders across the peace sector for purposes of corroboration of the data before it is published.

43: The increase in violence shows how climate shocks such as droughts can magnify local tensions or conflict, particularly harming those who earn an income through agriculture (Crisis group -<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/east-and-southern-africa/kenya/b189-absorbing-climate-shocks-and-easing-conflict-kenyas-rift>)

44: Activity identified after the review of the workplan.

Result 1.5	A documentary is produced and disseminated to tell the public about the dynamics that made the 2022 election a peaceful process.
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## Component 2

**OUTCOME 1:** Strengthened conflict resolution and peace infrastructure that effectively resolves conflicts and curbs electoral related violence.

**OUTPUT 1:** Strengthened conflict resolution and peace infrastructures that effectively resolves conflicts and curbs electoral-related violence.

- The results domain was developed on the assumption that the scope and actors of the existing early warning mechanism were limited.
- As for the level of implementation, at the 10th month of the Project's life, in August 2022, 14% of the number of activities planned were implemented and 86% were ongoing.
- In May 2023, almost 90 % of the activities were completed. The network was fully operational and provides valuable information for the NCIC and other national and international stakeholders. Weekly, monthly, and thematic reports are shared on regular basis (11 monthly reports and 49 weekly reports were generated and shared by the project).
- The Election Situation Room is part of the early warning and rapid response mechanism for an immediate resolution of diverging views with risk for conflict escalation in real space and time. The ESR is an embodiment of the early warning and rapid response mechanism that culminates into a physical space before, during, and after E-Day.

	Activities	Level of achievement
Activity 2.1	Training and mentoring of an inclusive electoral-related violence and conflict prevention and response mechanism	Completed
Result 2.1	NCIC Regional Offices were established.	
Activity 2.2	Establishment, training, and mentoring of independent alternative conflict resolution mechanisms and facilitation of their involvement in conflict mediation.	Completed
Result 2.2	The network is fully operational and provides valuable information for the NCIC and other national and international stakeholders. Weekly, monthly, and thematic reports are shared on regular basis. This activity involved the identification and capacity building of conflict mediation coordinators in eight (8) regions and the establishment of Independent Regional Mediation Committees (IRMCs) that worked with the regional coordinators to resolve conflicts. 1 regional coordinator was recruited in every region (8), capacitated and supported by the Project's advisory structure <sup>45</sup> .	
Activity 2.3	Leadership and Conflict Management for Electoral Stakeholders (LEAD) training contextualised to the Kenyan context	Completed
Result 2.3	2 LEAD ToT of 5 Days and 10 modular LEAD cascade training (1 per region) of 3-days each were held to train and certify selected beneficiaries, including NCIC commissioners, IEBC members, judicial officers, youth groups, women groups, CSOs, and media. The LEAD trainings were cascaded into 8 Counties, namely	

45: Each coordinator produced reported, that were reviewed by 1 coordinators' supervisor and shared with NCIC, the contracting authority, and other electoral stakeholders as an integral part of an early warning network.

	Mombasa, Nakuru, Vihiga, Uasin Gishu (Eldoret), Isiolo, Kisumu, Makeni, and West Pokot from April to June 2022 on various dates and locations.	
Activity 2.4	Facilitation of intra and inter-communal dialogues in conflict hot-spot areas	Almost Completed
Result 2.4	10 Dialogue meetings with 25 participants were held and peace charters were signed by key actors in all identified hotspot areas <sup>46</sup> .	
Activity 2.5	Strengthen conflict early warning response systems and enhance linkages with the National Early warning and early response (EWER) system	Completed
Result 2.5	Media Monitoring and Early Warning situation room software were procured and operational. An Election Situation Room was operational before, during, and after the 2022 elections. It fully integrated the NCIC Early Warning mechanism and the Media Monitoring Unit. ECES supported NCIC to further expand its early warning capabilities by integrating the Cohesion Monitors located at the county level into the early warning network and streamlining the reporting mechanism. The reports of Cohesion Monitors were converging to the Situation Room, via the Regional Coordinators.	
Activity 2.6	Capacity building and dialogue sessions with traditional leaders and elders on peace-building initiatives and mechanisms for dialogue and reconciliation.	Completed
Result 2.6	This activity was very relevant as per the stakeholders. The Activity focused on strengthening traditional structures such as the council of elders for peacebuilding and conflict transformation in different communities, as well as engaging existing local peace structures such as peace committees, nyumba kumi (community policing), civil society, and religious organisations to deliberate on their role as peacemakers during the electioneering period.	
Activity 2.7	Dialogue sessions with religious leaders and other stakeholders (Aspirants, political party leaders, and Youths) engaged in promoting peaceful campaigns messages, mediation, and conflict management skills	Almost Completed
Result 2.7	Progress in the establishment of an independent alternative conflict resolution mechanism was in fact made. Dialogue meetings <sup>47</sup> were held with religious leaders at the national level, dialogues meetings were held with political aspirants/political party leaders and Youths at the regional level, both before and after the election.	
Activity 2.8	Elaboration of a concept note toward the establishment of the NCIC Institute of Peace	Not Completed
Result 2.8	A concept note to be drafted exploring the establishment of an NCIC Institute of Peace with the support of the Project. The Commission envisions establishing a premier institute of peace. An Ad Hoc Committee has been tasked to develop a concept paper on all the modalities for establishing the institute.	
Activity 2.9	Quality management (LEAD-Q) and certification of the NCIC	Completed
Result 2.9	With the idea of pursuing the efforts to enhance the NCIC's institutional capacities, ECES has suggested that the Commission leadership endorses a quality management module aiming at institutionalising best practices in terms of managerial processes and business administration. The LEAD-Q program can end up with a certification for the organisation,	

