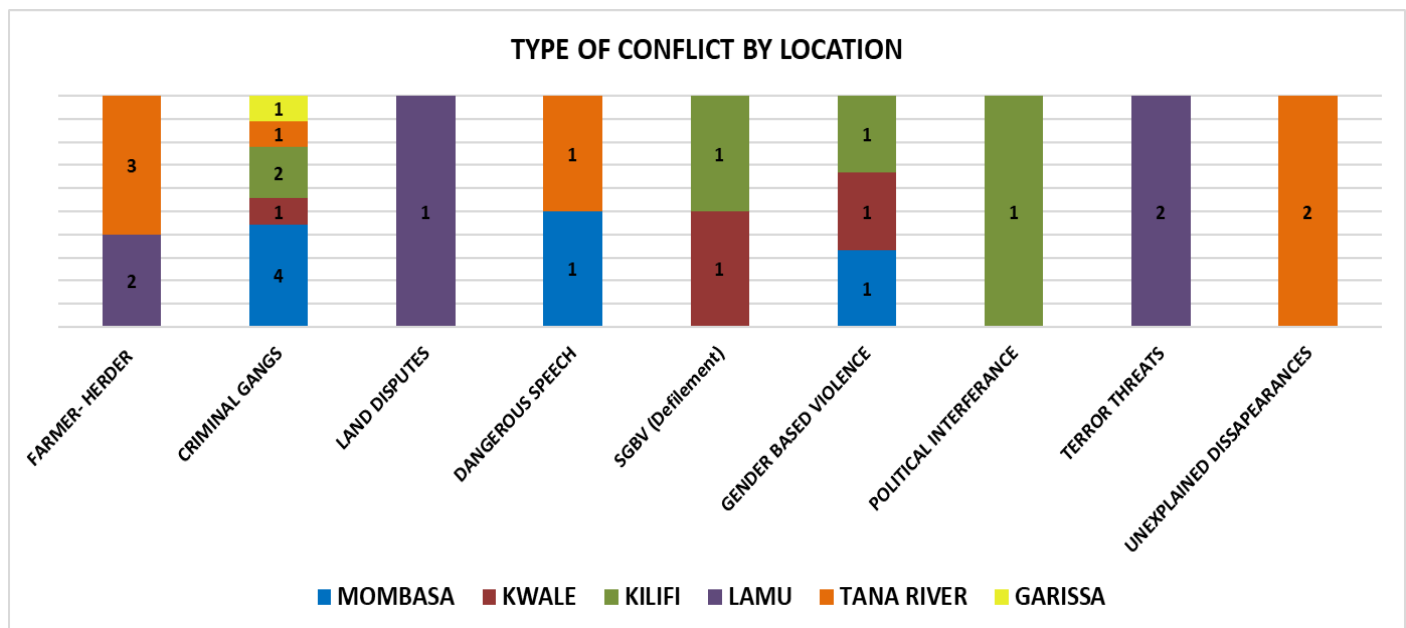


CONFLICT SNAPSHOT

NOVEMBER 1, 2022

Conflict Evolution

Search for Common Ground (Search) in collaboration with the Human Rights Agenda (HURIA), Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI), Kiunga Youth Bunge Initiative (KYBI), Tana River Peace, Reconciliation and Development (TRPRD) and Ijara Women for Peace has established an Early Warning and Early Response (EWER) system through embedded community observation and social media listening, with the aim to harness the shared information between communities, civil society organisations, and government authorities to identify and address imminent threats to peaceful elections, particularly looking at conflict trends, drivers and locations that could potentially trigger or experience violence. Social media listening monitors online conversations, with a focus on Facebook and TikTok, to track hate speech and misinformation trends and how these could potentially affect conflicts offline.



Between September 25 and October 31, 2022, Kenya's electoral context at the Coast and Garissa was marked by **Farmer- herder conflicts (5)** in Lamu and Tana River, **Criminal gangs (9)** heightened activities in Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi, Tana River and Garissa, **Land disputes (1)** in Lamu, **Gender based violence (1)** manifesting as intimate partner violence in Mombasa and **defilements (2)** in Kilifi and Kwale, **Dangerous speech (2)** over the gubernatorial petition in Tana River and nominations to county government in Mombasa,

political interference in the food distribution drive in Kilifi and **Unexplained disappearances** of persons in Tana River who were later found dead.

