

Police, People and Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict States

Evidences from the Kenyan Model of Community Policing

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Abstract

In conflict-affected states (FCAS), there is often a vacuum of mistrust between police and government on one hand and the citizens and communities on the other hand. The situation exacerbates insecurities, hinders the possibilities of peacebuilding and increases the risk of conflict recurrence in post-conflict countries. The aftermath of the 2007/08 electoral conflict in Kenya opened a window of opportunity to reform the police sector and implement a new model of community policing - 'Nyumba Kumi', which means 10 houses in Kiswahili,- an strategy of collective security at the household level.. The goal is unpretentious: to restore trust and maintain security, among other things.

To examine the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding in Kenya, I introduced a theoretical model based on two indicators that have been identified for engaging in peacebuilding in FCAS - trust and security. Based on qualitative data analysis, the study finds that the implementation of Nyumba Kumi has improved vertical trust and police accountability to a limited extent. More significant impact is seen in the increase in horizontal trust, public alertness and police responsiveness.

The study concludes that Nyumba Kumi community policing has had a positive but limited impact on post-conflict peacebuilding in Ghana. Taking into cognisance contextual challenges, a concerted effort towards consistent implementation will be instrumental if Nyumba Kumi can have long-term peacebuilding impact in Kenya.

Key Words: *Nyumba Kumi, Community Policing, Post-conflict Peacebuilding, Kenya*

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Abbreviations

CP	Community Policing
CPC	Community Policing Committee
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DFID	Department for International Development
FCAS	Fragile and Conflict-Affected States
FDG	Focused Group Discussion
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LCPI	Local Capacities for Peace International
NSC PCM	National Steering Committee for Peacebuilding and Conflict Management
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UNPBF	United Nations Peace Building Fund

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Overview

With growing threats to global peace, peacebuilding and security continue to remain at the heart of the global agenda in the post-cold war era. The link between security sector reforms and peacebuilding efforts has thus become more necessary. This is especially relevant for fragile and conflict-affected states, where, the police are often perceived by the community to be the face of the executive and the main instrument of state brutality on citizens (DFID, 2002). The perception arises from the fact that the police in such states have increasingly assumed the main role of applying the state's coercive force on citizens during and after periods of civil wars and internal strives. This creates a vacuum of distrust and insecurity between police, people and communities, making peacebuilding a challenge in the aftermath of conflict.

Community policing (CP) has been prioritized as a key component of police reforms geared towards rebuilding fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS) that experience multiple post-conflict complexities such as previous state (police) brutality, weak institutions and police-community distrust (Bayley, 2001; Morash and Ford, 2002; Valasek, 2008). Though implementation of community policing strategies has been relatively successful and thus remains promising, its impact on peacebuilding in post-conflict states is relatively under-researched. This lack of research has necessitated an investigation into contextual impact of community policing on peacebuilding in post-conflict states. Can community policing help to rebuild trust between police and people after violent conflict? Can it be a tool to improve security at a time when conventional policing has become relatively weak?

Due to flaws in conventional policing, Kenya's history of police-public mistrust, failures in previous community policing practices and the continual promise of community policing, a new model of community policing -Nyumba Kumi¹- has been implemented in Kenya. This thesis examines the role Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding.

¹ Nyumba Kumi (meaning "ten households" in Kiswahili) is a new model of community policing recently launched in Kenya in a renewed effort by the government to maintain peace and security through state-society synergy following the electoral violence in 2008. See section 1.4.2 below for details.

1.2. Objective of the study

The objective of the study is to assess the impact of community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding in Kenya. Particularly, it seeks to examine the extent to which the implementation of Nyumba Kumi community policing has improved the means of addressing police-public² mistrust and security concerns³. These indicators will be used to further analyse the contribution of Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding.

1.3. Research question

In developing good research questions, King et al. (1994, p. 15) suggest two main criteria. They recommend that research should pose questions that are important in the real world and should make a specific contribution by increasing our ability to create explanations of some aspect of the world. Based on these recommendations, the study asks:

- *What is the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding in Kenya?*

To answer the overarching research question, the study specifically seeks to answer the following questions:

- *Has Nyumba Kumi community policing improved trust in Kenya?*
- *Has Nyumba Kumi community policing improved security in Kenya?*
- *How can Nyumba Kumi community policing effectively contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding?*

1.4. Background to the Study

Community-based security has been a dominant phenomenon in most African countries since pre-colonial times. Communal policing as a practice has undergone both formal and informal changes throughout colonial and post-colonial era until date. The growing emphasis on CP has called for the development of new formalised models of to meet the changing nature of security. Kenya has reformed its police sector to adopt a new form of community policing- Nyumba Kumi as part of efforts to address post-conflict vulnerabilities.

² The word public is used synonymously with people, citizens and community.

³ The includes issues of crime, electoral violence, terrorism among others.