46: ECES supported NCIC to conduct two dialogue sessions in Isiolo, which is located in the heart of a very tense inter-ethnic landscape, with frequent conflicts and violent encounters among the local communities. A third, follow-up activity is planned for the upcoming period.

47: An inter-religious dialogue meeting was held in July 2022 in Isiolo County with a number of religious leaders. The objectives of the meeting were to discuss how religious leaders could promote peace during the electioneering period and after. At least one more meeting should be held during the remaining period.

	demonstrating its excellence in managing its systems, hence contributing to excellency in delivering on its mandate
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### Component 3

**OUTCOME 1:** Increased understanding, tolerance, trust, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

**OUTPUT 1:** Increased understanding, tolerance, trust, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

- The component was developed to support the management of sensitivities in the country to increase tolerance and trust and peaceful coexistence among Kenyans during the election period. More specifically, the activities of this component were designed to support the implementation of the NCIC road map of peaceful election 2022.
- The revised budget shows that the NCIC commissioners gave significant emphasis to Peace Education Campaigns (Caravans, billboards, bulk SMS and peace songs) and media-led campaigns to promote peaceful elections to support the road map.
- As per the revised workplan of May 2022, media campaign related activities benefited from more resources in comparison to capacity building activities of the project. (various trainings and workshop).
- As for the level of implementation, in August 2022, 67% of the number of activities planned were implemented and 33% were ongoing. In May 2023, 100% of the activities were completed. These activities reflect a very strong sense of ownership of the Commission.
- As per various stakeholders, the media campaign was very successful in terms of the objective because the Commission was able to go to the grass-roots to disseminate peaceful messages.

	Activities	Level of achievement
Activity 3. 1	Support to NCIC and their county-level partners to conduct communication strategy.	Completed
Result 3. 1	The implementation of this activity started with the development of peace messages <sup>48</sup> . The NCIC communication department benefited from this activity with a reinforcement of the capacities through direct advisory support. A civic and voter education strategy jointly was developed, customised, and adapted to each county's individual context.	
Activity 3.2	Strengthen capacity for NCIC and IEBC staff and other peace, cohesion, and electoral stakeholders via distance learning & training sessions on all the steps of the electoral cycle and via the online Master in Electoral Policy and Administration (MEPA) following the concept "INNOV Elections".	Not Completed (activity removed )
Result 3. 2	This activity was removed from the work plan.	
Activity 3.3	Conduct Peace education for actors working on election-related programs.	Completed

48: The National Cohesion and Integration Commission together with ECES held a two-day workshop at Elementaita Mountain Lodge in June 2022 to develop peace messages and a rallying call to enhance the Commission's visibility as well as ensure peaceful 2022 elections.

Result 3.3	Redirected to activity 4.5 - Work has been done with NCIC and IEBC to ensure that a peace education section is added to IEBC's current voter education handbook.	
Activity 3.4	Conduct national and regional symposia with partners and thought leaders on themes that enhance violence-free elections.	
Result 3.4	<p>4 national and/or regional town hall/dialogue meetings on peaceful elections targeting citizens, politicians, government officials, civil society organisations, faith-based entities, traditional leaders, and other stakeholders are conducted through an integrated media-led campaign, out of 8 initially planned. The reduction comes from a reallocation of priorities as indicated by the NCIC after the June retreat. Set-up of the Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Peace and Cohesion under the leadership of NCIC (SICCOP). This project will partially contribute to funding these events.</p> <p>A one-day multisectoral stakeholder forum on election observation dubbed "Towards a violence-free 2022 election: conflict hotspot mapping for Kenya" was held in July 2022 at Radisson Blu. The forum brought together partners such as ELOG, NCIC, CAJ, ECES Pro-Peace Kenya, IFES, religious institutions, and other civil society organisations observing the Kenya 2022 election.</p>	

#### Component 4

**OUTCOME 4:** Reduced incidences of hate speech, and ethnic contempt in social media and public spaces.

**OUTPUT 4:** Conduct an integrated media campaign and monitor social media and public spaces to identify and counter hate speech, ethnic contempt, and incitement to violence.

