

Ending Cycles of Violence
Kenyan Quaker Peacemaking
Response after the 2007 Election

2013 Election Update

**Judy Lumb, Kathy Ossmann, Joe Ossmann
and David Zarembka**

Foreword by Joseph Mamai Makokha

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- Celebration and documentation of Earth and all her inhabitants,
- Restoration and conservation of Earth's natural resources,
- Creative expression of the sacredness of Earth and Spirit.



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Preface

This Addendum includes the additional pages added to the 2012 book, *Ending Cycles of Violence: Kenyan Quaker Peacemaking Response to the 2007 Election* to produce *Ending Cycles of Violence II* after the 2013 election. This was made possible because Kathy and Joe Ossmann volunteered for AGLI to assist David Zarembka with the monitoring of the 2013 election. They had two major assignments. They supported AGLI's training, call-in center and election monitoring work during the campaign and election period. After the election they carried out an assessment of the peacemaking work of AGLI/Friends Church Peace Team in the Mount Elgon area.

The new Chapter Nine, The 2013 Election written by David Zarembka, Kathy and Joe Ossmann, describes what happened in the much anticipated 2013 Kenya election. Beginning with civic education on the new constitution, this chapter describes the experience of election observers and citizen reporters. While the process appeared orderly and there was no repeat of the extensive violence that followed the 2007 election, many anomalies were documented.

The new Chapter Ten, Assessment of Friends' Peacemaking Work: Mount Elgon written by Kathy and Joe Ossmann, describes their work, along with Benter Obonyo and Ezra Kigundu. They interviewed 89 individuals in six Mt. Elgon communities, who had been participants in one or more of the Friends peacemaking programmes (see Appendix for interview methods and list of interviewees). The interviews took place the last week of March, just after the Kenyan national elections on March 4, 2013, which allowed exploration of the relationship between the Friends programmes and the contrasting levels of violence during the last two election periods.

Judy Lumb
May 2013

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our deep gratitude to the Mt. Elgon residents who took the time and effort to meet with us and share their stories. We appreciate their honesty, courage, perceptive remarks, and useful suggestions. We are also grateful to all those on the mountain who offered hospitality in their homes, offices, shops, and churches. The children especially touched our hearts and made us feel like celebrities.

We could never have left square one without our Friends Church Peace Team (FCPT) support team. Getry Agizah, FCPT Coordinator, and Peter Serete, FCPT Call-in Center Coordinator, were our ever ready safety net. They got us to and from our base in Chwele, handled lodging arrangements, arrived at strategic times to assist, and provided helmets for the inexperienced motorbike passengers from America. Many thanks; your efforts allowed us to just show up and do our work.

We are especially grateful to Pastor Erastus Chesondi, who gently guided and cared for us during our days on the mountain. He arranged for meals, transport, venues, people to interview, schedules that flowed flawlessly, and, managed to get us down the mountain before the rains hit each day. Every meal, every *bodaboda* (motorbike) ride up and down the mountain that he arranged revealed his care for us. When we arrived in each location his network of resource people were there helping with logistics of people and places. We could see why AGLI/FCPT coordinators refer to him as an effective mobilizer. It is the stuff of miracles that he is able to do so much after what he has been through. Although a pastor in the Maranatha Church, he is said to embody the Quaker peace testimony more effectively than many Quakers.

The whole assessment team is grateful to David and Gladys for providing space in which we could do our work together and to those who have conducted assessments for AGLI/FCPT before us. They provided helpful models, standards and ideas that made our process easier.

We are grateful to the African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI) of the Friends Peace Teams (US) who provided funding and administrative support. Special thanks to all those in America who contributed to the extended service volunteer fund. Most fervent thanks to David Zarembka, AGLI Coordinator, who has guided the process from start to finish. We thank David and his wife Gladys Kamonya for opening their home to provide a home base during our three months in Kenya. The *chakula* (food) was great, the services very helpful, and the friendship without price.

Kathy and Joe Ossmann
May 28, 2013

List of Abbreviations

AGLI	African Great Lakes Initiative
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AVP	Alternatives to Violence Project
CAPI	Change Agents for Peace International
FCPT	Friends Church Peace Team
FPCD	Friends in Peace and Community Development
FUM	Friends United Meeting
FWCC	Friends World Committee for Consultation
HROC	Healing and Rebuilding Our Communities
QPCC	Quaker Project on Community Conflict
QPN	Quaker Peace Network
QPSW	Quaker Peace and Social Witness
RPP	Reflecting on Peace Process
ToT	Training of Trainers
TTT	Turning the Tide

CHAPTER NINE

The 2013 Election

***Citizen Reporter/Call-in Center—David
Zarembka***



After a successful pilot project for the 2010 Burundian elections, which is described in the *Peaceways* Fall 2011 issue, AGLI decided to implement a more ambitious project for the 2013 Kenyan elections.

The concept was to train citizens to become “citizen reporters” and connect them with a Call-in Center where they could text any information they gather in their community. The whole election cycle was observed and not just election day itself since much of the fraud and intimidation occurs before the election, and post-election violence is possible as occurred on a massive scale in Kenya after the December 2007 election.

We conducted thirty-four trainings and enrolled 1,204 citizen reporters in our network. Many of these citizen reporters are in remote places where the media never goes.

The five-hour citizen reporter training sessions were filled with discussion, role play, guidelines for citizen reporters, and security concerns. For example, the citizen reporter needs to be aware of indicators of violence such as hate speech or development of youth gangs. These indicators need to be reported to the Call-in Center so that remedial action can quickly be taken. December 18 was the last day of the month-long voter registration. Peter Serete, the Coordinator for the Call-in Center, texted the 900 citizen reporters that had been trained by then and asked them to go to their polling stations to see if the ending process was orderly and proper for the last two days. Over 200 of the citizen reporters sent in text messages and there were no reports of major problems.

On January 17 most political parties in Kenya had their nominations for the various elective positions. We texted our citizen reporters and asked them to observe these nominations in their community. We got many messages of late delivery of ballot papers, anger at the waiting, and bribery during the nominations. Then the major political campaigning began and the citizen reporters reported numerous cases of bribery by the local politicians and their agents.

There is no point in receiving accurate information if nothing is done about negative situations that are reported. As we developed this programme, I was worried about how we might respond to incidents of intimidation and violence. Our time and energy concentrated on reacting to the information we received.

The most serious reports we received were from Mt. Elgon. From 2006 to 2008 this area had an armed conflict between two clans of the Sabaot in which about 600 people were killed and another 100,000 displaced. We had five citizen reporter trainings on Mt. Elgon for 189 citizen reporters.

One of our Quaker guidelines is to work with all sides in any conflict. This includes the government officials who have little guidance or training on how to resolve the contentious issues that are arising in their communities. Two chiefs and three sub-chiefs, community-level government officials, attended HROC workshops on Mt. Elgon. Getry Agizah, the FCPT coordinator, was asked by a local police commissioner to meet with her police officers. Getry met with 45 officers and could feel the fear inside them. They told her that they wanted the public to understand that they are also human and have feelings.

We had just finished our first workshop there on August 15, when the Call-in Center received a report that one of our original HROC participants in Mt. Elgon had been assassinated in his home. The next morning a few of our HROC facilitators/citizen reporters visited with the grieving wife and asked her if one of them could speak at the funeral. She agreed. We texted our local contacts and about forty of them

attended this funeral. Erastus Chesondi, our lead HROC facilitator and citizen reporter on Mt. Elgon, gave a strong peace message at the funeral. We also attended a chief's meeting to discuss this situation and the FCPT/AGLI participants gave their feedback. Soon thereafter four more people were killed, a school was burned down, and hate leaflets were distributed ordering all those who were not born on Mt. Elgon to return to where they came from.

This led us to increase our response in Mt. Elgon. That decision was also made possible by the political situation. In the 2007-2008 post-election violence one of the most contentious conflicts was between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin groups. FCPT/AGLI had put considerable resources into working with the youth of the Turbo area, a hot spot of Kikuyu-Kalenjin conflict. Two presidential candidates in the 2013 election, Uhuru Kenyatta (Kikuyu) and William Ruto (Kalenjin), were on opposite sides of the 2007 election and both are charged and awaiting trial at the International Criminal Court for inciting violence. When they made an alliance in December of 2012 with Kenyatta running for President and Ruto as his running mate, the tension in Turbo was considerably lessened. So, FCPT/AGLI decided to focus their efforts in Mt. Elgon.

Before the end of 2012, FCPT/AGLI had held four HROC workshops for about 80 individuals in Mt. Elgon. In January of 2013 we trained eighteen healing companions (eight women and ten men) from Mt. Elgon at the Peace House at Lugari Yearly Meeting. Theoneste Bizimana from Rwanda and Florence Ntakarutimana from Burundi led this training. Before the election these apprentice facilitators together with lead facilitators conducted eight basic HROC workshops on Mt. Elgon for about 160 people. Kathy and Joe Ossmann, Benter Obonyo, and Ezra Kigundu did an assessment of the work on Mt. Elgon, which is reported in Chapter Ten.

Voter Education—David Zarembka

In August 2010, Kenyans overwhelming approved a new constitution. While there were many changes including enhanced rights for women, the biggest change was that the

nine provinces were divided into 47 counties that will have control over local issues. In this devolved government each county will be led by an elected governor and a county-wide legislature.

In order for citizens to understand these changes, the Friends Church Peace Team supported by the African Great Lakes Initiative (FCPT/AGLI) conducted 72 one-day seminars for 4,500 participants plus 13 shorter, informal seminars in churches and government meetings for about 1,500 people. These seminars were based on the philosophy that if people know and understand the political process and are willing to participate in it, they are less likely to resort to violence to redress their grievances.