Sustained discontent with the outcome of the August 9 elections continue to manifest in communities and in online spaces, manifesting as denial of losses, outright rejection of elected results and blame games to Kenya Kwanza government over increased inflation to its highest since June 2017.

In response to the full judgement issued by the Supreme Court on 28th September, Azimio la Umoja One Kenya Alliance Party leader Hon. Raila Odinga took issue with the court's findings, accusing the Supreme Court of failing to satisfy the basic requirements of a fair trial by disregarding their evidence¹.

"In our view, and we feel entitled to use the language of the Court, the full decision lacks merit and is plainly "hot air." We accordingly reiterate our objections to the reasoning of the judges. It lacks integrity in both fact and law, and is not grounded in any discernible logic," **Azimio statement, September 28, 2022**

Hon. Raila Odinga further stated that the outcome of the August Presidential elections was meddled by foreign powers, while alleging a conspiracy by unnamed "right-wing and a group of international monopoly capital" with interests in the country².

"What we had was a coup d'etat. You even saw the chairman of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission run to announce the results as some of his commissioners denounced the outcome, yet he was celebrated as a hero. They cannot allow that to happen anywhere else in Africa [...] The international community could not condemn Mr Chebukati's actions because they knew what had happened. The African right-wing has always been in conspiracy with the international monopoly capital since independence and Kenyans must be prepared to further sacrifice to win this struggle," **Mr Odinga, 7th October 2022**

In further sentiments, Hon. Odinga urged his supporters to get ready to reclaim his victory as he lays marshall strategies to ensure there is electoral justice³.

"We know what happened but we will talk about it in the coming days[...] Are you ready for us to chase the thieves who have stolen our cows and driven them to the other side of the village? We must return our cows home," **Mr. Odinga, 16th October 2022**

¹ Citizen Digital, [Azimio Responds To Supreme Court's Full Judgement On Presidential Election Petition](#), September 28, 2022

² The Nation, [I lost because foreign powers, multinationals meddled in election](#), October 07, 2022

³ The Nation, [Get ready to reclaim our victory, Raila tells Azimio supporters](#), October 16, 2022

These sentiments were followed by declarations by the Wiper party leader, Hon. Kalonzo Musyoka, of The Azimio coalition forming a shadow cabinet that will keep the government in check, offering alternative ideas to rival those of the government⁴.

Kenya's cost of living has risen to a 5 year high to hit 9.6% in October as food, fuel and electricity prices continued to rise, eliciting ridicule and blame games online as the opposition⁵ and communities accuse the government of reneging on some of the promises made to Kenyans during the campaign period, particularly to reduce the cost of living in 100 days⁶.

Comment 1: *"Ruto conned Kenyans with empty promises," Anonymous social media user*

Comment 2: *"[...] talk about defeating Uhuru's men, giving Kalonzo a job and not working with Raila. So far these bottom up economic policies are working really well in alleviating cost of living in hasla nation" Anonymous social media user*

Comment 3: *"Good definitions of bottoms up economic model, hustlers are happy now.."*

In the coastal counties and Garissa, there has been an **upsurge of criminal activities** by juvenile gangs, attributed to decreased political activities that actively mobilised the youths and reduced access to free campaign money. In Mombasa county, this is manifesting in Likoni, which resulted in **community demonstration** in Shelly Beach, where residents made a door to door search of the juveniles, locally referred to as 'vipanga', on 10th October. Days later, on 12th October, a suspected thief was **lynched** over suspicion of phone theft in Shimanzi near grain Bulk, Mombasa. On 23rd October, bodaboda riders and community members of Washanga area in Mombasa jointly repulsed an attack by a gang of approximately 15 youths armed with machetes, by pelting stones at the gang. On 31st October, three people sustained serious machete injuries in Mtopanga, Mshomoroni and Junda in Kisauni, Mombasa after an attack by a juvenile gang of 6 youths⁷.