- This result area was built to address the poor understanding of the role of media in influencing the electoral process in Kenya's grassroots communities but also to address hate speeches.
- This component tried to build the capacity of journalists in Kenya on professional coverage of the electoral process, among other activities. It focused on unpacking hate speech, incitement to violence, laws on hate speech and freedom of expression, conflict-sensitive journalism and the art of storytelling, the role of media and responsibilities of journalists, disinformation and verification, propaganda and polarisation, and the challenges faced by media in conflict reporting.
- As for the level of implementation, in August 2022, 60% of the number of activities planned were implemented and 40% were ongoing. In May 2023, 80% of the activities were completed.
- Among the key activities of this component, there is a setup of a Media Monitoring Unit for the NCIC and the training of monitors on electoral violence and hate speech.

	Activities	Level of achievement
Activity 4. 1	Training journalists, editors, and media owners, including vernacular radio stations, on conflict-sensitive election reporting.	Almost Completed



Result 4. 1	The project provided 1- two-day rounds <sup>49</sup> of training on conflict-sensitive election reporting for journalists, drawn from major registered media outlets, vernacular stations, and social media platforms. 1 breakfast meeting for Editors and media owners being gatekeepers of these institutions.	
Activity 4.2	Set up of a Media Monitoring Unit.	Completed
Result 4. 2	The Media Monitoring Unit (MMU) has been established and operationalised as a major tool for institutional communication for the NCIC. Twelve (12) media monitors were recruited, trained, and engaged. The main role on media monitors included monitoring and analysing social media content, programmes, and articles in electronic and mainstream media on the national and regional levels.	
Activity 4.3	Capacity building for NCIC's Media Monitoring Unit staff (MMU).	Completed
Result 4. 3	Training was undertaken <sup>50</sup> which included non-incitement reporting and enabling media to play a positive role in conflict mitigation and local media monitoring, the role of media in tempering rather than exacerbating election-related violence and conflict.  After the elections, the transfer of knowledge to MMU staff to ensure sustainability and the consolidation of the system with the development of a dashboard were implemented.	
Activity 4.4	Monitor and observe electoral processes for hate speech, ethnic contempt, and incitement to violence.	Completed
Result 4. 4	One dedicated session was organised to reduce incidences of hate speech and conflicts. This activity improved the NCIC's capacity to identify and monitor hate speech and ethnic contempt incidents and recommending appropriate remedial measures.	
Activity 4. 5	Undertake an integrated media-led campaigns to promote peace, cohesion, and peaceful elections.	Completed
Result 4. 5	The activity involved developing an integrated media strategy to disseminate information on peace initiatives. Thirteen (13) Media campaign town hall forums dubbed "MimiMkenya" were held, an innovative peace campaign strategy that was undertaken in collaboration with NCIC to disseminate peace messages and to raise public awareness for violence-free elections.	

49: A two-day workshop on sensitization of 30 journalists on conflict-sensitive reporting was held on the 18th and 19th of May 2022 in Nakuru County. The training targeted journalists, reporters, and bloggers from Nakuru, Kericho, Narok, and Baringo. The overall objective of the training was to build the capacity of journalists in Kenya on professional coverage of the electoral process.

50: One training of five days for NCIC and selected 12 media monitors was held with a specific focus on methodologies and techniques of mapping and monitoring hate speech in the mainstream media and social media, as well as conflict and election-related violence that may erupt during the political campaigning period and after the election results have been announced.

The activity focused on four main types of media monitoring:

- monitoring of public and institutional communications;
- monitoring of incitement to violence and fake news;
- monitoring of compliance with electoral campaign regulations; and
- monitoring of political pluralism.

### 3.4. Efficiency: To what extent have the implementation of the project modalities leading to an efficient use of the donor's resources?

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An updated work plan and related budgetary reallocation was adopted in June 2022 at the request of the NCIC Commissioners to align the activities of the project with the NCIC's immediate priorities. This increased NCIC ownership and supported the effective and efficient implementation of activities.

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In November 2021, ECES was just established in the capital of Kenya, carrying a significant amount of technical expertise in the area of elections and conflict prevention but having limited knowledge of the country. At the beginning of the implementation, the project was mostly dealing with the Commission Secretariat to set up the planning of the activities. This posed a challenge for the project implementation as communication flow between the technical Secretariat and the Commissioners showed a sort of disjuncture, impacting the level of effectiveness of the operations to some extent as the project took a little time to reach its full potential of delivery. This issue was addressed by ECES project management a short while after the launching of the project.

During a project retreat in May 2022, an updated workplan and related budgetary reallocation was requested by the NCIC commissioners to adjust to the NCIC 's priorities to engage the commission in a mass communication and awareness campaign to ensure peaceful elections. The adjusted design was very collaborative as ECES and the commission participated together to create the new design to determine the activities and the approach the NCIC wanted for Kenya. As per the NCIC, it gave them "a lot of room to maneuver to make sure that the program meets the expectations of the citizen as an institution". Overall, after the review, the partnership between Pro-Peace Kenya and the NCIC was successful.