The seminar covered four main topics: (1) the electoral process, (2) the leadership and integrity requirements according to the new constitution, (3) the Bill of Rights, and (4) the new devolved governmental system. The boundaries of the 47 new counties were drawn along ethnic and clan lines in many parts of the country, leading to minority groups with no possibility of winning electoral office with tribal-based voting patterns. The government itself has determined that 27 of the new counties have potential for ethnic violence.

We have found that, on the one hand, citizens know very little about the new constitution, but, on the other hand, they are eager to learn. Most of the seminars had between 40 and 80 participants. People did not want to end the seminar when it was time for the facilitators to return home.

Voter registration for the upcoming election was disappointing and well under the goal set by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). Eighteen million voters were expected to enroll, but only 14 million voters did so. On Mt. Elgon FCPT/AGLI did civic education in three of the six locations, the smallest electoral unit in Kenya. Those three locations with civic education seminars had nine percent higher registration of voters than those where we did not conduct civic education seminars. Voter registration in Turbo constituency where FCPT/AGLI has been working for

the last few years was 92 percent of the estimated, 21 percent more than the two adjoining constituencies.

Can we claim credit for this success? Getry Agizah, the FCPT coordinator, thinks so. Of course, the kind of work we do is not like drilling for oil, where it comes gushing out and you can claim success. While during the 2007 election and post-election violence, the youth in Turbo division spear-headed the violence, Getry says “now they are interested, even excited by the election. While they did not register well in 2007, they have this time. If you reach out to the youth, they will respond.”

Voter Education Programme—Kathy Ossmann

In mid-February, just weeks before Kenyans cast votes in the first election since adopting a new constitution in 2010, I co-facilitated a voter education session in southern Nandi County, site of significant post-election violence after the last national election in 2007. We met in a church near the cluster of Quaker schools in Kaimosi. Quaker pastors from the Tuloi Friends Yearly Meeting were invited, in keeping with the FCPT/AGLI strategy of training people in positions to share the information with others.

The devolution of centralized to county governmental structures in the constitution significantly changed the electoral procedures. Our voter education curriculum included descriptions of the structures and roles for the new national and county units, responsibilities for each elective office and how these changes impacted the voting process.

The new constitution also addresses many of the problems that led to conflict and violence during and after the 2007 election, including fraudulent voting. For example, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) was created to ensure free, fair and transparent elections.

Our sessions included materials about what to expect at the polling station with this and other changes to prevent fraud. The training also covered the importance of voting, making wise choices, the new Code of Conduct signed by

all candidates and political parties, and the “leadership and integrity” portion of the constitution.

At the conclusion, we asked the pastors to share this information with their churches on the three Sundays remaining before the election. All commented that they had learned something new in the session and agreed to pass along the information. About halfway through our session a young man on crutches joined us. He raised some excellent questions about policies for assisting disabled voters during the voting process. I’m quite certain that he, too, intended to share the information with other disabled people in his community.

4th March 2013 Election—David Zarembka

On March 9th Uhuru Kenyatta was declared the 4th president-elect of Kenya by the Chairman of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). It was a close, but not close, contest. Uhuru obtained 6,173,433 votes for 50.06 percent of the votes cast. Raila Odinga received 5,340,548 votes for 43 percent, so it was not close. But the winning candidate must obtain 50 percent plus one vote in order to win. As you can see above, Uhuru only got 0.06 percent or 8418 more votes than he needed for the absolute majority. Otherwise there would have been a run-off election. Upon hearing the announcement, Raila Odinga indicated that he was going to challenge these results in court.

At that time our citizen reporters texting the Call-in Center reported tension in the Raila stronghold areas, but no unrest or violence. One message reported, “Siaya County (Raila’s home) is so calm and have received and accepted the final presidential results. Residents are happy for the sake of peace, for economic growth. They say, ‘Uhuru is Kenya’s 4th President.’”

Urging the country to use the judicial system rather than the streets, Raila Odinga filed a petition with the Supreme Court of Kenya contesting the election. The petition argued that there were enough irregularities that could give Odinga more than 8,418 votes, which would have thrown the election

into a run-off. The Supreme Court had until the end of March to issue a ruling and the whole country waited.

On March 30, the Kenya Supreme Court ruled that Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto had been elected president and deputy president. Raila Odinga conceded defeat; on April 9th Kenyatta and Ruto were sworn in; and the country remained peaceful.

Kenya 2013 Election Observation—Kathy Ossmann

African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI) and Friends Church Peace Teams (FCPT) were among several organizations which were accredited by the IEBC to observe Kenya's national election on March 4, 2013. Others included the Carter Center, the European Union, the African Union, the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Quaker Peace Network-Africa, Turning the Tide, and a consortium of Kenyan civil society called Elections Observation Group.

Election observation was part of a AGLI/FCPT peace building strategy to prevent election violence, which focused on areas of western Kenya that had experienced violence in 2008 and, because of diverse ethnic populations, were susceptible to recurring violence in 2013. These included Turbo Constituency in Uasin Gishu County, Mount Elgon Constituency in Bungoma County, Vihiga Constituency in Vihiga County, and several constituencies in both Nandi and Kakamega counties. One location in Nyanza County was also included, not because of possible violence, but simply because we have a long-time lead facilitator who lives there.

AGLI/FCPT submitted names of 265 observers who were accredited by the IEBC. In day-long sessions observers were trained on the Code of Conduct for aspirants and political parties; processes for voting, counting and tallying; information in the "Guidelines and Code of Ethics" booklet IEBC provided for observers; and procedures for documenting and reporting observations. Upon completion of the sessions, 259 trainees received their IEBC badges and FCPT t-shirts and caps to wear for identification on election day.

Unlike other observer groups, AGLI/FCPT used a grass-roots approach. Except for three international observers, all volunteers were Kenyans living in the focus areas. Wherever possible, observers were assigned to the polling station in which they had registered. This allowed them to vote and also meant that they were familiar with the IEBC clerks, agents and voters in that location. When we had enough in a single location, pairs of observers worked each stream at the polling station. Also contrary to other observer groups, AGLI/FCPT observers were not paid an allowance or provided with meals. This was possible since they were in polling stations near their homes and it ensured a high level of commitment to the process. A total of 104 completed observation forms were turned in from 112 observers who worked in 83 polling station/streams.

Additionally, 1,030 trained community reporters observed the areas outside of polling stations and throughout their communities. They reported to the Call-in Center (CIC) via SMS text messages. The CIC had been in use since we initiated citizen reporting in mid-2012. A total of 53 messages pertaining to the election came into the CIC. Our CIC Coordinator managed these messages using SMSFrontline software which allowed us to keep the identity of the reporter confidential. This choice was made out of a concern for the safety of our community reporters. Consequently, unless the reporter included their location in a message, it is not possible to correlate every message with a polling station.

Our election observers reported that the conduct of the election varied considerably from station to station. In 19 of 83 (23%) polling stations there were no problems reported. Additionally, 21 of 53 SMS messages received by the CIC indicated no problems in and around polling stations. Of these SMS messages, 13 mentioned polling stations which were not covered by our accredited observers.

However, some significant problems were noted in other polling stations. These fall into the categories of IEBC irregularities, inappropriate agent behavior, and bribery.

AGLI/FCPT began encountering problems with IEBC performance during the issuance of observer badges. Our CIC Coordinator, Peter Serete, made five different trips from Kakamega to Nairobi to pick them up before they were completed. Then six were spoiled and over 20 had mismatched names and photos that IEBC did not have time to correct. Seven observers encountered hostility or were refused access in eight different polling stations. Three were not allowed entry at four different stations.

IEBC irregularities included the failure of electronic systems in 34 stations (41%), inappropriate agent behavior in 11 (13%) and overt bribery in six (7%).

Failure of IEBC electronic systems was pervasive. The most commonly reported causes for this failure were password issues and computer batteries that only lasted until sometime between 10 and 11:30 am, while the polls were open until five pm. Twenty-one stations observed were able to use the electronic system only part of the time. Another 10 could not use it at all. This meant that 27 percent of the stations resorted to manual registers some or all of the time.

Our observers reported that some manual registers were not organized effectively causing excessive time for clerks to find voters' listings and shuffling of voters from one stream to another.

Many stations were unable to transmit the results of the presidential ballot count electronically. Observers reported 24 of 83 stations (29.3%) that did not do electronic submission. One SMS message also indicated failure of this system.

Another category of IEBC irregularities included issues affecting the secrecy of voting. In two reported instances the way booths were set up did not adequately maintain privacy. Crowds of voters (two stations) or agents (six stations) were able to observe voters as they marked ballots in the booths.

In four polling stations our observers saw IEBC clerks issue multiple ballots for the presidential race. One observer reported to the Presiding Officer that a clerk was issuing

multiple presidential ballots to individual voters. The clerk was subsequently arrested and removed from the polling station. In this same station there were 23 percent more presidential votes than in the other five races, yet as far as we know, those votes were still added to the national totals. Our observers reported inappropriate agent behavior in 11 different polling stations (15.2%). These behaviors included campaigning in the polling station, watching how voters voted, telling voters how to vote and being uncooperative. In four of these instances a Presiding Officer or other security officer stopped the offense.

While bribery has the lowest percentage of the major problems observed, it is still a significant issue in Kenyan elections. On election day we received a number of reports regarding observable bribery. Accredited observers noted eight instances of bribery taking place in the vicinity of six polling stations observed. Six SMS messages reported bribery in at least four communities. In fact, bribery was the most common problem submitted to the CIC during the period of campaigning.

Looking at the pervasive problems with IEBC manual and automated procedures leads us to the conclusion that fraud on a wide scale could have easily happened and most likely did. At a minimum we recommend that a thorough audit of the election process be conducted.

