ANALYSIS OF THE 2017 POLITICAL PARTY PRIMARIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACEFUL, FREE AND FAIR GENERAL ELECTIONS

Key observations
- High stakes event with unprecedented number of aspirants at all levels
- According to NCWERS, 6 deaths, 94 injuries were reported across the country, all intra-party
- Isolated incidents of violence contained by security agencies
- Nairobi, Nakuru, Uasin-Gishu, Kakamega, Bungoma and Migori recorded highest incidents, mapped as hotspots
- Challenges faced by parties eroded credibility; political parties remain weak
- 295 disputes arose from the primaries; PPDT concluded 241 by 24 May 2017
- About 25% of candidates in the August elections are independent candidates
    - Independents are hailed for avoiding party politics or vilified as 'spoilers'
    - Intense campaign by strong independents likely to raise voter turnout
    - Multiple campaign teams likely to clash and undermine peaceful elections
    - Splitting votes likely to produce 'minority winners' at all levels
    - Incumbents who lost primaries likely to influence environment
    - Independents and small parties eroding authority of main parties
    - Likely to influence outcome of Presidential race, could trigger a run-off
- Conditions for widespread violence not as pronounced as 2013, but caution due to
    - Diminished control of parties (and candidates) by key party leaders
    - Increased clan and ethnic-based voter mobilisation
    - resurgence of criminal gangs, 'bodaboda groups', and susceptible youths
    - Long-term effect of continued rhetoric on rigging and refusal to accept defeat
    - Nexus between existing conflict issues and politics
    - Increased use and expectation of monetary handouts; opportunism
- Peace messaging increasingly expected to speak to a fair electoral process
- Main campaign theme/organizing question cohering around cost of living, corruption and public service delivery
    - issue-based campaign but identity-based mobilisation
- Civic and voter education activities led by IEBC has kicked off

INTRODUCTION

Party primaries allow political parties to narrow down the number of aspirants and nominate the most viable candidate before a general election. Primaries are high stakes events for individual aspirants, the social groups they represent, and political parties. In Kenya's political history, primaries have been marked by major fall-outs, defections and party hopping as aspirants struggle to have their names on the ballot. Primaries have also been characterized by divisive political rhetoric, clashes between supporters, and allegations of voter bribery and other attempts to influence the outcome. Party primaries shape the electoral environment and set the tone for the general elections. They are intense and hotly contested because in some regions, winning the primaries means winning in the general elections. Securing the party nomination

certificate is therefore critical for incumbents and new entrants.

The party primaries in preparation for the 2017 general elections were held between 13 April and 19 May 2017. This Brief analyzes the primaries, including, dispute resolution, and implications for free, fair, credible and peaceful elections in August 2017.

Context of the party primaries

Successful Mass voter Registration: The party primaries took place in an environment of mounting political activity and in the wake of the second phase of the Mass Voter Registration exercise which started on 16 January 2017 and ended on 16 February 2017. It was conducted peacefully across the country. However, the process was marred by allegations of voter importation,[1] disputes over auditing of the Voters' Register;[2] contestation over administrative and electoral boundaries,[3] incitement, hate speech and fake news on social media,[4] and heightened clan- and ethnic-based political mobilisation following cracks in the 2013 negotiated democracy.

Formation two strong political alliances: Jubilee and the National Super Alliance (NASA) have emerged as the two main contenders for the 2017 elections. The formation the two strong ethno-political alliances has lowered the influence of small parties, which have been compelled to dissolve or align with either of the two main party outfits and respective presidential candidates. At the same time, small parties haveprovided a soft landing for political candidates who did not survive the strong competition in the main parties.

Civic and voter education underway; tight electoral calendar: Led by the IEBC, civic and voter education has kicked off at the national and county level.Amendments to Political Parties Act, Elections Act, and Decisions of the courts have created immense pressure on the elections operational plan, which has had to be adjusted accordingly.

Drought response and security operations: In response to heightened incidences of livestock raiding in northern parts of Kenya and concerns about increased proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons, the national government has mounted security operations in Baringo and the larger Kerio Valley Region including Turkana, West Pokot, Elgeyo Marakwet and Laikipia County[5] in response to incidences of livestock raiding, attacks on conservancies and increased proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons. Due to unpredictable rains and crop failure, more than 23 counties have experienced severe drought and food shortage which, coupled with high inflation rate of 11.48% as at April 2017,[6] have resulted in a high cost of living and public angst. Kenya declared the drought a national emergency in February 2017.