The review was a learning experience for the project management. It showed that not only does the NCIC Commission Secretariat<sup>51</sup> need to be involved in the design of the workplan in a joint technical exercise with ECES team in Kenya, but also that the NCIC, at the policy level<sup>52</sup>, needed to be more engaged in the programmatic developments of Pro-Peace Kenya. Based on the lesson learnt, two Commissioners were appointed by the NCIC to cascade down to the secretariat and to implement what has been agreed by the commissioners. For the Commission, this new arrangement facilitated a smooth implementation of the project activities which "worked much better after the focal points were designed in a very effective and efficient approach".

Since then, the NCIC has developed a strong sense of ownership of the activities conducted through the ECES-led project.

The capacity of ECES to adjust the project rapidly based on external needs indicated a proficient level of flexibility in the design of the Project, which was able to adapt to the Commission's request, even within a very short timeframe. It also reflected the strong political will of the EU Delegation in Kenya representing the European Union in Brussels to support the NCIC in the implementation of the 2022 election roadmap for peaceful elections.

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51: The programmatic development were made in cooperation with the NCIC Commission Secretariat led by the CEO on the basis that the work plan reflected the Commission's priorities at decision-making level.

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A management structure was set up to ensure a cost-effective implementation of the Pro-Peace activities.

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The budget and arrangements mechanisms of the project have been designed to ensure the best possible value for money and ratio for costs/activities. This ensures that implementations of the project are done in full conformity with EU regulation/PRAG and the ECES Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), which are ISO 9001:2015 certified<sup>53</sup> and apply to a quality management system within an organisation.

A Project Coordination Unit (PCU) was established in 2021 to implement the project's activities and proceed to the monitoring of the activities. The PCU functions as a coordinating hub and as a repository of knowledge, between ECES HQ, the donor, beneficiaries, and partners to implement activities. The PCU brings together international and national experts and support personnel as needed and defined in the project/contract's planned activities.

The PCU is led by a Chief Technical Advisor supported by a Deputy Project Coordinator (Administration and Operations) and a Deputy Project Coordinator (Program).

One Administrative and Finance Officer, a Project Assistant, a Senior Accountant and a Junior Project Officer were recruited in the country to support the Administrative and Financial Department headed by the Senior Finance and Administration Manager (FAM) until the end of the implementation period in August 2023.

Throughout the implementation of the project, ECES headquarters continuously monitored its performance<sup>54</sup>.

The active involvement of HQ and this unitary approach is also reflected at the financial level as only about 20% of payments are made in the field (the rest depends on Brussels), allowing for greater control as well as technical and financial supervision of the project.

Key experts have also been recruited to implement the project's four components. Most of the experts were recruited through a competitive process and, for the international experts, the recruitment process was conducted from ECES' database of qualified experts, which is diverse and experienced in the field of elections. From the stakeholders interviewed, the level of local and international experts was indicated as quite good.

In addition, to ensure the project's proper technical and financial implementation, staff from the headquarters conducted periodic field missions for supervision and technical support to the Coordination Unit.

The overall supervision of the project was made under the supervision of Executive Director of ECES, to oversee the implementation of the project in its various aspects at ECES HQ.

Throughout the action, the PCU has provided narrative and financial monitoring reports under the supervision of the Monitoring and Reporting Officer as well as the Administrative and Financial Department.

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53: <https://www.iso.org/standard/62085.html>

54: As reflected in the Monitoring Report of September 2022.

Two annual narrative reports were provided by the Project, one covering the period from 1 November 2021 until 30 October 2022 and another covering the last two months of 2022.

ECES' budget follows the same principles for all its projects. Namely, based on real costs with a provision for indirect costs of 7% (based on the total amount of eligible costs). That 7% allows for the covering of the costs related to the indirect management of the project as well as the costs related to project design and implementation that cannot be included in the budget.

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ECES was directly awarded the contract by the EU to implement Pro-Peace. This indirectly placed a high level of pressure on ECES to deliver “products” with an approach that was cost-effective and represented a certain value for money ratio for the EU.

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On the EU side, as ECES was directly awarded the EU contract to implement Pro-Peace in Kenya without going through a competitive process because of time constraints, the level of expectation was quite high at the beginning of the implementation of the project as there were many other key players/organisations who were technically eligible to support a peaceful electoral environment in this thematic area.

This represented a challenge for ECES, which had to demonstrate its capability to deliver a large number of activities and quality inputs, which would represent a substantive value for money in a short period of time -- only 10 months before the general elections of August 2022.

ECES pre-financed the first five months of the implementation of Pro-Peace to ensure that activities could start between November 2021 and January 2022, as it was already late to implement activities and generate the expected outputs. To some extent, the tight agenda gave the Project limited time to engage the stakeholders and beneficiary institutions into long-term capacity building activities. These require continuous engagement all along the electoral cycle.

As per the stakeholders interviewed, the EU expectations were met. For the EU, which was receiving daily updates on the different components, regular media monitoring reports, early warning reports, and weekly reports, the Project was very intense and professional in its delivery. Visibility of the project was also quite high, displaying the EU's commitment to supporting peaceful elections in Kenya.

One of the positive aspects of the Project is that ECES maintained a very neutral image throughout the implementation of the activities. It has managed the dependency and reputation risk aspect of the Project very well. As per the stakeholders interviewed, even if the Project was dealing with electoral institutions such as the IEBC, which benefited from a lot of project training, ECES support was not perceived as an interference with the politics of the country.