CHAPTER TEN

Assessment of Friends Peacemaking Work in Mount Elgon



Kathy and Joe Ossmann

Since 2008, the partnership between the African Great Lakes Initiative and the Friends Church Peace Team (FCPT/AGLI) has conducted intensive programming in the Mt. Elgon region of western Kenya. These programmes have been complemented by related programmes offered by other Quaker-based organizations. Change Agents for Peace International (CAPI) administers the Turning the Tide (TTT) programme, which is funded by the British Yearly Meetings's Quaker Peace and Social Witness. In addition to caring for those who had been victimized, the programming was intended to help the community heal and to prevent violence related to the 2013 election.

The purposes of this assessment were to:

- Determine the impact of these programmes on individuals and communities in the region, particularly in terms of personal transformation and reduction in violence and tribalism.
- Provide input to decisions about the further direction of FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT programming on Mt. Elgon and other areas.

The principal assessment method was interviews with 89 individuals in six Mt. Elgon communities. These individuals had all been participants in one or more of the FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT programmes. The interviews took place during the last week of March, 2013. Additional interviews

were conducted with four persons who had been principal trainers and/or organizers of the programmes. The details of the interviews and a list of the persons interviewed are found in the Appendix (p. 47). All the interviews were recorded and all except one gave permission for their names and photos to be published. Although, regretfully, we could not include something here from every respondent, all their voices have been heard multiple times through the recordings and their comments informed our conclusions.

This assessment was conducted just a few weeks after the Kenyan national elections on March 4, 2013. Although there were some instances of violence on Mt. Elgon prior to the 2013 election, it was very peaceful in comparison to 2007-08. This timing allowed us to explore the relationship between the FCPT/AGLI/CAP/TTT programmes and the greatly contrasting levels of violence during the two election periods.



Assessment Team: (from left) Joe and Kathy Ossmann were serving as Extended Service Volunteers with AGLI during January-April, 2013. Benter Obonyo is a Community Health Worker with Academic Model Providing Access to Health Care in Turbo. Ezra Kigundu is the Director of the Lugari Community Development Programme. Ezra and Benter are active volunteers in FCPT programmes and committed peace activists.

Mount Elgon

Mt. Elgon, an immense shield volcano, dominates the landscape of western Kenya. Rising over 14,000 feet, it straddles the border between Kenya and Uganda. Streams and rivers have eroded those slopes so that from above it appears to be a large rippling skirt that covers an area of about 1400 square miles. A patchwork of fields, some green and others black and ready for planting, hint of the black soil, some of the most fertile in East Africa. Coffee plantations dot its lower slopes, yielding a lucrative export crop. Unfortunately, local farmers realize only a small portion of the profits which are eaten up by the cost of transportation and brokers who sell the crops mostly in the market town of Chwele just outside of the mountain's perimeter. Mt. Elgon is a disturbing combination of lush productive agriculture and high levels of poverty.

Within the mountain's ripples reside a resilient people who have endured more than their fair share of hardship. The dominant ethnic group is Kalenjin, the third largest ethnicity in Kenya. The Kalenjin are a loosely allied group of tribes with linguistic ties. Mt. Elgon's tribe is Sabaot with the further divisions of Ndorobo (the indigenous people) and Soy sub-tribes. A smaller portion of the local population are Bukusu, a tribe within the Luhya ethnic group, Kenya's second largest. Additionally there are a few Teso (a small minority ethnic group within the country), other Luhya tribes, and some Kikuyu. Ethnic conflicts over land have fueled much of Mt. Elgon's violent history.

Most people derive their livelihood from small *shambas* (plots of land) where they grow cash crops such as the small red onions and plum tomatoes that form a central core for Kenyan cuisine. Maize, potatoes (both sweet and white), and greens are often seen on passing donkeys heavily-laden with bags of produce heading to market. Some residents have small businesses, usually one-room shops that sell goods or provide services such as tailoring.

The area covered by this assessment is in the lower and mid-elevations on the southern slopes of the Kenyan portion of the mountain, next to the Uganda border. Our interviews

centered in six communities: Kipsigon, Kopsiro, Kubura, Kikai, Cheptais, and Chepkube, the sites where FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT programmes have been conducted. The largest town, Cheptais, has a population of approximately 4,000. They range from there to Kubura, with just a handful of families in the village proper. However, each of the communities is to some extent a hub for the dispersed farms, which are primarily small holdings.

Mount Elgon's History of Violence

The beauty of the mountain belies its violent history and, while resilient, the residents carry deep trauma as a result. There are two types of violence that can be identified, land and tribal-based, and election-related.

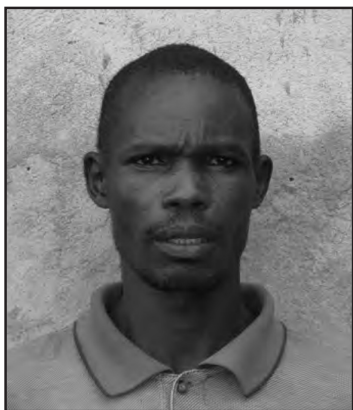
A common source of conflict arises over land ownership and usage. Although the Ndorobo, also known as Ogiek, are the indigenous hunter-gatherer people, they have been marginalized and continually displaced by other ethnic groups. The Soy, another clan of the Sabaots, have at various times moved into the area claiming lands, most notably when displaced from flatter arable areas of Trans Nzoia County by colonialists. After independence some Soy were resettled on the mountain by the government in various land agreements, many of which were not fully implemented. This situation was further exacerbated by the government's failure to deliver promised title deeds for those who were resettled.

Politicians in the area have proven adept at manipulating residents using promises of land, which has resulted in cycles of violence that arise every five years with the national elections. The 2007 election triggered the worst of these cycles.

The Sabaot Land Defense Force (SLDF), a Soy militia group, was formed shortly after the 2002 elections to contest land issues and intimidate voters. Some respondents said that it was formed by Fred Kapondi, a Member of Parliament (MP) candidate. The SLDF eventually resorted to widespread violence against any who opposed them, saving some of their worst tactics for Soy who refused to join or support them. They spread a reign of terror that included extortion,

murder, rape, theft, and torture. Kapondi was elected in 2007 even though he was jailed at the time of voting. This was the situation in Mt. Elgon when post-election violence erupted throughout Kenya providing a climate for continued brutalization of anyone suspected of failing to vote for Kapondi. An estimated total of 600 people were killed and tens of thousands were displaced.

In March of 2008 the Kenyan army mounted an operation which brought a halt to the SLDF. Although initially welcomed by the populace, the army themselves terrorized residents and brutalized suspected members of SLDF or anyone who might have information about militia members. Thousands of men and even older male children were imprisoned and tortured or killed. None of the human rights abuses committed by either the SLDF or the army were ever effectively prosecuted.



Winston Ndiwa Chemokoi of Chepkube tells of his experience when the army came.

“In 2008 during army operation time, I was arrested and taken to Kapkota where the army camp was located. I was beaten and I was really injured. They thought I was militia, but it was not so. They wanted to use me to get the real perpetrator, but it didn’t happen. I found

that I was suffering because of another person so I didn’t feel okay. That time I was going to the hospital. I could not take care of myself. I suffered psychologically. But when I got this training on HROC, I learned something about forgiveness and I was able to forgive so that life can continue. Before the workshop I didn’t go to the shamba (farm) because of the injuries. But now I know to talk with my family and they can listen to me and I can go to the shamba. I realized surely if we have peace that is the most important thing.” (Winston Ndiwa Chemokoi, Chepkube)

When the army killed the SLDF commander in May 2008 things began to calm down and residents began their long journeys of healing and recovery. There were rumors in early 2012 that the SLDF was regrouping. Kapondi ran for MP again for the Mt Elgon constituency in the 2013 election and lost with 31 percent of the vote. During the lead-up to the 2013 election there were eight killings reported and some house burnings. A school was also burned and there were hate leaflets distributed. On election day and after, Mt. Elgon remained calm. Compared to the experiences in 2007 and 2008 this election was blissfully peaceful.

Positive Findings

After reviewing hours of recorded interviews, our findings were overwhelmingly positive, making it clear that AGLI/FCPT/CAPI/TTT programmes have bettered the lives of individuals on Mt. Elgon and moved the culture there toward a more peaceful one. All 89 respondents who live on Mt. Elgon shared ways these programmes have improved their lives. Even those whose first exposure to Quaker programmes occurred just two months before stated that they have already received significant benefits.

The assessment team identified nine major benefits as well as three findings that project how these programmes can continue to assist the people of Mt. Elgon in the future. With so many factors affecting the conduct of the 2013 election, it is impossible to assess how much direct impact Quaker programmes had on the resulting peaceful process. Respondents, however, stated that these programmes were one of the influences. Significant beneficial results included better relationships between tribes, neighbors and family members; improved skills and knowledge; healing from psychological trauma; beneficial impacts on community life; and increased valuing of peace.

Pastor Erastus Chesondi tells why he is such an effective leader for FCPT programmes on Mt. Elgon. "Through my experience in life and these experiences in HROC I have assisted many people. Even before telling them, they know me very well. They know how I escaped everything.

“I joined FCPT during the post-election violence. It was 2009 and Getry Agizah, the FCPT Coordinator, invited me to attend HROC.

“When I went to HROC I was not the way I am now because I had experienced bad things that happened in my life to my family. I was outside of Mt. Elgon living at Kitale town where I went for rescue to save my life. I was displaced.

“I was targeted by the SLDF because I didn’t join them or support them in other different ways. They were targeting anybody who would not support them either financial or giving information. It happened I was hijacked by the militia group. I was taken to the forest and asked many questions. Later I was released but I was told to pay a fine. I was to pay 50,000 Kenya Shillings (US\$ 833). I told them to give me two weeks and I will make it. For that I was just preparing to run away. So they took me back to the IDP camp where I was staying before.