[1]Wanga Justus, 'Tough Bid to Curb Voter 'Importation' as IEBC Starts Mass Listing' *Daily Nation* 15 January 2017 http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Tough-bid-to-curb-voter-importation-as-IEBC-starts-last-listing-/1056-3517840-2dccfh/

[2] Nation TV, 'Opposition Rejects IEBC Choice of KPMG to Audit Voters Register' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dq2G0EJLyQs; See also Ogemba Paul, 'New Bid to Stop IEBC Tender for Auditing Voter Register' *The Standard*, 4 April 2017 https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001234993/new-bid-to-stop-iebc-tender-for-auditing-voter-register

[3] Unresolved boundary disputes in counties such as Kisumu/Nandi; Meru/Isiolo; Meru/TharakaNithi; Kisii/Nyamira and Machakos/Makueni, among others remain latent as the elections approach. See Kiplagat Sam, 'Boundaries Dispute a Timebomb ahead of Polls' *The Star* 15 Aug 2016; see also National Commission on Administration of Justice (NCAJ), 'An Advisory Opinion on the Boundary Disputes Between County

Governments' http://www.ombudsman.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Advisory-Opinion-on-Boundary-Disputes-between-County-Governments.pdf

[4] Beja Patrick, 'NCIC to work with County Governments to Combat Hate Mongers Ahead of Kenya's 2017 Elections' *Daily Nation* 10 Feb 2017; also Radio Vatican, 'Kenya Elections: Church Tackles Hate Speech, Incitement' 6 Feb 2017, seehttp://www.nation.co.ke/news/Tough-bid-to-curb-voter-importation-as-IEBC-starts-last-listing-/1056-3517840-2dccfh/

[5] Faced with biting drought conditions and underlying perceptions of unequal distribution of resources, armed pastoralist groups forcibly moved their herds of livestock into privately-owned ranches or conservancies in Laikipiacounty. In the ensuing invasions, two ranch owners and wildlife were killed and tourists caught up in the melee

[6] Central Bank of Kenya, *Inflation Rates*https://www.centralbank.go.ke/statistics/inflation-rates/

Rise in crime and illegal groups: The National Police Service reported a spike in crime, notably mugging, disappearances and kidnaps, resurgence of vigilantes and criminal gangs.[7]

Peace building Interventions held during and after the primaries

Country-wide peace activities and dialogue forums activated: In the lead-up to the Party Primaries, the UWIANO platform for Peace rolled out the following peace-building interventions, the details of which can be found on the NSC website, http://www.nscpeace.go.ke/ and websites of UWIANO partners:
Activities:
- ❖ Peace Caravan - Mombasa to Malaba and back
- ❖ Coast Region Peace Summit and Investment Expo
- ❖ Signing of Peace Pledges along the Caravan route
- ❖ Training of Peace Committees on sustainable and inclusive peace building

- ❖ Reflection Forum for Peace-building practitioners & CSOs
- ❖ Youth Forum on combating electoral violence
- ❖ Women Forum on participation in political leadership
- ❖ Training of journalists & bloggers on conflict-sensitive Reporting

- ❖ County Coordination Forums - Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi
- ❖ Early Warning and Early Response
- ❖ Mediators' Reflection on Election Preparations
- ❖ Social Media Monitoring
- ❖ Formation of County Coordination Forums on Electoral Violence prevention and mitigation
- ❖ Country-wide Peace Walks beginning 27May 2017

The activities have exposed key policy makers and ordinary Kenyans to peace messages and laid the foundation for peaceful elections. The collaborative social media campaigns, peace marches and training have built on awareness created in 2013 about behaving peacefully and reporting incidents by SMS to UWIANO 108. The media has been urged to adhere to conflict-sensitive reporting to avoid raising tensions. Thousands of election observers are looking at all aspects of electoral preparedness at the national and county level to ensure free, fair and peaceful elections.

Analysis of Party primaries: Were they peaceful, free and fair?

Many parties but only the largest conducted primaries: 63 political parties will be taking part in the 2017 general elections. Of these, only the largest parties conducted nominations. There were an unprecedented number of aspirants.