According to the EU, they "have not had any significant or insignificant problems with the project. It has never been presented to the press and has never been subject to interference from political actors"<sup>55</sup>. In the context of Kenya, this political exposure was a major risk as the NCIC was working with the past Government for many years. The ECES Project was not perceived as being biased to one of the political players.

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55: Francesco Carboni. Programme Officer, Foreign Policy Instruments East and Southern Africa section,

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Administrative and financial requirements do not facilitate a cost-effective approach to project implementation at the grass-roots level and in remote localities.

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For some of the stakeholders interviewed, the EU and ECES administrative procedures for committing and disbursing funds are very burdensome because of the supporting documents.

This was particularly the case when the Project had to organise events locally and when hotels in semi-urban areas hosted the events, which apparently cost much more than if the training/events could have been organised in local facilities.

This suggests that the procedures followed by the Project provides transparency and good financial management, but they are not as compatible with an efficient approach when it comes to reserving facilities in remote areas.

For several stakeholders interviewed, a more flexible approach to accommodate local facilities would support an efficient approach when the Project is implementing activities in rural remote areas.

### 3.5. Impact - Is there any evidence that the project's achieved significant and sustainable higher-level change, or other effects in Kenya?

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Pro-Peace Kenya contributed to the success of the peaceful elections in 2022.

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In a project such as this one, where so many peace building actors were committed to pursuing the same objective in Kenya to ensure a peaceful electoral environment for the election, it is quite difficult to measure the level of impact that can be attributed specifically to the Project.

As the mission of the NCIC is to promote national unity, equity and the elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination by facilitating equality of opportunities, peaceful resolution of conflicts and respect for diversity among Kenyan communities, one of the biggest impacts of the Project has been to accompany the NCIC in carrying out its road map for peaceful elections 2022.

For the President of the NCIC, the evaluation carried out by his organisation showed that the 2022 elections were the most peaceful since the introduction of a multi-party system in the country as the political and electoral related violence reduced. According to the NCIC chairman, "ECES is part of this history".

As per the stakeholders interviewed, the media campaign activities<sup>56</sup> were very useful to support tolerance, trust, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans during the election period. The NCIC brought together artists from various genres to spread peace through peace caravans and rallies

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56: Peace caravan, going into the hotspots Countee's, the printing and dissemination of material, tee shirts, fliers, templates distributed across the Countee's, singing the songs in their dialect.

in different parts of the countries. The release of the song 'One Kenya, One People, One Love'<sup>57</sup> was spread around many media houses, guiding millions of citizens toward the road for peaceful elections even beyond the election period. The song was preceded by a peace concert in Nakuru.

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The Project provided a tactical response to repeated incidents in some of the area affected by local conflicts through the identification of hot spots.

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The Project accomplished much in terms of geographic coverage as it engaged a lot of stakeholders throughout the county. Additionally, evidence shows that Pro-Peace improved peaceful and effective conflict resolution mechanisms, particularly in the Counties which were identified by the Project as “hot spots” and where intensified efforts needed to be provided to support an environment free from electoral violence.

The Project's response to hate speech has been very effective in the country and, particularly, in these 'hot spots', which were affected by land and pasture and other social grievances.

The 6 identified hotspots are located in Nairobi, Nakuru, Kericho, Kisumu, Uasin Gishu and Mombassa.

Given that hate speech and misinformation have been the cause of violence in previous Kenyan elections, addressing this issue this was a major concern given the large number of Kenyans who use social media. The Commission chairperson Samuel Kobia told a news conference on Feb 18 – 2022 that the issue of hate speech was going to be given high priority by the Commission and they were going to ensure that leaders who are spewing hate are dealt with accordingly<sup>58</sup>.

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The Project supported initiatives that increased inclusion and citizen participation in the electoral process.

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Although the Constitution of Kenya 2010 provides a legal framework for the government to fulfill basic rights, for the marginalize and vulnerable groups, youth dissatisfaction and apathy were reported as notable challenges ahead of the 2022 elections, as per various sources<sup>59</sup>.

In accordance with its initial design, the Project targeted inclusivity in most of its activities to engage youth, women, and vulnerable groups. Since reducing the gender gap in the electoral process will take a long time, the Project ensured that disenfranchised groups, mainly women and young people, were systematically included in its activities. Entry points for structured engagement with youth movements, women and vulnerable groups, particularly in fragile localities, were identified by the Project early and further developed.

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57: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1yJxeedpWkQ>

58: <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2022/02/nairobi-mombasa-kisumu-among-23-hotspot-counties-ncic-says/>

59: This includes Pro -Peace Kenya phase 2 project proposal

The project had a very positive effect on women, youth and elders as it provided them with the opportunity/platform to engage in various issues related to peaceful elections, particularly at the grass-roots level. However, according to various stakeholders interviewed, in the local communities and at the grass-roots level, the elders are very engaged in peace-building efforts and youth have the feeling that they are excluded from the peace-building processes at the community level.