“I went to Kitale just to prepare myself. I told my wife ‘I want to leave you with the children and let me first move so I will get a job.’ I stayed there for one month and after that one of my friends at Kitale offered me a place to stay with my family. So I had to communicate with my wife and the children. They traveled to Kitale. They were escorted by policemen. We had also to pay them.

“Even now I have not gone back to where my house was in Mt. Elgon just beyond Kubura. I have a plot there half an acre. What I saw in those days I still remember. I don’t discourage people to go back. I invite them. But myself, I know what I’m going through. My sister was killed and we have

not buried her. She was hijacked the way I was hijacked. She was killed in a manner that we cannot know. We don't know where the body was thrown. Those people who were doing such things are still there. We work with them.

"HROC helped me because to me it was not easy to tell what I had been through, what I saw. I would first see if somebody's maybe around before I speak. As a human being I was also thinking 'Why can't I take revenge?' because I have my family members and they are strong like other people. Those days they were also armed like other people.

"But after going to these programmes I talked to myself and started forgiving people. It was apparent to me that revenge would make my life end soon. I have enjoyed being in HROC. It has assisted me in this process of healing. Even my best friends are those people who could be my enemies now."

Under Erastus' leadership hundreds of Mt. Elgon residents have found help in their healing journeys. An example of his peace building occurred in response to the man's assassination at home near Kipsigon in August 2012. Erastus worked with the local HROC community to assist the widow and speak with local leaders. A large HROC group attended the funeral where Erastus was invited to speak. These efforts averted the cycle of revenge which has been part of Mt. Elgon's pattern of violence.

Helen Makoe is a 40 year-old counselor, community facilitator, and business woman who lives and works in the market town of Cheptais on the southwestern slopes of Mt. Elgon. She has experienced horrors, but she has not just survived them, she has surmounted them to become a leader in her community, promoting peace and reconciliation, instead of someone who hates. She gives major credit to HROC for this transformation.

"2007 was bad because we had no civic education. During 2007 we had clashes. People killed each other. People raped women, they raped even young children. Up to now people are still suffering because of things which happened



in 2007. Some people live with HIV-positive, some live with fistula because of female genital mutilation (FGM), but now there is no FGM because of Civic Education. But during 2007 we had nothing like that. For now women are suffering from fistula because of raping, because of that FGM. Small children dropped out of school because they were raped. They were not taken to the

hospital because we had no security. But when HROC came, they came with Civic Education, so now people are educated. So during 2007 surely it was bad. I'm a victim of 2007.

"Before completing our HROC workshop, I was not a person who could forgive easy. Attending the HROC class I came to realize that when I see other people, I see myself in them. Because I can understand myself and others cannot understand me. After learning about the tree of mistrust in HROC, I found it was me because I had hatred of other people. I had no love for others. After that we had the tree of trust. I learned that tree of trust, more because I learned to love each other, to work together with friends, to sit together in dialog and talk.

"After that I passed another step, that was good listening and bad listening. Because I was one person who could not sit and listen to another person. But after the HROC workshop I am now a good listener. You can express your problem and I can sit and listen to you. I can be a good listener, give them my ears and eyes to observe what you are saying. After that we went through the forgiveness topic.

"Now in my work I see myself to be an important person in the community. I was trained by other organizations and there was no change, but after HROC workshop there was big

change. For now I can be invited in the Chief's meetings to talk about HROC. I can be invited by the head District Officer to talk about Johari's Window. I can be invited even in my church to talk about reconciliation and forgiveness. So HROC has brought change in my life."

Emily Sikhoya of Chepkube is an AVP facilitator, HROC healing companion, and resource person for AGLI/FCPT programmes in the Cheptais area. She also conducted voter education sessions and served as an election observer.



"When we did the trust walk at HROC it helped me know that in life there's a time when you're blind and you need a guide. In life there are so many things we undergo that make us blind. When HROC came it helped me realize that I was traumatized during the 2007 election. My brother was killed and thrown in the forest. We've never seen the grave.

My sister-in-law was picked out of her home. She was pregnant and they mutilated her body and left her there in the forest where she died. That thing affected me for a long time. HROC taught me how to get out of those effects and I got out. Many of the women I counsel have trauma. I've tried to help them following what we were taught at HROC. It really helps the women."

Help with Psychological Trauma

Since AGLI brought facilitators from Rwanda and Burundi to begin HROC workshops in the Mt. Elgon area, 21 HROC workshops have been conducted on Mt. Elgon for a total of 550 participants. Additionally, a local training for 18 Healing Companions (HROC facilitators) was held. In February 2013, just before the election, these newly trained healing companions apprenticed in eight workshops preparing them for potential election-related violence.

The HROC three-day workshop has four major topics: understanding trauma, grief, positive and negative aspects of anger, and rebuilding trust. No single workshop can heal the kind of deep trauma that Mt. Elgon's people carry. However, in 79 responses respondents report significant mental health improvements that they attributed to HROC. We can conclude that HROC has started many on a healing journey and provides healing companions and follow-up events to help individuals continue healing.

"I was one who was affected during the time this place was chaotic, and even I wound up losing my brother. I lost my properties and so many other things, and I migrated to this place and went to the other side, so I lost everything. When this training came it made me glad because in my heart I had that big weight, when I saw my brother being killed. When this teaching came up I was able to grieve about it and share with other people what happened. Even now when I share about it I just feel relieved." (Francis Ruree, Chepkurkur)

"What really happened to me, I lost my father in the year 2007 because of these politics. I lost my cow, my house was burned, I also heard the gunshots, and so it caused me to have that pressure. So after attending the HROC class it has really helped me. Death is a normal event and it is something we have to pass through. So after attending this class it has really helped me, even my neighbors. The anger I had before, I don't have it." (Sylvia Tibin, Kubura)

"On my side, I had some deep thoughts concerning my life because we were left, three girls and one boy, and that was from 1992 to 2002. We had lost all of our parents and I was really crying because of my lost brother. So when he died, every moment when I was thinking about him, I remembered the way he used to assist us, and now there was no other help. On the other hand we were taught that if you have so much pain, when you are crying you are relieving yourself. And then we were given the opportunity of healing from grief. And so from that moment, I haven't had that heavy pain in me. I feel I am relieved." (Alice Nyongese, Sesik)

"My husband was killed and I saw what was done to him. I was really traumatized. My mind wanted to go away. In fact I couldn't walk along the road for fear of an accident. And when we talked about healing it really entered me. I saw the wound that I had. Recently when I attended the HROC programme I brought my mind together. I went back again and saw where my husband died. We learned about forgiveness and then I felt good. When I meet the people who killed him I can greet them." (Gentrix Nangila Simiyu, Kubura)

New Leadership Skills

Numerous respondents related that Quaker programmes enabled them to be leaders in peace and reconciliation, or helped them in their leadership roles. Two strategies mentioned were intervening early before a conflict escalates and deep listening to all sides in the conflict.

"The programme of HROC is really assisting me as the clan chairman to bring the people together and help them to forget the past and go on forward." (Stephen Kasuswa, Kubura)

"There is a neighbor that offended me. The way I approached him I used the AVP rule that I was taught, that when somebody offends you there are very much ways to tell him politely, that what has been done to me is wrong, and I don't feel good when you do this to me. For example, what happened was I leased this farm, and this same neighbor leased this farm to another person. Then we were two people who leased the same farm. When I went there to prepare the land, I saw this other person coming also, saying this is my land. So I told that person, let us call the owner of this farm, to clarify for us. When we called the neighbor we just told him what happened. I told him 'I don't feel good when you do this to a neighbor.' The farm was one acre, so we divided in two for two years. (Alex Cheptot Ndeme, Kipsigon)

Anger management

A number of respondents mentioned learning tools, most particularly at HROC workshops, that helped them manage

anger. Specific skills cited included responding to angry people with calm, listening and thinking before reacting, and methods for releasing anger privately.

“Before the workshop I was the kind of person who could be angered easily by things that cannot make one even become angry. I could quarrel with somebody who did something bad to me. But after the workshop I am now a different person because I can tolerate issues if somebody is in a bad mood. I’m able now to bring that person to somebody good.” (David K. Ndiwa, Kubura)

“I used to be a very arrogant woman and I was a very mean woman but after attending the HROC class now at the moment I’m not that person who used to be that much angered.” (Sylvia Tibin, Kubura)

“As we progressed with our teachings we were told that if you are angry, you can cry until you are relieved, or you can sing until you are relieved, or you can sleep. And when you are awake, the anger is over. For me, when my mother died,



I had much pain because my father married another woman. I had no peace completely. When I slept I didn’t have peace. We had our dad. He initially had taken all responsibility. He was like our mother. After a short period, he died. After the teachings of HROC, even if I hear something, I don’t have that heavy burden because I was told that you can cry, cry until you are relieved.” (Mercy Chebeni, Kikai)

Communication Skills

Skills for listening and talking more effectively were mentioned by respondents. The terms “deep listening” and

the difference between “good and bad” listening were mentioned frequently. They learned how talking can help you as a person and help you interact more with others.