1.4.1. Security and Community Policing in Kenya

Security has been a major concern for the people and government of Kenya. The country became fragile after the outbreak of the post-election violence of 2007/08 in which more than 1200 people died and 300,000 became internally displaced. In post-conflict Kenya, social inequalities, the availability of small arms, inadequate police capacity, police-public distrust and recent terrorist attacks have all fuelled Kenya's high levels of crime and insecurity in the country (Saferworld, 2008, Njuguna et al, 2015; Rohwerder, 2015). These challenges are known to influence the potential of conflict recurrence in fragile and conflict-affected states.

This legacy of mutual distrust between police and citizens, coupled with the increasing crime rates and the high levels of insecurity in the country, raise questions about the relevance of community-based grassroots policing in building peace. Emerging from the electoral conflict, the country began implementing post-conflict reforms to devolve the governance system in a bid solve the root causes of conflict. Community policing was reintroduced as part of police reforms to help rebuild trust, prevent crimes and reduce the current terrorist threats in the country. When initial CP projects were initiated in areas such as Kibera and Isiola, it was noted that crime rate fell up to 40%, levels of trust significantly increased between police and communities, and increased accountability became evident (Saferworld, 2008).

Despite these achievements, nationwide crime rates remain high (Human Right Watch, 2017), police corruption and politicisation persist, and the possibility of electoral violence remains high (Odula, 2017). Earlier studies have also criticized the implementation of community policing initiatives in Kenya, including issues of distrust, lack of commitment, corruption and the neglect of communities and other groups (Ruteere and Pommerolle, 2003). Brogden (2005) points out that there was limited discussion with marginalised communities and a number of groups were excluded from any form of engagement as the Nairobi police unilaterally decided to introduce CP while communities were simply expected to cooperate. These drawbacks stalled the extension of CP to other parts of Kenya.

1.4.2. Nyumba Kumi: From the Top to Ten Houses

In a renewed effort to maintain peace and security following the terrorist attacks since 2013, the government of Kenya launched a new model of community policing known as Nyumba Kumi. The concept of Nyumba Kumi, which means “ten households” in Kiswahili is said to

be borrowed from Tanzania (K' Oyoo, 2013). Officially, Nyumba Kumi is a “strategy of anchoring community policing at the household level or any other generic cluster. These households can be in a residential court, in an estate, a block of houses, a manyatta, a street, a market centre, a gated community, a village or a bulla. The concept is aimed at bringing Kenyans together in clusters defined by physical locations, felt needs and pursuit of common ideals: a safe, sustainable and prosperous neighbourhood” (Government of Kenya, 2013, p.2). This concept represents a fusion of traditional arrangements and modern democratic principles of collective security.

Figure 1: Nyumba Kumi as a traditional arrangement of residence around 10 houses.



Source: Kariuki (2014)

The picture above does not in any way depict modern Kenya. Currently, the level of modern settlement in Kenya is among the best in Africa. The picture rather shows the traditional historical connection of Nyumba Kumi as it considers the local context and fuses traditional concepts of settlement with modern democracy.

It is hinged on the premise that if citizens know their neighbours and areas well, they will be better able to spot any suspicious or unusual activities which they then report to the police for immediate response. In practice, there are currently over 210,000 cluster groups that exist across the country under this new community policing model (Koigi, 2016). These clusters are expected to hold frequently Nyumba Kumi meetings to discuss security matters. This new model of CP expects to build on the flaws of previous initiatives and to provide better security and partnership. Nyumba Kumi also aims to give “special attention to vulnerable

groups especially women and children” (Government of Kenya, 2015, p.3) as a way of enhancing equitable gender representation at all levels (p.5).

1.5. Significance of the study

In 2011, the ground-breaking World Development Report on Conflict, Security and Development revealed that while violence mainly accounted for the inability to meet the MDGs, “recurring civil wars have become a dominant form of armed conflict in the world today” (World Bank, 2011, p. 57). Understanding the impact of community policing strategies on peacebuilding has become more important with the growing vulnerability and threats to global peace. Top-down approaches to peace and development have often been criticised as ineffective in addressing contextual issues in the global south. The study of Nyumba Kumi in Kenya challenges the top-down approach and provides insights on how new models of community policing are addressing peacebuilding obstacles. The challenges identified by the study, along with the recommendations suggested can inform government measures at improving police training and civic education. The findings will not only add knowledge to community policing and police reforms research, it will be instrumental in developing peacebuilding efforts and policies for engaging with post-conflict countries.

1.6. Thesis organization

The study consists of five chapters. Following chapter one above, this next chapter provides a review and discussion of the main literature on community policing, police reforms, post-conflict peacebuilding. The chapter also outlines the main theoretical framework within which the study will be built. Chapter three details the methodological foundation and discusses the reasons, pros and cons of the strategies used to complete the study. Practical experience from the fieldwork as well as the ethical considerations of the study will be highlighted. In chapter four, the main findings and analyses of the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing are discussed. The final chapter sums up the study with recommendations on how community policing can effectively contribute to peacebuilding in post-conflict Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

By their nature, research studies cannot be done in vacuum. They are built on past and on-going research works by scholars within the field. To understand the conceptual and theoretical perspectives that underpin this study, this chapter presents a review of existing literature in the field of community policing and peacebuilding.