Primaries were generally peaceful: Reviews by various observers and data from the National Conflict Early Warning and Response System (NCEWERS) show that with a few exceptions, the primaries were generally peaceful. Of the 47 counties, six reported high tension and more than two incidents of violence: Nairobi (11); UasinGishu (9), Nakuru (9), Kakamega (7) Bungoma (5), Migori (3), Kilifi (3). Tensions were also reported in HomaBay, Kericho,

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[7] Omuya Antony, 'Interior Cabinet Secretary Outlaws 89 Criminal Gangs' *Daily Nation* 31 Dec 2016;

http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Government-bans-89-criminal-gangs/1056-3502650-t8jv2iz/index.html

Kirinyaga, Tharaka-Nithi, Isiolo, Laikipia, Machakos and Baringo.

According to reports filed by NCEWERS and NSC Cluster Monitors, at least6 people died in confrontations between supporters in Nairobi and Kericho, and 94 injuries were reported, of which 14 were women. The police rapidly brought the situations under control in many of these locations.

Primaries are coming of age in Kenya politics: Party primaries are becoming an important part of the electoral cycle. For the first time in Kenya's political history, the April-May 2017 primaries were characterized by a very high voter turnout and parties made substantial preparations to conduct the elections and manage fall-outs.

However, the performance of political parties in managing primaries raises serious concerns: Aspirants and party members complained about a general lack of capacity and unpreparedness. A number of complaints were on: delayed start of voting, namesmissing in party registers, use of multiple registers, voting by non-party members, insufficient voting materials, voter bribery, opponents from rival parties rallying support for 'weak' candidates, interference by party leadership, voter importation, returning officers announcing different results; disappearance or instantaneous resignation of returning officers, destruction of voting material, rigging by stashing ballot boxes, and general lack of transparency.

The presence of criminal gangs and rowdy youths ready for hire to disrupt rallies or intimidate rivals and voters remains a significant challenge as the general elections approach. It is a problem aggravated by politicians' willingness to dish out money and a growing expectation of such hand-outs among citizens. In this regard, women candidates were particularly disadvantaged.

Response by parties: Political parties responded to inadequate preparations and claims by post-poning the nominations, cancelling or suspending results pending investigations, repeat nominations and subjecting disputes to internal dispute resolution mechanisms and/or the Political Parties Disputes Tribunal (PPDT). The media and some observers reported massive irregularities and dismissed the process as 'shambolic'.[8]

Positive Lessons?
Despite the challenges outlined, a number of things worked well to prevent an escalation of violence and restore public confidence in the electoral process:
First, top party leaders called for peaceful nominations and aspirants found fomenting violence were appropriately disciplined. For example, aspirants were barred from participating in the primaries.[9] Party leaders' call for peaceful nominations contributed to checking overt mobilization of violence at the county level. Under the UWIANO platform, the NCIC and County Commissioners warned politicians against engaging in hate speech during the party primaries and in the lead up to the general elections.[10]

[8] See Nation TV, 'KNCHR releases report on Kenya Party Primaries' http://ntv.nation.co.ke/news/national/2725528-3927922-fa8pcez/index.htmL
[9] Kebaso George, 'Jubilee to punish aspirants supporters fanning violence' *MediaMax*, 27 March 2017; http://www.mediamaxnetwork.co.ke/news/311965/jubilee-punish-aspirants-supporters-fanning-violence / Muraya Joseph, 'ODM fines Ongoro Sh 1m, bars her from Ruaraka Constituency seat' Capital News, 13 April 2017; http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2017/04/odm-fines-ongoro-sh1m-bars-her-from-ruaraka-constituency-seat/see also

Standard Reporter, 'Okoth Obado protests Sh 2m fine, vows to stay in ODM'
https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001236343/okoth-obado-protests-sh2m-fine-vows-to-stay-in-odm
[10] see also Media Max, ' Politicianswarned against engaging in hate speech ahead of polls' http://www.mediamaxnetwork.co.ke/news/334048/politicians-warned-engaging-hate-speech-ahead-polls/Hate speech has decreased in mobilisation platforms such as political rallies, but has become more virulent online. It is a complex problem difficult to address, as will be discussed in a different Brief

Secondly, the option to go independent became a safety valve through which disappointed aspirants could ventilate; **thirdly,** aspirants were willing to subject their claims to a dispute resolution mechanism. For instance, political parties applied internal mechanisms and Party Elections Nominations Boards performed well in managing the disputes. The strengthened Political Parties Disputes Tribunal (PPDT) received 295 cases and expeditiously concluded 241 of them by 24th May 2017. [11] **Fourthly,**save for allegations of rigging expressed by some of those who performed dismally during the nominations, aspirants conceded defeat or accepted the decision of the dispute resolution mechanisms, which signals confidence in the institutions.