“If I have a problem and I go to a person, even if he’ll have nothing to help me, but he will give me ear and I will explain to him, he will have helped me a lot.” (Sharon Nasimiyu, Kikai)

“After attending the HROC class I came to realize that it is important to listen to other people. I as a business lady when somebody comes, if he or she needs my help, then I have to listen to him or her, even if I don’t have that help, I have to respond positively. I cannot respond in a very bad way.” (Violet Chemtai, Kikai)

“The difference is me alone. I was not talking to people. I was just sitting alone somewhere and keeping quiet. But after attending the HROC, it taught me about how to stay with people and talk to people. I talk with my fellow *boda-boda* (motorbike drivers). If they’re having a conflict amongst themselves, I intervene and help. They leave that conflict. Sometimes they even congratulate me saying ‘If you couldn’t have done that, we could have fought.’” (Silvester Chemiat, Kikai)

Knowing Ourselves Better

AGLI/FCPT workshops have taught Mt. Elgon residents skills for knowing themselves better. These in turn help them to understand each other and their communities better. When we asked what was most memorable about the HROC workshop, Johari’s Window was mentioned most frequently. It has four sections of things about yourself: the public side which is things others know about you and you know as well, things others know about you but you don’t know, things about yourself that you know and others don’t know, and things about yourself not even you knows. For traumatized people who hold many secrets inside it is life-changing to learn that those secrets are not all there is to know about yourself.

“I can call HROC a workshop of myself. Sometimes you deeply know yourself. Others know you in a different way.

The way you understand yourself is not the way others know you.” (Robert Juma Omari, Kikai)

Improved Family and Neighbor Relationships

In addition to a focus on personal trauma healing, HROC also addresses the rebuilding of communities scarred by trauma. Eighty-four of the respondents told stories of how what they learned at HROC and other programmes has helped them to heal relationships within their families and neighborhoods. In fact, the personal and corporate healing seem to intertwine, each affecting the other.

Gladys Ngaira of Cheptais attended one of the HROC sessions held in February 2013. Already she is seeing significant changes in her life.

“I had that trauma even in myself because of what I saw here in 2007. People were being killed, people were being chopped, their ears were being chopped, most of them were cut. Then I was feeling that these people are not good. I could really feel that. But when we were taught then I felt that we have to forgive one another and continue with life. I’ve forgiven because if I keep it in my heart, it can cause problems.



“My brother’s child is a total orphan. He has been staying with my parents but he has not been a good boy. He did a lot of bad things to me, but I decided to forgive him. I brought him into my house and I’ve taken him to school. I decided to bring him near me so I can teach him some moral things. Since he came I can say he has changed. I talked to him I told him ‘I have forgiven you for what you did. I want you to stay with me like your mother and be free.’ After forgiving him I can see he’s just okay. He seems to have changed. But I always

talk to him. He has trauma because he doesn't have parents. There's no one to take care of him. He's always disturbed. I understand because I learned about trauma at HROC.

"I've seen changes in my community from HROC like that man who was a perpetrator interacting with people. He's not afraid. Now he's free. People think it's good." (Gladys Ngaira, Cheptais)

"In our own family we are single, we don't have parents. I'm the first born there. Our father left our home. We are polygamists and we had conflict there. All of those conflicts were facing me. In those days I felt bitter because I had no parent there. I used to have stomach ache when somebody quarreled. I didn't eat. I feel like just sleeping the whole day, the whole night. I didn't talk with anybody. After learning HROC I know how to control them and they are responding. I gather them together; then we talk. Mostly we have a conflict concerning land issues and education. Maybe if in the family we are lacking something, we discuss, and we come up with a solution. Everybody is contented. They respect me. When anything happens in that market where I am, they run to me and want me to solve what has happened. (Helen Kitai, Kikai)

"My husband who was killed was the head of my family and I saw my children's education going bad. Recently after I attended the HROC programme I told my son we should forget about the past. 'Let's start afresh' and at this moment he is going to school. I'm staying free. Then I learned how you can talk with your family and children and bring them close. Previously the child steps outside the door you command the child rudely 'Where are you coming from?' But after undergoing the training I see the love so that you can speak to the child and it was really good." (Gentrix Nangila Simiyu, Kubura)

"At AVP when we were sharing, a cousin of mine shared a very long story that put us all in a very bad mood. Someone had stabbed him with a knife. At long last we realized that the same person who had done this was present in the meeting. So these guys ended up begging that you forgive

me because what I did should have been different.” (Moim Daniel Kipruto, Kopsiro)

Ripple Effects

AGLI/FCPT programmes seem to have a ripple effect. Not only are those who’ve attended changed, but they also cause change in others who have not attended, as reported by 35 respondents.

“One of my sisters was keeping quiet the way I used to do. The things that were hurting her were not that much troubling but when she was wronged she just kept quiet. Then it becomes worse. But I shared with her that, when you do this and this, you become relieved.” (Joseph Wangalibo, Kikai)

“HROC was the first seminar in our area. People got together so they can see what is going on. They became friends with us who went to that class. In our community we are there like advisors. If they have conflicts in their homes, they rush and come where we are for us to solve their problems.” (Hellen Kitai, Kikai)

Community Groups Formed

In some areas, HROC participants have formed community groups which provide mutual support and open opportunities for improving their area. Robert Ndiwa shared that in Cheptais they’ve formed a farmers’ group with both HROC and non-HROC members.

In Kikai David Chepkoi Naburuk told of a group called “Amani” which received a grant of three million shillings (\$35,294) for an intertribal youth football league that has “helped us find how to coexist”.

Also in Kikai, the HROC community has established a group called Salu Self-help Group (“Sa” for Sabaut and “Lu” for Luhya) that is currently seeking sponsors to address contamination of the local water supply.

The graduates of HROC in Kubura continue to get together to support each other and address conflicts in the community.

Increased Inter-tribal Cooperation

"Here in Mt. Elgon we had clashes, and the reason was because of the land. So there was that difference between Ndorobos and Soy. We were not on good terms because of the land. So we took the teaching to the Soy people about peace, the way you can stay with your neighbor. We were telling them that the lands we are fighting for, we cannot take them permanently. Again we moved to the Ndorobos people and shared awareness about peace. Then we brought them together. We were doing workshops to help the people who were most affected in the Soy and Ndorobos. It was a community dialog; we were teaching them about peace." (Eunice Pkania, Cheptais)

"From the TTT we were being taught what has really caused the violence in our community and we came to realize that tribalism was one of the factors that contributed ... because we divided according to our tribe, Ndorobos, Bukusus, and Sabaots." (Gladys Chemuta, Toywondet)



"The Quaker effort is bringing people together. It also helped people to understand that even though we had been apart or we had wronged one another, there is room for forgiveness. In the year 1992 we also vacated our place, almost everybody, because we Bukusus and Sabaots, we are afraid of each other. Each and every tribe sees each other as if the other was an enemy. At the

moment we are together, we now respect each other, and we are like brothers and sisters. (Christopher Walmalwa, Masaek)

Reduction in Gender-based Violence

While only nine respondents reported reduction of gender-based violence, the results warrant mentioning here. Gender-based violence has been reduced on Mt. Elgon through a decrease in domestic violence.

“I used to beat up my wife, but at the moment after attending the HROC class, now I know how I can approach her.” (Robert Kimai, Kubura)

“These programmes have helped me especially in my house. Initially I was handling issues not in a right way. But since these trainings I’ve been handling things in a non-violent manner. I can sit down with my family and we discuss issues relating to our affairs. I don’t decide myself, I decide collectively with my family. It has taught me how to submit.” (Fred Keneroi, Kipsigon)

“I was not in good terms with my wife. After undergoing the HROC training I used what I learned. Earlier I used to command her and now I’m polite. Now the two of us reach a consensus.” (Moses K. Masai, Kubura)

Campaign against Female Genital Mutilation

TTT mounted a campaign against female genital mutilation (FGM) in the Mt. Elgon area where female circumcision was a long standing cultural practice among the Sabaot. Fifteen respondents have received TTT training and six indicated that they were resource persons for the programme. Two people in the Kopsiro area spoke to us about the campaign.

“The TTT programme gave me the skills to talk to people about female genital mutilation. That thing of FGM is no longer there. Last year was our season of cutting the girl child and nobody underwent that.” (Benson Kwalia Mustuni)

“TTT has helped me so much where I have also helped the community especially here on the mountain where we had several kinds of violence that were being done. Like one, the cultural violence, FGM. This community of Sabaots have been engaging so much themselves in cultural circumcision. You see something that is cultural is not easy to remove from people. It is a process. Now through this programme of TTT has helped so much because we conducted several meetings, forums incorporating opinion leaders, women leaders, church leaders and we’ve talked so much about this kind of cultural violence. Since this programme was initiated in the area that rate of cultural circumcision has come down. It had

affected a culture here on the mountain. Now that a girl, after undergoing the initiation, it is believed that she is a grown up person which is not true. After circumcision a girl child drops out of school, she gets married and now after she gets married at an early age her life will not be good. Now that this girl has undergone circumcision has a lot of dangers. That canal is being affected during the circumcision. Since the introduction of this programme in this community we have curbed these injustices.” (Fred Keneroi, Kopsiro)

Understanding the New Constitution

The constitution ratified in 2010 introduced huge changes in Kenyan governance. Because local politicians convinced Mt. Elgon residents that it was flawed, most did not study its provisions.

AGLI/FCPT and TTT conducted extensive civic education on the mountain in 2012 to teach about the Bill of Rights and significant portions of the document. In early 2013 AGLI/FCPT conducted voter education that focused on the voting process defined in the constitution and further detailed by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission. Voter education sessions were designed to prepare voters about what to expect at the polling station. Forty-four respondents felt that both civic and voter education contributed positively toward the peaceful election.