Moreover, according to other stakeholders, women are not given enough space at the community level. More women need to be engaged in peace building activities.

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The impact of the Project's activities extends beyond the electoral period, particularly in addressing issues of inter-community violence as it contributed to strengthen social cohesion within the communities during the 22 months of implementation.

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This Project demonstrates that violence prevention activities are highly relevant in the Kenyan electoral context and shows that they support social cohesion within communities, the effects of which extend well beyond the electoral period. To some extent, capacity-building sessions and dialogue with traditional leaders and elders on peace-building initiatives and mechanisms for dialogue and reconciliation have had an impact within the communities where Project activities have been carried out. The effects have been particularly significant at the grass-roots level, going beyond the context of elections as the Project contributed to the revival of the institutionalised dialogue between and among communities.

A lot of issues were raised during these sessions to promote harmony among racial, ethnic and other interest groups, such as peace messages ahead of the election period.

Security issues and chronic inter-ethnic, land-related, ideological, resource-related, cross-border, human-wildlife, and religious conflicts were part of the dialogue within communities to reduce tensions and avoid an escalation of the violent conflicts exacerbated during the election period.

One of the significant examples did take place in Isiolo, where a meeting with the elders of the communities was meant to promote peace messages in the six communities of Meru, Samburu, Turkana, Somali, Borana, and Sakuye.

This approach was very relevant as Pro-Peace Kenya contributed to the de-escalation of the violence through community-led peace initiatives. It also made use of existing early warning systems to help communities better anticipate the risks of having the violence spreading in several regions of the country.

### 3.6. Sustainability. To what extent will the main beneficiaries of the intervention be able to sustain the results of the action (programmatically, politically and financially)?

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For the NCIC, the biggest challenge is how to sustain the gains that have been made during the electoral process.

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For many stakeholders interviewed, "politics in Kenya in 2022 has shifted from an ethnic to a thematic basis"<sup>60</sup>, as this was the first time in Kenya's history that "issue-based campaigning was encouraged more than at other times, as opposed to ethnicity-based campaigning". It was a sign of maturity. Efforts were provided in this direction by the peace building actors, in 2022 and even in 2023, during the post-election period when signs of political tension started to emerge in Kenya with opposition-led mass demonstrations, leading to a spike in disorder in the country, particularly in April 2023.

As the elections 2022 were quite peaceful, the biggest challenge for the NCIC is sustaining the progress that has been made during the electoral process and ensuring that the people of Kenya adopt a culture of peace instead of continuing to propagate a culture of violence.

For ECES in Kenya, the challenges also include consolidating the democratic successes achieved so far, given that the Project's greatest contribution has been to tackle the immediate context to support peaceful elections.

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Pro–Peace Kenya provides several durable elements to the beneficiaries, such as the media-monitoring center. However, the Project could have done much more to transfer skills and expertise if the period of implementation had been longer.

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The various policy-relevant studies and research conducted under the Pro-Peace, such as the Elect Electoral Political Economy Analyses (EPEA) and Security Threat Assessment (ESTA), provided baseline data for future interventions. They are solid and sustainable elements of the Project that have been delivered to the NCIC for further use in the next electoral process.

Undoubtedly, the LEAD capacity developments training was a life-changing experience for most of the beneficiaries of the Project. The training has provided them with a deepened understanding of the dynamic of electoral violence. It was a short but intense experience that most likely had an impact on their long-term mindset.

Similarly, the media monitoring centre is a very sustainable part of the Project. Monitors were trained, equipment was purchased, and capacity was transferred to the NCIC by the experts of the Project. This knowledge and technicality are very sustainable elements that will be useful for the upcoming electoral periods, particularly to monitor hate speech.

For the NCIC, it was the first time that they were able to operationalise the concepts of media monitoring unit and early warning systems with real people and real data. As per the NCIC chairman, "the lasting legacy of the ECES project would be the establishment of the media monitoring unit. We are able to see what is happening in real time across the country, and the information we got gave us the ability to be proactive and take action before the situation escalates".

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60: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-62215613>



“We will run the media monitoring center because we have the equipments, ECES transferred the technical know-how, the skills... during the elections we had 72 people working in the media monitoring unit and, in the future, we will have 10 to 15 people working on it”.

According to the project team, much more could have been done to transfer knowledge, skills and expertise to support the long-term capacity of the beneficiary institutions in addressing conflicts and electoral violence if the Project had been implemented in a longer period of time.

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The period of implementation, which was quite short, limited the scope of the interventions.

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According to various stakeholders, including NCIC members, the Project started too late and could have done much more during the post-electoral period to strengthen the institutional capacity of the various peacebuilding actors in Kenya and support their empowerment with a sustainable approach.

One of the main lessons learnt from the implementation of the Project is that there is a real desire for the Project's activities among those involved in peacebuilding activities, particularly among young people, women, and elders. LEAD training seems to be a life-changing experience for many participants. This finding seems to confirm this trend when ECES implemented the PEV in Ethiopia.