In Kwale county, a gang of more than 50 youths, locally known as 'wakali wao', armed with crude weapons like machetes, stones and maces attacked security guards in Kombani market on 12th October, in a row over contractor payments, injuring several of the guards⁸. In Tana River county, the criminal activities are manifesting as **house break-ins**, particularly in Mikinduni and Hola Mission areas of Tana River sub-county and Madogo

⁴ The Nation, [Azimio to form a shadow cabinet, says Kalonzo Musyoka](#), October 23, 2022

⁵ Citizen Digital, [Raila Accuses President Ruto Of Lying To Kenyans As He Opposes Proposed NHIF, NSSF Increments](#), October 31, 2022

⁶ The East African, [Kenya's Ruto pledges to bring down cost of living 'in 100 days'](#), July 02 2022

⁷ Citizen, [Watu watatu wajeruhiwa vibaya kwa kukatwa mapanga Kisauni](#), 31st October 2022

⁸ The Nation, [Police in Kwale launch investigations following attack on private security guards](#), October 11, 2022

area of Bangale sub county, orchestrated by young boys. In Kilifi county, increased cases of crime and break-ins have been reported in Kisumu ndogo, Majengo Mapya, Sun Park, Serena area in Malindi town, Muyeye and Karima areas in Shella ward. In one of the reported case in Majengo Mapya, Miami area, a youth was **lynched** as a result of suspected theft after he knife stabbed a resident during the theft attack on 11th October. In Garissa county, a robbery incident was observed in Waberi ward on 9th October, manifesting as looting, magging and house break-ins. In a separate incident, a robbery with violence incident was reported at Dahabshiil forex bureau in Garissa town, along Kismayo road, with the lone gunman getting away with more that Kes 18M.

As Kenya continues to bear the brunt of the worst drought experienced in the country in 40 years, **farmer herder conflicts** persist in Lamu and Tana River counties. **Clashes** were reported in Tana River- Kitui border on 20th October, at Kalalani area, over invasion of camels in the area in search of water and pasture. Several people sustained machete injuries in the clash, camels butchered, herds of cattle, sheep and goats stolen and several homesteads torched to ashes. In a separate incident, perceived as a **revenge attack** by camel herders from Tana River over denial of pasture, a 32yr old man was killed by a gang of 6 gun welding camel herders in Kecha, Mutha ward, Kitui South Constituency, triggering violent protests from the locals armed with crude weapons⁹ as well as targeted online spurts directed at Hon. Aden Duale over his wealth declaration during the vetting of the cabinet nominees.

"We have given Hon. Aden Duale 5 days to get his camels out of Kitui county. His herders are killing our people in cold blood. We don't care if he is a minister of defence or Putin. He confessed that he has over 200 camels in Kitui. Our brother Mutuku is the latest victim to be killed by camel herders at Mutha. Enough is enough. We shall flash out all camels from our land and confiscate them in police stations until their rich owners show up. Kama mbaya mbaya[...]" **Political Leader, Kitui East, 20th October 2022**

On 21st October, an incident was reported in Madogo, first farm kuruso of Tana river county involving two youths who had allegedly stolen farm produce and in the process, a scuffle ensued between the young men and the farm owner. One of the youths involved in the incident was injured while the other one was at first declared missing but later found dead on the 23rd October 2022. The situation created tension as the youth belonged to the Munyoyaya community while the farm owner belonged to the Orma community. The conflict threatened to escalate to a tribal conflict as the Munyoyaya community were citing foul play and were ready to take up arms against the Orma. Search trained mediators

⁹ The Nation, [32-year-old man in Kitui killed by camel herders from Tana river](#), October 19, 2022

responded to this conflict jointly with the sub county administration, bringing together elders from the two communities in a dialogue to amicably resolve the conflict.

In Lamu county, on 14th October and 20th October, invasions of different farms by herds of cattle and goats was reported in Mavuno area, Lamu west resulting in destruction of crops and tension in the area. Further to this in the same area, Mavuno location, a **land dispute** was observed on 27th October pitting the community living in the area against an investor who presented himself as the legal owner with documents to the same piece of land.

The **government food relief program** to areas affected by the drought in Kilifi county has been reported to be facing **political interference**, with the distribution exercise favouring those allied to the current regime in Malindi. The mobilisation and registration exercise to receive the food aid was reported as biased, targeting those of similar political affiliations as the mobilisers.

"Hiki chakula kinagawanywa kisiasa, kiko chini ya mbunge.." [In English: "This food aid is being distributed politically, it is under the Member of Parliament.."] **Woman Influencer, Malindi, 25th October 2022**

Unexplained disappearances of two people were observed in Tana River county, one in Bububu area while the other in Wenje area, who were later found dead with machete wounds in River Tana. Informal conversations into the two incidents have pointed to a conflict resulting from theft and witchcraft allegations.

Dangerous speech over the gubernatorial petition in Tana River was witnessed resulting from Mashujaa day celebrations speech by the Deputy Governor who was quoted stating community suspicions of the President rallying behind the UDA candidate in the ongoing gubernatorial case may result in bloodshed.