“Even during the elections people thought that here in Mt. Elgon people would go back to the violence during this election, but that never happened because now people are educated and they know what they are really doing.” (Robin Masai Kimtai, Chepkube)

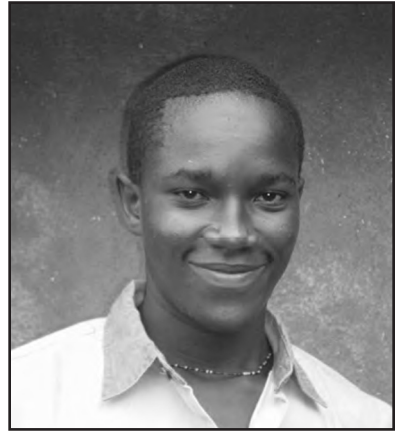
“This civic education has really helped people. They know where they’re coming from and where they’re going. Previously they were being used because they didn’t know their rights.” (Emily Sikhoya, Chepkube)

“It is a big difference from the previous election. This one, people were enlightened by voter education. But what I am saying candidly is that the election that was done this year it has been very important, more than the previous one.

People didn't know the importance of choosing people. They were just being forced to go and vote, vote for so-and-so. But this one has been free and fair." (Simon Saima Chemiat, Upper Kipsigon)

"We used to term the Sabaot like an enemy. We say that somebody's staying on fertile land and we Bukusu have none. After undergoing the civic education training we realized we were going in the root of darkness but now we were going in the right direction where there's light. This is the only year that we've voted peacefully after undergoing training about peaceful coexistence. We now see that all people are human beings. This time I have the freedom of movement because of peace." (Janet Khisa, Chepkube)

Joseph Wangalibo voted for the first time in the 2013 election. "When I voted I felt happy. I also felt happy that I have elected someone whom I liked. It is different from before I voted. I just used to hear people saying that so and so is good but I had not the power to say I'll vote for him; I'll elect him. Now when I voted I was happy to be a real Kenyan."



A Peaceful Campaign and Election

Amani (peace) was a word heard throughout Kenya from national media, NGOs, candidates, clergy, and government leaders, just about everyone. There was not a single person in Kenya old enough to remember that was unaware of the disastrous violence in 2008. Everyone here and many around the world prayed that the election of 2013 would be a peaceful one.

In Mt. Elgon constituency, the 2007 election occurred in the midst of on-going violence perpetrated by the SLDF. For 2013, militia groups were no longer active. This was no

doubt the single biggest factor resulting in peaceful Mt. Elgon elections. AGLI/FCPT were among the many organizations actively working to prevent violence. In addition to the programmes of multiple NGOs, the Kenyan government instituted wide-sweeping changes. In the midst of these changes and the efforts of so many, AGLI/FCPT cannot claim to have been the major factor in keeping the elections peaceful on Mt. Elgon. Respondents, however, felt that AGLI/FCPT programmes did play a role in helping to make this so.

Each interview asked respondents to compare the pre-election, election and post-election periods between 2007 and 2013. The total number of responses to these questions was 243 with most respondents providing multiple answers. People were understandably euphoric about the dramatic differences: 600 dead versus eight, tens of thousands displaced versus a handful, chaotic versus orderly election process, forced versus free voting. The people we talked to were justifiably proud and joyful about experiencing the only peaceful election that has ever happened on Mt. Elgon.

There was no forced voting. "That one of 2007 we were being given a ballot paper and the candidate had been ticked. Our duty was just to put it in the ballot box. But this one, you marked it yourself." (Richard Barkacha, Cheptais)

The campaigning this time was fair and orderly. According to respondents, campaign posters weren't torn down; there was no stone throwing and no extortion.

"This campaign was a unique one because people could attend where the candidates present themselves, the people could hear their views, and say 'Let's wait for the day.' I remember one day when the three candidates met on one field. I observed something different there. Why? Because during the other elections they could not meet on one ground." (Robert Juma Omari, Kubura)

Among the respondents were 39 certified election observers, five agents, and a clerk. All of these had the opportunity to see the voting process throughout the day and the tallying process after the polls closed. They and other respondents

found the procedures to be much more orderly, well-organized and predictable than in previous elections.

“There was peace inside the polling station. It was more than my expectation because it was a lot of peace.” (Leonard Barasa Chengori, Kopsiro)

People interviewed felt that the presence of observers and security officers kept people from resorting to previous “wicked ways” as Mohamed Hassan of Kipsigon put it.

“This one was very calm; inside the polling room there was no noise only of paper rustling. It was very peaceful and didn’t have any rigging as the previous election.” (Fred N. Lapon, Cheptais)

One sad exception to the non-violent result of this election was the assassination during the pre-election period of a man who had attended a HROC workshop. We were privileged to speak with his widow, Wilbrodah Kironget. “You know my husband was shot to death. The gunman just came into our home and shot him to death. I still have that fear that those people who came for my husband might also come back for me. But after his



death the HROC community group helped me; they brought me sugar; they fetched firewood for me. They also helped me in serving the visitors. What really helped me when my husband died was the teaching that he used to come and teach us at home. It gave me that patience. It gave me the strength and I came to realize that though my husband is not there I have the hope that there’s a place where I can get another help.”

When we asked her for suggestions about what AGLI/FCPT could do to ensure future peace she responded: "If you can prevent it much earlier we don't want it to be like the previous one. I almost lost my child because my son went lost for seven months. Now he is back but he is not even going to school. So it is my prayer that the peace people shall do something that will prevent that. I'm just asking for peace. Because there is nothing that is more important than life. It is my prayer that the peace people preach peace so that when you settle root causes of violence, violence will never happen again. (Wilbrodah Kironget, Emia)

Risks of Future Violence

When asked what might provoke a new round of violence, one-half (45) of the respondents said that nothing could. They believe that a combination of factors will keep the area peaceful, including the resolution of the land issues, the security presence in the area, the programmes that have been teaching peace, and simply the fact that the people remember the horror of the violent years and don't want to go back there.

"Why stay four years peacefully and then one year of the election we fight. Then when we talk to the people like that, people voted in a historical way without intimidation." (Benson Kwalia Mustuni, a Village Elder in Kopsiro)

"Initially the problem was about elections and lands, but now there is education. People were illiterate, but they are aware now." (Robert Kimai, Kubura)

"It cannot happen. Through the peace, it has educated more of the people about the peace." (Beo Alex Kusan, Cheptais)

However, the other half of the respondents believe that a return to violence is a real possibility. Almost a quarter (21) believe that the land problem is still very much alive.

"What can cause violence is land issues. The government came and subdivided land and instead of giving a person a title deed, they cheat you. They say that 'you will be given,

you will be given'. You think that you are the owner of that land and another person has been given the number of that land. There are people who have suffered psychologically and there you find a person coming and killing you. You can have five acres. Then you stay on that land to realize that the Office of Land says that they're coming to subdivide and they're bringing in another person. If the government could have been subdividing this land issuing title deeds directly then nothing could be heard of in this area. These issues of land have come to bring people a lot of problems. This time around people are knowledgeable. They know that if you have a title deed you can access a loan." (Albert Sanutia, Kubura)

It may be instructive to look at the tribal breakdown of those who say that the land issue is not resolved. It was more of the Bukusu respondents (40 percent) who put themselves in this camp, compared to 26 percent of the Soy and only one percent of the Ndorobo who felt that unresolved land issues might generate future violence. Although these numbers are small, and not a scientific sample, within our group the Ndorobo feel quite satisfied with the current status of the land distribution, while a large portion of the Bukusu feel aggrieved. This may be important information for policy makers and community organizers.

The other respondents who expressed concerns about a return to violence cited a number of possible areas of grievance among the population. The largest of these was the Supreme Court case on the outcome of the presidential election, which was pending at the time of these interviews. Eight people said that the outcome of that case had the potential to incite violence. That case has now been decided in favor of the candidate who received two-thirds of the votes in the Mt. Elgon constituency, and no violence resulted.

The next most frequently mentioned possible cause of violence was poverty and/or unemployment. Seven respondents said that the extreme economic hardship in the area was a dangerous situation.

Five respondents said that political leaders could potentially launch a new round of violence. "Maybe through the

leaders. I think in 2007-2008 the leaders were the ones who incited people to the violence. But now I think we are not ready to go back to it, because people now know what is good and bad. They know those leaders are just there; they are up there; they will not come to the ground and help us. So that is the reason we are not ready to go back to the violence of 2008. I, with my neighbor, as we stay there on the ground, we can help each other. But those leaders from up there cannot come and help me or my neighbor without we ourselves helping one another.” (Mary Temko Kaboto, Chepkube)

Four respondents mentioned tribal differences as a potential cause of future violence. “In Bungoma County the Tesos were not elected because we are a minority. According to the Deputy Chiefs and the Chiefs, we Teso, are not wanted in this community. The Chief is of the same tribe as those people who are against us. For example, when there is a job opportunity, they just give it to one tribe alone and we are not given those opportunities. I think when you people come and you teach us more and then we go into the villages and teach our people, then we can have the changes.” (Omunangori Ebenezer Omayi, Cheptais)

Conclusions of the Assessment

How much difference did the FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT programmes make? It is difficult to make quantitative conclusions, but a higher turnout for both registration in November 2012 and voting in March 2013 were cited as evidence of the effect of civic and voter education sessions. Registration statistics support this perception. AGLI/FCPT conducted civic and voter education in three of the six wards in the Mt. Elgon constituency. Total registration was nine percent higher in the three wards that received this education compared to those that did not.

Respondents were asked what were the strengths of the Quaker programmes in Mt. Elgon. Many respondents spoke of how they had been touched personally and deeply by the programmes and found them to be life-changing experience for themselves and effective in supporting community-wide change.

"I have been a part of several trainings, several seminars, but HROC is a bit unique because it touches the inner part of the life of a person, so it changes. The way they train is not the same as other organizations that just train the outer person, but you can train someone in and out. Because after being healed you can now feel health." (Francis Ruree, Chepkurkur)

The programmes were seen as being proactive, not just coming in to respond to a crisis, and that they reached to the grass roots level.