Fifth, the police and the IEBC were seen to be politically neutral and fair in handling the political situation and matters arising from the primaries. There were no cases reported of special treatment extended to any party or powerful individuals. **A sixth factor** is that to a large extent the party leadership accepted the will of the people during the primaries. Interestingly, in some of counties perceived to be party strongholds, key allies of party leaders were not elected. Voters cited lack of responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of the grassroots, poor development record, and the need for change. While the defeat of allies may cause discomfort and dilemmas going forward, party leaders have largely accepted these outcomes.

Finally, early warning and peace-building interventions[12]mapped threats and level of risk prior to the nominations to inform institutional preparedness of security agencies and programming by other actors.

The peaceful nominations are an important milestone towards the 2017 elections. The preparations for the 2017 elections are taking place under a tight timeframe with little room for flexibility. The successful completion of the primaries marks an important milestone toward the August polls.

Implication of a high number of independent candidates

Independent candidates in mature democracies exist to provide an alternative and 'independent' thinking on issues polarized by party politics. independent candidates are individuals who do not wish associate with positions taken by established parties. In Kenya, independent candidates may not necessarily hold strong or independent views butavoid the difficulties of personality-driven parties which often lack internal democracy including as a result ofpatronage and integrity challenges.. As persons aggrieved by merging of parties decamped to smaller parties, those who lost or felt failed by issues of internal party democracy during primaries opted to run on independent tickets.

*Nearly 25% of total numbers of candidates are independent candidates:*Interim reports from the IEBC indicate that out of the 15,082 candidates cleared to run in the August elections, 11,330 are nominated by 63 political parties while 3,752, are independent candidates. [13] Independent candidates therefore constitute roughly 25% of the total number of candidates.

This has led to a large number of candidates vying for the same position. In Kisii, for instance, 13 candidates are vying for the Senate and 94 for Member of Parliament in the 9 constituencies. A similar phenomenon can be seen in Nairobi, Bungoma, Busia, TaitaTaveta, Makueni, Tana River, Mandera and Garissa. Interim results from the IEBC show that some

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[11] Political Parties Disputes Tribunal, As of May 24, 2017, 241 out of 295 disputes arising out party concluded' http://www.ppdt.judiciary.go.ke/judgments/

[12] Brief No 2 released critically examines these interventions

[13] IEBC, 'Political Parties and Independent Candidates Summary – Interim Report', available at https://www.iebc.or.ke/uploads/resources/UUaCkoNJJL.pdf Accessed 26 May 2017

counties have a high number of independent candidates for all positions, as shown below:

Top 10 Counties with Independent Candidates

Nairobi	439	Kakamega	145
Kiambu	223	Nyeri	145
Nakuru	193	Kisii	134
Meru	169	Murang'a	127
Bungoma	165	Trans Nzoia	114

Public reaction to Independent candidates is mixed; those who lost in a process deemed to be largely free and fair are called upon to respect the will of the electorate and support those who won the nominations. On the other hand, those who opted out of parties due to widespread irregularities and perceived favoritism are well received and urged to run without the encumbrances presented by party politics. In this regard, calls by party leaders to vote 'six-piece suit' are facing resistance by members of the public. They are also seen as weak candidates out to benefit materially from main parties' efforts to consolidate their support base. Independents candidates are also seen as 'spoilers' taking away votes that could otherwise be won by more viable candidates.