Video 1: *"Nataka kuongea na rais direct[...], habari inayoendelea ni kwamba case inasimamiwa na president, na president atahakikisha kwamba hio kiti imerudi na itaenda na UDA,[...]President sio mtu wa kungangana na case ya governor ama MCA lakini ikiwa rais anasimamia hio case, ikiwa shida itatokea, kutakuwa na umwagikaji wa damu, basi ni president ndio amesababisha[...]"* **Deputy Governor, Tana River**
[In English: I want to speak to the president[...] word going round is that the president is overseeing the case and the president will make sure that UDA wins the seat[...]The president is not one to interfere with the governors case or even the MCA but if the president is overseeing this case, if trouble arises, there will be blood shed, then the

president would be the cause[...]

Reaction 1: “[...]mimi ni mkaaji wa Tana River, kijiji cha Asa, nimekuja kutoa pendekezo langu limuendee Rais,[...]kuna kesi hapo inaendelea ya governors Hussein Dado na Major Godhana, hii kesi tunaona inatupeleka vibaya, inatupeleka vibaya kwa sababu sisi tuna hofu[...].tunaomba hii kesi isiendeleee[...],” **Male adult Tana Delta, 22nd October**

[In English: I am a resident of Tana River, Asa Village, i have come with a request to the President,[...]The ongoing governors case between Hussein Dado and Major Godhana, this case is not going well with us, it is not well because it makes us afraid[...], we want this case stopped[...]

Reaction 2: “[...]Tunaomba Rais utukubalie kama inawezekana, wamama tunaumia sana tukisema kuwa kuna mambo ya kurudia tena mambo ya kura au mambo ya kesi, hatuyataki hayo maneno, sababu vikija vita watu wetu wanakufa[...].tunakuomba utusaidie hio kesi uirushe[...].tuangalie Tana River vita visianza tena ikija mambo ya kuregelea kura vitatokezea vita hata dunia nzima itashangaa kunaendelea nini[...].” **Women leader, Garsen, 22nd October**

[In English: “[...]We are requesting the president, if possible, we women are hurting when we hear there will be a repeat election or a court case, we don't want that, because war may arise and our people will die... we are asking you to stop the case[...].let's be watchful that war does not recur in Tana River if there is a repeat election war will recur the whole world will wonder what's happening[.....]

In Mombasa county, the nominations to county government have polarised two communities, Luos and the local Swahilis against each other online on tiktok videos, as Luo community are quoted demanding a lions' share of the appointments as a reward to successfully mobilising for the governorship candidate of Hon. Abdulswamad Shariff Nassir.

Video 1: “Mimi ni bwana[...] mzaliwa wa Kisumu, niko hapa Mombasa county kihaki kama mkenya[...], sisi kama jamii ya wajaluo tulipigia kura azimio na kulipiga kura tukichagua His Excellency Abdulswamad, tulichangia pakubwa kwa sababu alisema tutakua na lion's share[...].” **Male Adult, 7th October 2022**

[In English: “I am Mr. [...], born in Kisumu, i am here in Mombasa rightfully as a kenyan[...] we as the Luo community voted for Azimio and voted for His Excellency Abdulswamad, we contributed immensely because he said we will have the lion's share[...].”

Video 2: “Bwana Abdulswamad Shariff, nataka nikukumbushe wewe nominations wa MCA ndani ya Mombasa county sisi kama jaluo ambao waliokupigia kura, tulipata mtu mmoja peke yake, waliobaki ni wale wakunguru ambao kazi yao ni kutua juu ya paa na juu ya miti

kutegemea wengine walime shamba ndio wakule[...] yafuatayo ndiyo masharti yetu, cabinet secretaries, securities, ward administrators, CAS, na vyeo vingine lazima tupate 70% kwa sababu unatawala kwa sababu ya kura zetu, la sivyo utaona upinzani ambao hujawahi kuona maisha yako yote, tangu uzaliwe[...],” **male adult, Mombasa, 7th October, 2022**

[In English: “Mr. Abdulswamad i want to remind you that in the MCA nominations in Mombasa county, we as the Luo Community only got one position, the remaining positions went to those ‘crows’ whose job is to patch on top of trees and rooftops waiting for others to plough the land so that they eat[...]These are our demands, cabinet secretaries, securities, ward administrators, CAS, and other posts, we must get 70% of them since you are now ruling because of our votes, if not you will witness an opposition you have never seen in your entire life, since you were born[...]”