"The main thing is that the programmes of the Quakers, they reach to the grass roots level, so they are targeting the people at the grass roots even if they don't have money, but the most important thing is that they are reaching the people at the grass roots." (Jackline Chepteek, Kebee)

"Another strength that you have is that you bring the message earlier before something takes place. So if you give us and as we disseminate it before that thing happens, everybody is aware." (Benson Kwalia Mustuni, Kopsiro)

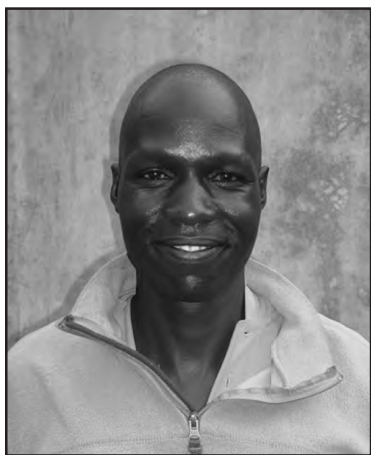
A number of respondents mentioned being impressed with the expertise and abilities of the trainers, and particularly that trainers were from the local area. "The team that you are using, those people are very strong. Your team leaders—Pastor Chesondi and Pastor Keneroi and even those people who you've also trained." (Wycliffe Kirui, Kapkeke)

Respondents gave the programmes positive recognition for the commitment that has been shown to the Mt. Elgon area by returning again and again.

"You are people of integrity because you are making follow-ups because you can send a person to go and do

something but you're following to see if he's doing the right thing or not. So if there's a mistake then I know from there then you will be able to assess what went right and what went wrong." (Mohamed Hassan, Kipsigon)

Respondents were asked for suggestions how the Quaker programmes might be improved and how they might build peace in their community. Overwhelmingly, the principal response was for AGLI, FCPT, and TTT to continue bringing their programmes of peace, healing, and change to the mountain. HROC and Civic Education were most frequently mentioned by name. The organizations were asked to expand to new areas on the mountain, particularly farther up. They were asked to provide programmes in greater depth; to focus on special populations such as youth, widows, perpetrators, elders, people in Internally Displaced Persons camps, leaders, family members who witnessed brutality, and people who are not able to leave their homes.



"I don't know if this programme can afford to give us a place, a place you can build for us, even for rehabilitation, changing people like a peace center. If you can have a peace center at Mt. Elgon really we can say God has seen us. So that the programme can continue, workshops, even you can come and stay there for two or three days. You can hear what people are doing and you can say that we have done something. I think it's good if you can have a center so we can keep this programme running. And also if you have a center the programmes can move very fast. For example, old women can come, old wazee (old men) can come and you can also have their mind and see what has happened. (Robert Juma Omari, Kubura)

Another recommendation for programme enhancement that received multiple mentions was for follow-up refresher training and/or support groups for people who have participated in HROC. It is clear that the respondents recognize that their new skills and the healing they have experienced are likely to fade unless they are refreshed and supported.

Five respondents suggested that some form of material support be provided to programme participants. This is most frequently expressed in terms of lunch or transportation reimbursement. These programmes generally do provide lunch for all-day sessions. Many other non-governmental organizations provide “sitting allowances” for their participants, but some of our respondents mentioned that many people go to those sessions just to receive the allowances. The Quaker organizations that are the subject of this report find that people attend their sessions because of a desire to learn, and that a sitting allowance diminishes that intrinsic motivation.

Other suggestions included working through churches, focusing on defusing tribalism, establishing an e-exchange programme among facilitators and participants, establishing women’s groups for teaching peace, doing single-day workshops comparable to AVP and HROC, sponsoring an adult literacy programme, and doing programme dramas in the marketplace.

Suggestions that are beyond the reach of these Quaker programmes include providing financial assistance to the poor, establishing a rehabilitation center to counsel youth, resolving the land issues, providing family planning assistance, establishing a youth sports programme, founding a polytechnic school, requiring the government to hire locally for local projects, providing more job opportunities, and developing infrastructure such as roads, schools, and hospitals.

A Foundation that Will Never Be Eroded

“I think that the strength of these programmes is that they have built a foundation that will never be eroded in

this mountain. That is the peace that they have instilled in people.” This respondent, who chose to remain anonymous, speaks in a metaphor that captures the essence of the programmes and the place. The foundation is peace and it will prevail longer than the mountain itself. Many respondents shared that this realization is growing among the people of the mountain. They have been taught this lesson the hard way by experiencing extensive violence. They have also been taught this through Quaker programmes.

It is our sincere hope that this assessment serves as a useful guide to AGLI/FCPT as they transition from election-focused work into a long-range vision for peace in western Kenya. We pray that it may be a springboard to an even more peaceful and prosperous future for our brothers and sisters who live on Mt. Elgon; that it will help build on the foundation that will never be eroded.

APPENDIX

2013 Mount Elgon Interviews

The interviews with Mt. Elgon residents were conducted on six consecutive days, March 25-30, 2013. The interviews were conducted in six communities by two pairs of interviewers.

Interviews followed a list of 30 questions. Not all questions were asked of every respondent because some of the questions were specialized for different categories of respondent, i.e. programme participants, programme facilitators and trainers, and public officials. But there was considerable overlap among these categories. For example, all of the public officials were also programme participants. In responding to one question, respondents often included information that effectively responded to other questions.

All interviews were recorded. Following the week of interviews, all of the recordings were listened to in their entirety. Not all the interviews were transcribed, but all responses were captured and summarized. The data was studied to derive overall themes.

In addition to the interviews with Mt. Elgon residents who were programme participants, five interviews were conducted with programme leaders, one of whom was also a Mt. Elgon resident. These interviews used somewhat impromptu expanded versions of the standard list of questions. However, the responses were processed in the same way as described above.

The interview respondents were selected by Erastus Chesondi, who is the principal FCPT mobilizer on Mt. Elgon. He scheduled approximately 15 persons in each community, chosen to balance age, gender, and tribe, and also to include some persons with community leadership roles. All of the respondents had previously participated in FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT programmes, so there was no sampling of non-participants.

A total of 93 interviews were conducted, including 51 men and 42 women. All except for four of the FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT leaders reside in the southwest portion of Mt. Elgon in the following areas: Kipsigon (16), Kopsiro (14), Kubura (17), Chepkube (9), Cheptais (17), Kikai (16). The youngest interviewee was 18 and the oldest 67. Forty-seven interviewees were in the 18 - 35 age group, 40 were between 36 and 45 and six were elders 56 or over. The

dominant occupation with 59 interviewees is farmer. There are 20 employed in business, nine pastors, five tailors, three teachers, three students, and nine in other occupations. Fifteen people reported more than one occupation. Tribal affiliation was Soy (50) Bukusu (15), Ndorobo (15), and other tribes (9).

All those interviewed had participated in at least one FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT programme: AVP (31), HROC (70), TTT (15), Civic Education (62), Citizen Reporter (20), Voter Education (74), Election Observing (39). Some are facilitators and/or trainers: AVP (10), HROC (11), TTT (6). In addition to FCPT/AGLI/CAPI/TTT election observers, one interviewee was an IEBC clerk, five had been party agents, and another was an observer for another organization. Among the interviewees were ten public officials: Assistant Chief (2), Village Elder (4), Assistant Village Elder (2), Chairperson of Clan (1).

List of 2013 Mt. Elgon Interviewees			
Community: Chepkube			
Winston Ndiwa Chemokoi	Male	36	Soy
Mary Temko Kabuto	Female	33	Soy
Janet Khisa	Female	31	Bukusu
Robin Masai Kimtai	Male	37	Sabaot
Delilah Cheruto Kirui	Female	28	Soy
David Luswet Malabab	Male	39	Bukusu
Anastasia Papa	Female	36	Teso
Emily Sikhoya	Female	28	Bukusu
Carolyn Temei	Female	28	Soy
Community: Cheptais			
Name	Gender	Age	Tribe/Subtribe
Richard Barkacha	Male	62	Soy
Phanice Barasa	Female	43	Luhya
Helen Tate Ejakait	Female	51	Teso
Kibet Hillary	Male	23	Soy
Alfayo Kibonge	Male	37	Bukusu

Community: Cheptais (cont'd)			
Peter Naibei Kirui	Male	29	Soy
Beo Alex Kusan	Male	22	Sabaot
Fred N. Lupon	Male	49	Bukusu/Soy
Helen Markoe	Female	40	Bukusu
Metrine Musenjule	Female	25	Bukusu
Beatrice Nekesa	Female	38	Bukusu
Robert Ndiwa	Male	31	Soy
Gladys Ngaira	Female	46	Luhya - Isukha
Omunangori Ebenezer Omayi	Male	48	Teso
Eunice Pkania	Female	39	Soy
Okisai Musa Sammy	Male	40	Teso
John Wasike	Male	53	Soy
Community: Kikai			
Name	Gender	Age	Tribe/Subtribe
Mercy Chebeni	Female	26	Soy
Silvester Chemiat	Male	23	Soy
Violet Chemtai	Female	30	Soy
Christine Chepaliet	Female	28	Soy
Hellen Kitai	Female	32	Soy
Protus Chesebe Masai	Male	31	Soy
Rev. Bramwell Moikut	Male	58	Soy
David Chepkoi Naburuk	Male	32	Soy
Sharon Nasimiyu	Female	25	Bukusu
Alice Nyongese	Female	49	Bukusu
Maurice Wangila Timbiti	Male	45	Bukusu
Silas Rotich Tirop	Male	28	Bukusu
Lina Nekesa Wakhungu	Female	35	Bukusu
Christopher Wamalwa	Male	40	Bukusu
Jusdine Wambwele	Female	35	Bukusu
Joseph Wangalibo	Male	20	Luhya