It may be postulated that the actual number of independent candidates may reduce substantially by the end of the nominations process on 17 June 2017. As pending disputes are fully concluded, it is worth noting that independent candidates influence the electoral environment in ways that affect peace and security before, during and after the elections. For example, Independent candidates create confusion among voters in party strongholds,

more so if voters are not sure who the party-nominated candidates are. For example, pronouncements of allegiance to one of the main presidential candidates by the recently-formed Kenya Alliance of Independent Candidates (KAIC) [14] is likely to deepen this confusion, even as commentators opine that the main flag bearers cannot ignore independent candidates and 'new faces' without backlash. [15]

Independent candidates are often blamed for 'wasting' votes and allowing weak candidates to win. Where there are many strong candidates, splitting the votes can enable candidates to win with less than half the vote. The full effects of such scenarios will be felt after the elections, but it can be predicted that minority winners are likely likely to experience serious difficulties managing their portfolios.

Should a significant number of Independent candidates win, the post-August 2017 government may be given to negotiations and caucusing, which can hinder expedient decision making and be expensive to manage. In the event that disaffected candidates mobilize support for the rival presidential or gubernatorial candidates, the voting patterns in so-called strongholds cannot be predicted. For the presidential race, high voter turnout caused by mobilization by independent candidates may trigger a run off. This is likely if none of the front runners succeed to meet the threshold. A thorough scenarios building exercise should be carried out to help to identity these scenarios and their implications for the next government

Not all is negative about independent candidates. The high number sends an important signal to political parties to improve

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[14] KTN News, 'Independent Candidates led by William Kabogo gather in Kasarani to endorse President Uhuru' https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ktnnews/video/200012913 6/-independent-candidates-led-by-william-kabogo-gather-in-kasarani-to-endorse-president-uhuru

[15] Oduor Kevin, New faces, independent candidates set to win in Kenya Polls' *The East African*, 2May 2017, https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Independent-candidates-Kenya-elections/2558-3911170-wyfda2z/index.html

internal democracy and systems of dispute resolution. Some independent candidates are strong candidates with genuine grievances over the manner in which the nominations were conducted.

The refusal to accept and endorse the nominations process as was observed is an important indictment to political parties and their technical and political leadership. It is a strong message that extends to the IEBC and other institutions mandated to manage the August 2017 Elections that Kenyan voters have high expectations for a free, fair and credible electoral process.

The reluctance by candidates to accept the outcome of nominations could recur during the August elections if candidates at all levels perceive malpractice. The prospect shines the spotlight on the IEBC to run a highly transparent and credible electoral process. It also strongly suggests that dispute resolution mechanisms for all positions should be adequately prepared to expeditiously address contested results and other electoral disputes. Institutional preparedness of the IEBC, the Judiciary and security organs is of essence given the rising rhetoric by all parties that rigging of elections will not be tolerated.

Independent candidates are likely to cure voter apathy and propel high voter turnout. The multiple candidates can be expected to mobilize supporters to come out in large numbers to vote for them. For instance, Busia, Kilifi, Kisii, Nyamira, Mombasa, Tana River, Nairobi and Wajir have a high number of party candidates as well as independent candidates. Voter turnout is likely to be high in areas with many strong candidates. This is likely to push the numbers for the preferred presidential candidate.

The high number of candidates presents both opportunities and risks. Multiple candidates calling for peaceful campaigns can neutralize sharp polarities between the social groups they represent. At the same time, multiple teams of supporters are likely to inadvertently meet along roads and market centres and their interaction could turn violent. Where there are a few strong candidates, such as Migori, Homabay, Muranga and Meru, among others, sharp divisions between support blocs and the ready availability of youths and 'bodaboda' groups for hire are an important security concern as the campaigns begin.

Prospects for women

The political party primaries did not yield many women candidates for elective positions, and failed to realize the one third gender rule. Across the country, there remains a dominant perception among both men and women that women's role in political leadership is restricted to the opportunity created by the position of County Women Member of National Assembly (Women Rep). The view that women should compete for this position and 'leave' the other elective seats for men underlay campaign messages and direct challenge to women aspirants seeking to be elected as Senator, Governor, Member of National Assembly (MP) or MCA. The misunderstanding was reinforced by lack of a robust civic and voter education programme before the party primaries. The IEBC, the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) and CSOs should expedite civic and voter education activities with clear messaging on support to women candidates as the tempo of political campaigns increases. Nonetheless, a number of women contested for nomination for the position of Governor, Senator and MCA.