Video 3: *“[...]Abdulswamad, wewe uliweka ahadi utasimama na sisi kama jamii ya wajaluo, hiyo ahadi itimize, hio ahadi usiiharibu ama la sivyo utaenda term 1 ama nusu[...]*” **Male adult, Mombasa, 7th October 2022**

[In English: “[...] Abdulswamad, you made a promise that you will stand with the Luo community, fulfil the promise, do not break the promise, or else you will only go for one term, or half a term[...]”

This elicited a spurt of reactions from the local swahili community accusing the Luo community of incitement and polarisation along tribal lines.

Video 1: *“[...]County ya Mombasa ina wenyewe hata kama ulipiga kura hapa... nafasi ya kwanza ni ya watu wa Mombasa mutake musitake, 70% lazima iende kwa indigenous[...] ubaya wetu tumewakarinisha watu sasa wataka kutupanda juu ya vichwa, hilo hatulikubali kabisa, kila mmoja awe na nidhamu[...] kwa sababu kwenye kaunti zote ukienda huezi pata waislamu katika maafis, kwa nini hapa waambiwe wao ndio wana hak[i...],”* **Muslim Cleric, 9th October**

Video 2: *“[...] hawa watu wanademand nyadhfa zote kwenye county wapewe...jamani kuna hatari, je kuna mpwani aweza kwenda kudemand ndani ya Luo Nyanza kama wanavyodemand wao? Ama hii ni Kisumu, Basi Mombasa ibadilishe jina iitwe Kisumu[...]* hii mombasa nishawambia ishakwenda[...],” **Academician, 8th October**

Video 3: *“sisi tunasikitishwa na mawazo ya wenzetu ambao tuliwapa nafasi kubwa sana haswa hapa likoni, wenzetu wa kabila ya wajaluo[...] baada ya sisi kuwapa hii space wanaona kama sisi tumelaza damu[...]*” **Community leader, 10th October**

Gender based violence, manifesting as intimate partner violence was witnessed in Mombasa county, resulting in the death of one woman in Sargoi Majengo, Mvita subcounty in Mombasa county. **Sexual gender based violence** cases, manifesting as defilement, in Kwale and Kilifi counties have been observed to be on the rise but largely going unreported to local authorities as communities settle cases out of court at family level. Further to this, the observers reported an emerging trigger to domestic disputes, fuelled by political party affiliations, especially at family levels, compounded further by lack of acceptance of election outcome, is contributing to this violence as partners who found themselves in opposing political camps, particularly UDA and AZIMIO camps, bear grudges against each other.

In various areas of Lamu county, **threats from terror** group were observed from 3rd October as leaflets were dropped in Hindi and Mokowe towns warning of an eminent attack from Al-Shabaab targeting security apparatus in Lamu, Garissa, Mandera, Nairobi, Nakuru, Eloret and Kisumu towns, asking non-locals to evict from the area before the attack.

Days later, on 8th October 2022, suspected Al-Shabaab **militants raided** and vandalised a local club in Mswakini village, near Baragon, leaving behind several leaflets with radical messages telling Bar'goni and Lamu residents that they were members of Al-Shabaab and that they needed cooperation to enable them to clean Muslim towns from evils, including drinking, prostitution and other vices¹⁰.

Risks and Opportunity Analysis

In the current context, appointments in the county governments continue to further polarise communities along the coast with dangerous inciteful speech dominating conversations online, while also taking religious undertone. Counties with ongoing court petitions against elected leaders face a continued heightened risk of electoral violence. In the face of the drought disaster, communities are further vulnerable to violence as scramble for resources ensues. Reduced political activities and youth mobilisation have further predisposed youths to criminal violence in the post election period.

Recommendations

Based on the trends observed, there is a need to focus on sustained community led positive youths engagement, particularly in Mombasa, Tana River, Kwale and Kilifi counties to curb the problem of youth involvement in crime. Maskani visits were proposed by the

¹⁰ The Nation, [Suspected Al-Shabaab militants raid, vandalise Lamu club](#), October 09, 2022

observers to involve idle youth, drug users etc. in empowering them on how they can contribute towards sustainable peace in their localities. Search's grants to community initiatives and rapid responses will be handy in supporting these community led efforts.

Stakeholders' forums that bring on board local authorities, security actors, administrators, chiefs, peace ambassadors, religious leaders and community security actors together with community members to jointly implement strategies to the social and security challenges facing them in their respective locations in all Counties.



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