Community: Kipsigon			
<u>Name</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Tribe/Subtribe</u>
Anonymous			
Kipkoech Calvin	Male	18	Soy
Edith Chama	Female	29	Soy
Simon Saima Chemiat	Male	45	Soy
Emma Cheptaek	Female	25	Soy
Jackline Chepteek	Female	31	Soy
Moses Cheroben	Male	40	Soy
Rose Chesarmat	Female	39	Soy
Mohamed Hassan	Male	50	Soy
Abraham Hussein	Male	31	Soy
Wilbrodah Kironget	Female	40	Soy
Kiprotich Meng'wa	Male	23	Soy
Alex Cheptot Ndiema	Male	26	Soy
Christopher Ngeywo	Male	34	Soy
Francis Ruree	Male	40	Soy
Alfred Saekwo	Male	50	Soy

Community: Kopsiro			
<u>Name</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Tribe/Subtribe</u>
Metrine Chebet	Female	23	Soy
Milsen Chebose	Female	33	Ndorobo
Gladys Chemutai	Female	47	Soy
Lenard Barasa Chengori	Male	42	Pastor
Yonah Chepkondol	Male	23	Ndorobo
Joseline Chepkwemoi	Female	23	Ndorobo
Fred Keneroi	Male	40	Soy
Moim Daniel Kipruto	Male	26	Ogiek/Ndorobo
Wycliffe Kirui	Male	34	Soy
Benson Kwalia Mustuni	Male	37	Soy
Alex Moses Ndiwa	Male	23	Ndorobo
Benta C. Rungai	Female	45	Soy
Lilian Chemtai Samson	Female	30	Soy

Community: Kubura			
Name	Gender	Age	Tribe/Subtribe
Sylvia Cheratei	Female	42	Ndorobo
Nixon C. Chongeywo	Male	30	Ndorobo
Amos Kinja Kapanja	Male	60	Soy
Stephen Kasuswa	Male	58	Soy
Robert Kimai	Male	32	Ndorobo
Eliud Kipnusu	Male	32	Soy
Joseline Kiterie	Female	20	Soy
Kuboi Lawrence	Male	67	Ndorobo
Moses K. Masai	Male	35	Ogiek/Ndorobo
Sylvia Tibin Masus	Female	35	Ndorobo
Ann Chemtai Ndiwa	Female	40	Soy
David K. Ndiwa	Male	48	Ndorobo
Robert Juma Omari	Male	40	Soy
Albert Sanutia	Male	40	Ndorobo
Gentrix Nangila Simiyu	Female	52	Bukusu
Jackline K. Simotwo	Female	31	Ndorobo
David C. Terem	Male	51	Soy

Community: FCPT/CAPI Leaders				
<u>Name</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Tribe/ Subtribe</u>	<u>Position</u>
Getry Agizah	Female	30	Luhya	FCPT Field Coordinator
Bernard Agona	Male	39	Luhya	TTT Field Coordinator
Erastus Chesondi	Male	40	Soy	FCPT Mt. Elgon Coordinator
Eunice Okwemba	Female	46	Luhya	FCPT Lead Facilitator
Peter Serete	Male	29	Luhya	FCPT Call-In Center Coordinator

Mt. Elgon Interview Questions

Pre-Interview:

- Introductions
- Explain purpose of interview
- Tell about recording and ask permission
- Tell about translation option and agree on language

Demographics for All Interviewees:

- Name _____
Age _____
- Area of residence _____
Occupation _____
- Tribe: Ndorobo___ Soy___ Bukusu___
Other _____
- Permission to use name: Yes/No
Permission to use photo: Yes/No
- Recording Folder:
Message #:

A-1) In the past several years, FCPT and other Quaker organizations have conducted a number of programs and activities in this area. Which of these programs or activities have you participated in, led or heard about?

Program/Activity/Level

Participant/Attender/Facilitator/Trainer/Resource Person/Healing
Companion/Heard About

AVP: Basic___ Advanced___ T4F___

HROC: Workshop___ Follow up___ Community Celebration___

TTT___

SIPP (Strategic Integrated Peace Program)___

Civic Education___ Citizen Reporter___ Voter Education___

Election Observing____

A-2) Official role in community? _____

Participants of Programs/Attendees of Activities:

B-1) (If participant/attender of multiple programs/activities)

Which program/activity has had the most impact on you personally?

B-2) What do you remember doing, learning, or discussing during [name of program/activity]?

B-3) What was the most important thing you learned and how have you used it?

B-4) Did [name of program/activity] meet your expectations? Did it meet the community's expectations?

B-5) (If multiple) Which program/activity has had the most impact on your community?

B-6) How has [name of program/activity] affected your community?

B-7) Did [name of program/activity] meet your expectations? Did it meet the community's expectations?

B-8) What changes have you seen in your community that are a result of [name of program/activity]?

Facilitators of Programs/Trainers of Activities:

C-1) (If facilitator/trainer of multiple programs/activities) Which program/activity has had the most impact on you personally?

C-2) (If multiple) Which program/activity has had the most impact on your community?

C-3) Have you used the [name of program] skills that you teach in your own life? How?

C-4) Share a story that you heard from your participants about how they have applied program skills.

C-5) What do you think is the single most important idea or

strategy a participant takes home from a [name of program/activity] workshop/training?

C-6) Does [name of program/activity] address needs of people specific to the Mt. Elgon context?

C-7) How are these Quaker programs different from or similar to local culture?

C-8) How has [name of program/activity] affected the community?

C-9) What changes have you seen in your community that are a result of [name of program/activity]?

Civic Officials:

D-1) In what ways do [name of program/activity] and your community role conflict with each other? In what ways are they similar?

D-2) Would you encourage civic officials to attend [name of program/activity]? Why or why not?

D-3) If we observed a [name of program/activity] trained civic official and a one that was not trained, what differences might we see?

Closing Questions for All Interviewees:

E-1) Think about this election period as compared to the 2007 election. Did the community react differently this time to the violence before the election? If so, do you think the Quaker programs made a difference? How?

E-2) Was the community voting experience different this time? If so, do you think any of these programs made a difference? How?

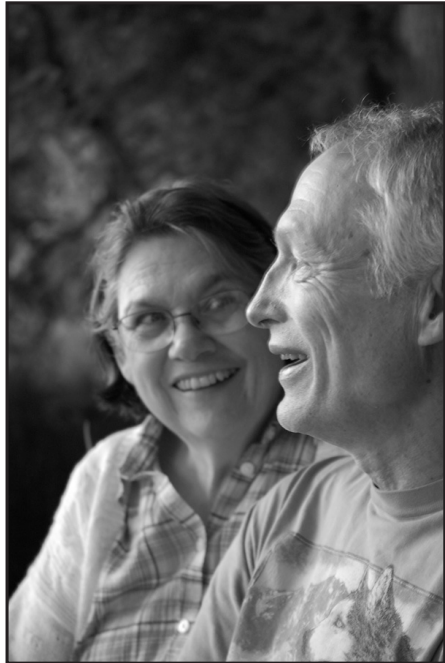
E-3) Has there been any difference in the community during the time after the election? If so, do you think any of these programs made a difference? How?

- E-4) How are Quaker programs different from or similar to other peace building programs?
- E-5) What are the strengths of the Quaker programs in Mt. Elgon?
- E-6) How could these programs be improved?
- E-7) How can these Quaker organizations do a better job of peace building than they do now?
- E-8) Do you have any other suggestions for building peace in your community?
- E-9) What could provoke any violence now? What could interfere with the current peace?
- E-10) Is there anything else you would like to add that we have not yet asked you about?

Post-Interview: Reconfirm permission to use name and photo

About the Authors

Kathy (Byrne) and **Joe Osmann** met as undergraduates at Michigan State University in 1966 and were married the following year. Kathy earned a degree in music education, while Joe's was in political science with an emphasis in international development. Joe later earned a master's in human relations and organization development from the University of San Francisco, while Kathy acquired a certificate in organization development from Georgetown University. Joe's career path veered sharply into adult corrections, in both the nonprofit and public sectors. After many years as a music teacher, Kathy moved into data processing, where she specialized in change management for organizations installing major computer systems. After retirement, Joe and Kathy have pursued ways of doing peace work. They became certified facilitators in the Alternatives to Violence Project, which helped to lead them to the African Great Lakes Initiative. They served as AGLI volunteers from January through April, 2013, helping to promote peaceful, free, and fair elections. When not elsewhere in the world, they enjoy life on a small lake in southwestern Michigan.



David Zarembka graduated with a Bachelors Degree cum laude in African History from Harvard University and obtained a Masters degree in International and Development Education from the University of Pittsburgh. He has forty-nine years of involvement in the Great Lakes region as he first worked in the area in 1964 when he taught Rwandan refugees in now Tanzania. Since 1998, he has been the Coordinator of the African Great Lakes Initiative of the Friends Peace Teams, a Quaker organization that promotes peacemaking activities will local groups in the region. He currently lives in western Kenya with his wife Gladys Kamonya.



Judy Lumb was trained as a biomedical scientist (Ph.D. Medical Microbiology, Stanford University) and had an 18-year academic career at Atlanta University, which was cut short by illness. She moved to Belize and began publishing from her hammock under the name *Producciones de la Hamaca*. She publishes books and newsletters for Belize and for Quakers in the U.S., Canada, and Kenya. "I have always wanted to go to Africa, since I was a small child. The opportunity finally presented itself with two events, the climate change summit, COP-17, in South Africa in December 2011, and the World Conference of Friends in Kenya in April 2012. In between I wanted to experience real life in Africa, so I volunteered with the African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI). This book was my assignment."