Compared to 2013, political parties have done better in nominating women to all positions except the Member of National Assembly

(MP). [16] For instance, 9 women vied for nominations to become Governor compared to 6 in 2013. A total of 26 women secured nominations for the position of Senator compared to 17 in 2013. A total of 766 women were nominated for various elective positions (except women rep) compared to 755 in 2013. The change is as follows:

Party-nominated women candidates

	2013	2017	% change
Governor	6	9	50%
Senator	17	26	52.9%
MP	129	107	-14.7%
MCA	623	624	0.16%
Total	775	766	-1.16%

Women nominated in party strongholds are seen to be poised to win the general elections. At least two women are likely to become governor and at least one other is likely to win the Senate seat. Few women are fresh entrants into the race; they started in other positions are have grown to vie for higher positions. This is an important lesson for agencies supporting women in political leadership.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The political party primaries were generally peaceful, although tension and incidents of violence were reported in at least 10 counties. Six deaths and 95 injuries were reported.

However, security agents brought the situation under control. Peace messaging by top party leadership, UWIANO partners and action against candidates and supporters found mobilizing violence contributed to peaceful primaries.

Political parties experienced daunting challenges in managing the primaries. However, disputes arising were expeditiously concluded through internal party dispute resolution structures and the strengthened Political Parties Disputes Tribunal, which received 295 cases.

In the wake of the nominations, there is an unprecedented number of independent candidates, some of whom have refused to accept defeat and some with genuine grievance over the primaries. The high number of independent candidates is likely to reduce intra-party tensions, but multiple support teams could engage during campaigns with potential of these turning violent. A high number of candidates could cure voter apathy by mobilizing higher voter turnout, but it could also produce minority winners from multiple parties, which could encumber the work of the post-2017 government. It could also trigger a run off in the Presidential race if neither of the candidates is able to reach the threshold number of votes for an automatic victory.

- This calls for *a robust scenarios building exercise to identify the most likely scenario to inform preparedness and contingency measures.*

The conduct of the primaries has set the tone for the August elections in various ways: the rejection of 'preferred' candidates by voters marks a break from political patronage. New faces, including many young people and persons of integrity won the primaries. In

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[16] UN Women, 'Brief on Women's Participation in the Political Party Primaries and the Status of the Not More Than 2/3 of one Gender Principle Advocacy', 31 May 2017

addition, the presence of many small parties and independent candidates has reduced the control on parties and individuals hitherto exercised by national leaders. While the voters' capacity to resist political patronage has been demonstrated by the vote decision in the primaries, it remains to be seen if political control over ethnic groups will follow a similar trend, i.e. if the so-called ethno-regional strongholds will vote predictably along ethnic lines as the current rhetorical estimates of 'numbers in the bag' seem to suggest.

- *Continuous scientific public opinion surveys by all parties are important to avoid misreading the public mood, as this would fuel perceptions of vote rigging.*
- *Continuous monitoring of campaign messages and public reactions on all platforms including social media is critical to detecting signs of tension to activate timely intervention.*

The conditions for widespread violence before, during or after the elections are not as pronounced as they were in 2007 and 2013 as deduced from this analysis. However, peace and security actors should not be complacent. Many small parties and independent candidates are likely to reduce the degree of local level polarization, but the surge in 'the politics of belonging' is likely to increase ethnic, clan and sub-clan mobilization, which may not be sufficiently addressed by political settlements. In addition, the presence of 'gangs for hire', idle youths and 'boda-boda' groups coupled with high expectations of monetary handouts present latent threats that could trigger and rapidly escalate violence. Old conflicts over resources and territorial boundaries remain unresolved and linked to current political contestation. The overlaps may not be clear, but most conflict problems require legal, administrative political solutions.

- *Peace and security actors should identify respected mediators to engage with communities, the political class, the media and civil society to identify strategies to prevent violence and steer affected regions through the campaign period*

Peace messaging must take into consideration high public expectations of a peaceful, free, fair and credible electoral process. Institutional preparedness by the IEBC, the Judiciary and Security agencies is paramount to deliver on these expectations. Early response to potential violent situations remains the weakest link in the violence prevention process, yet is the best strategy to ensure the preservation of peace.

- *Concerted and coordinated peace efforts from all the stakeholders under the UWIANO and ESAP platforms are vital for a peaceful Kenya before, during and after the August 2017 elections*

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