This suggests that the capacities of the various peace-building actors could be reinforced not only during electoral periods, but also throughout the electoral cycle, which would strengthen social cohesion in a very sustainable way and empower various communities with tools to deter and prevent violence. This is what revealed the multi-stakeholder approach adopted by the Project.

## 4. Conclusions, lessons learned and recommendations

### 4.1 Conclusions

In partnership with the NCIC, ECES delivered strong thematic action and support to prevent and mitigate violence in a country where the context was traditionally marred by recurring electoral violence. Pro-Peace KENYA contributed to the de-escalation of the violence through various initiatives, including community-led peace initiatives. In conjunction with other actors the Project did a lot to address the issue of violence and, to a certain extent, there is evidence that the Project contributed to the peaceful outcome of 2022 general elections.

The overall design of the Project was highly relevant in the context of Kenya. The financing of actions through the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace, which focused on crisis management and peacebuilding, was relevant as well. The Project was designed for an 18-month period<sup>61</sup> and, during the period of implementation, it managed to deliver a significant number of outputs.

The perception of the Project from stakeholders is very positive. Providing the opportunities for open debates during the elections period and strengthening the capacity of peace actors within

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61: Extended to 4 more months through a no cost extension

communities has effectively delivered in terms of outreach, inclusiveness, and geographic coverage--given the social, ethnic, and religious diversity of the country, and the time constraints of the 22-month project implementation. While public outreach played an important role in reducing the electoral violence, it is acknowledged that entrenching a culture of tolerance and non-violence is a long-term endeavour. Thus, the initial effort put in place by the Project needs to be continued, particularly to strengthen the capacity of the actors in Kenya involved into peacebuilding activities. Through its inclusive approach, the Project has been one of the strongest voices in advocating for the most vulnerable groups, working towards inclusion, tolerance and peace at the grass-roots and national level. As per the stakeholders interviewed, “the methodology adopted by the project is a good one, the format is solid, the specialised knowledge is an added value for the beneficiaries. “

Another lesson learnt is that the Project approach, which was enriched through the ECES/CECOE experience in Ethiopia during the 2019 elections and adjusted to the Kenyan context, seems replicable.

In Counties where communities are very diverse and compete over land rights, ethnic identity and access to national politics, such as in the Rift Valley<sup>62</sup>, resulting in a highly 'politicized' environment with a risk of political violence during election periods, the Project's activities were effective and highly relevant. It supported the national cohesion far beyond the context of elections.

After 22 months of implementation, the Project has reached its term and many stakeholders interviewed suggested that, in the current Kenyan context, the continuation of activities similar to those conducted by Pro-Peace would be strongly recommended. This opinion is based not only on the performance of the Project but also on the lessons learned, particularly the need to support the establishment of an institutional mechanism to deter and prevent electoral violence and to strengthen the capacity of several institutions dealing with the peace architecture in Kenya.

## 4.2 Lessons learned & Recommendations

### 1. Relevance of the Project approach to address electoral violence in Kenya

**Lessons learned:** The methodology adopted in Ethiopia and in Kenya to prevent and address electoral violence has been very effective.

**Recommendation:** In view of the next electoral cycle, capitalise on the positive outcome and continue building on the methodology that has proven to be effective.

### 2. Mass media campaign and effectiveness in targeting a wide audience

**Lessons learned:** Mass campaigns, songs and public meetings have demonstrated their capacity to reach thousands of people directly and millions of Kenyans indirectly.

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62: Land has occupied a central place in this area so much so that it has remained the most “politicized” region in Kenya, as attested to by cycles of political violence that have mired the province every election cycle since the late 1980s, and particularly following the bungled 2007 general elections. Source : [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137444134\\_9](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137444134_9)

**Recommendation:** Replicate the mass campaign, songs and public meetings to reach a large number of citizens.

**3. The value of electoral violence prevention work is crucial in a country prone to community-based conflicts as it strengthens social cohesion.**

**Lessons learned:** The Project's activities have influence beyond the electoral context, particularly in addressing issues of inter-community violence, and it contributes to strengthen the social cohesion within the communities.

**Recommendation:** Long-term approaches to support the prevention of electoral violence is recommended, particularly to address inter-community violence.

**4. A long-term, multi-stakeholder approach to strengthening peace-building actors capacity.**

**Lessons learned:** The Project demonstrated that the multi-stakeholders approach followed by ECES to prevent, mitigate and manage political and electoral violence was highly relevant in the context of Kenya.

**Lessons learned:** The Project strengthened the capacity of the NCIC to address the electoral violence during the 2022 elections. It provided them with new expertise that has been very useful in fulfilling their institutional mandate.

**Lessons learned:** In terms of sustainability, the transfer of expertise to the various peace-building players was hindered by the short implementation period as the Project addressed the immediate context to support peaceful elections as a priority.

**Recommendation:** Starting the activities earlier in order to increase their impact in future electoral processes.

**Recommendation:** Engage in capacity development of various peacebuilding actors throughout the electoral cycle to ensure that there is sufficient time to transfer the knowledge, skills and expertise needed to prevent, mitigate and manage electoral violence. The best time to build capacity of the peacebuilding actors is between election periods.

**5. The positive effect of the Project as it supported an inclusive electoral process.**

**Lessons learned:** The Project had a strong orientation to support women, youth and elders as it provided them a platform to engage in various issues related to peaceful elections, particularly at the grass-roots level.

**Lessons learned:** There is a real desire for the Project's activities among those involved in peacebuilding activities, particularly among young people, women and elders.

**Lessons learned:** At the community level, young people feel excluded from peace-building processes and women are not sufficiently involved as peacebuilders, despite their potential to support social cohesion.

**Recommendation:** Involving more young people and women in peace-building activities, particularly at the grass-roots level.

## **6. Concern about hate speech in Kenya spreading on social media.**

**Lesson learned:** Hate speech and misinformation have played a strong role in the violence of previous Kenyan elections.

**Lesson learned:** In the previous years, hate speech has migrated online.

**Recommendation:** In the next election cycle, priority should be given to training journalists on hate speech and on addressing these issues in social media, given the large number of Kenyans who use social media.

**Recommendation:** Support the NCIC in adopting standard operating procedures (SOPs) and guidelines to address hate speech on a continuous basis.

## **7. Adopting a more flexible approach at the grass-roots level to be able to book local facilities and decrease the cost of the interventions.**

**Lesson learned:** The procedures followed by the Project provide good financial management, but they are not compatible with an efficient approach when it comes to reserving facilities in remote areas. This was particularly the case when the Project had to organise events locally and when hotels in semi-urban areas hosted the events, which apparently cost much more than if the training/events could have been organised in local facilities.

**Recommendation:** Conduct a reflection on how to organise activities in remote areas using local facilities while complying with ECES/ EU financial procedures.

## **ANNEXE 1 - INTERVIEWS**

### **PROJECT TEAM**

Giovani Barbeara -Deputy Project coordinator

Hajer Mhedhbi - Finance officer

Hamza Fassi-Fihri - Deputy Project Coordinator

Castro Barbaza -Early warning coordinator

### **ECES HQ**

Filiberto Sebregondi – Vice President of the Strategic & Advisory Committee of ECES.

### **European Commission**

Francesco Carboni - Kenya · Regional Crisis Response Planning Officer - East and Southern Africa ·

### **National Cohesion and Integration Commission**

-Commissioner Rev. Dr. Samuel Kobia, is the Chairman NCIC

- Commissioner Dr. Danvas Makori -NCIC
- Commissioner Mr. Samuel Kona- NCIC

### **Secretariat NCIC**

- MS. Metet is the Deputy Director Corporate Communications.
- Mr. Millicent Okatch - Director of Research & Knowledge Management.
- Mr, Killian Nyambu - Deputy Director Public Education and Engagement.
- Mr. Liban Guyo - Deputy Director Peace Building and Reconciliation

### **Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission (IEBC)**

- Tabitha Mutemi Manager, Communications and Corporate Affairs

### **Isiolo County – Field visit**

- Adan Gollo – Youth representative- Isiolo Peacelinks
- Joyce Nairesia – Chairperson Samburu Elders Council
- Francis Merinyi - Principal regional officer–
- Kepha Marube – Deputy county commissioner
- Dabaso Boru – Chairman of the isiolo peace committee

### **Electoral Law & Governance Institute for Africa (ELGIA)**

- Mr. Felix Owuor - Executive Director of ELGIA

### **Election Observation Group (ELOG)**

- Mule Musau - National Coordinator

### **Political Parties Liaison Committee**

- Evans Misati -Director

## **ANNEXE 2 – DESK REVIEW**

- Project document: Project for the Promotion of Peace and Cohesion in Kenya by Preventing and Mitigating Electoral Conflicts
- Action plan –March-August 2023 -Update on April 6th
- Annual report year 1 Novembre 2021 – October 2022
- ECES KENYA Activity plan : Decembre 2022 – May 2023
- Table of implemented activities and results – Pro-Peace Kenya Year 1
- Grant contract -NDCI Crisis FP1 2022 /432 -044
- <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-62215613> “Kenyan election 2022, why the ethnic factor may be losing its power “
- IEBC “<https://www.iebc.or.ke/uploads/resources/pabjKTV6Xa.pdf>
- <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/economy/-donors-wired-sh12-billion-to-iebc-for-august-9—4053912>
- official website of the NSC . <https://www.nscpeace.go.ke/work/national-peace-coordination>
- <https://www.csis.org/blogs/smart-global-health/background-post-election-crisis-kenya>(By Jennifer Cooke, director, CSIS Africa Program)

- <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/kenya-tracing-roots-conflict-laikipia>.
- EUEOM KENYA – August 2022
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Kenyan\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Kenyan_constitutional_referendum)
- Towards a comprehensive Strategy with Africa” sources EU 2020 [https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final\\_en.pdf](https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final_en.pdf)
- [https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final\\_en.pdf](https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-03/communication-eu-africa-strategy-join-2020-4-final_en.pdf)