2.1. Understanding the concept and practice of community policing

The concept of community policing can be traced to the works of Robert Peel (1829). On his contribution to the principles of law enforcement, Peel (1829) noted, among other things, the need “to maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police”. The development of the concept of CP since then has come with different definitions, objectives and manifestations. As Brogden (2005) maintains, community policing lacks a clear and coherent definition and it is manifested in a number of different ways around the world.

The United States Institute for Peace defines community policing as “both an ethos and an organizational strategy or instrument that aims to promote a partnership-based, collaborative effort between the police and the community to ensure safety and security” (USIP, 2014, p.1). With a similar emphasis on partnership and an introduction of problem-solving capacity of CP, the Government of Kenya in its draft report for the implementation of community policing defined CP as “a policing philosophy that promotes organisational strategies which support the systematic use of partnership between communities and government policing agencies, and problem solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder and fear of crime” (Government of Kenya, 2013, p.1).

Despite the fact that there is no general consensus among researchers regarding the definition of community policing, inherent in most definitions, is the idea that for adequate security to be guaranteed, the state policing agency must come together and partner with the customers (people, public, citizens, communities) to coproduce safety in a state-society synergetic relationship (Brenya and Warden, 2014).

2.2. Impact of Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality?

Modern models of community policing are usually documented in the United States where since the 1960s, community policing emerged within reforms to reduce police brutality, improve competence and increasing professionalism. As the concept continued to grow, CP has been implemented differently in various contexts. Davis et al (2003) highlight these variations in Brazil, Haiti, Uganda and South Africa in their study dubbed 'Community Policing: Variations on the Western model in the developing world'. They found that there is no single and uniform model of community policing because factors such as the levels of community cohesion, the centralization of the police, levels of respect for the police amongst others, influences the application and success of the concept (ibid). The popularity of community policing among the international community has sparked significant debate within academic literature.

On the one hand, many scholars have supported the viability of the CP philosophy maintaining that it has practical applications and is effective in combating crime and disorder, or at least improve trust and state-society relations (Baker, 2007; Brenya and Warden, 2014). Baker (2007) argues that despite some failures of CP implementation, there is evidence to suggest that they are valuable, relevant and sustainable. Specifically, he finds Sierra Leonean CP strategy of Police Local Partnership Boards augmented police capacity and enhanced the police image and facilitated cooperation and trusting relations between the police and local communities. Bacon (2015) presents a case study from Liberia that focuses on the relationship between police reform and women, peace and security. She analyses two key goals of the reforms of the Liberian National Police (LNP): representation and responsiveness and concludes that by these two metrics, the Liberian police reform can be "considered a 'qualified success' since the percentage of female officers rose from 2 to 17%, and the LNP improved its response to SGBV reports" (Bacon, 2015; DCAF, 2011). Brenya and Warden (2014, p. 248) suggest that CP in Ghana helped to establish closer ties and support base between police officers and local groups and increased local awareness of crime.

On the other hand, researchers including Grabosky (2009) and Klockars (1988) criticise CP on the basis that it is more of a rhetoric, a 'public relations gimmick' that is unrealistic, difficult to implement and likely to be unsuccessful to combat crime. Klockars (1988) believes that CP is a mere "rhetoric" which can simply not work despite its lofty goals. This

narrative seems to mostly focus on the flaws of CP. For example, experiences of CP in South Africa suggest the failure of community policing arising from, among other factors, competing perceptions and group marginalisation (Brogden and Nijhar, 2005).

Other studies suggest that the impact of CP is ambiguous in nature. In a study on community-oriented policing, Gill et al (2014) conclude that community-oriented policing strategies have positive effects on citizen satisfaction, perceptions of disorder, and police legitimacy, but limited effects on crime and fear of crime.

One objective of CP that has been constantly stressed upon is the role of CP in improving security and rebuilding trust between the government (people) and the people (public). The idea is that, often, the police is perceived by the community to be “the face of the executive” and the government as a whole, thus the role it plays in successful transformation cannot be underestimated (Meyer, 2006, p.255). This is of particular significance for conflict-affected context where the police are usually perceived as the main instrument of state brutality (DFID, 2002). How can community policing strategies help such states rebuild trust and maintain security? To sum, though research points to lack of unanimity of the implementation of community policing, its capacity to improve trust and security remain promising, albeit obstacles.

2.3. Challenges associated with the implementation of community policing

Brogden (2005, p.77) argues that while the practice of CP is often regarded as an ‘antidote’ to crime problems especially in the west, CP reforms in other contexts have been characterised by realistic challenges. In a study of CP in several African countries, he (2005) found that CP initiatives were hindered by factors such as lack of community consultation and marginalisation of communities (Uganda), organizational resistance within the police itself (Zambia), the legacy of distrust among local communities and police (Kenya) and the application of CP in diverse context.

Casey (2010) supports the issue of distrust as a challenge while adding that the lack of resources and community fragmentation in conflict/post-conflict contexts impedes implementing COP in developing and transitional countries. This is particularly true for most post-conflict countries mainly because, despite the inflow of donor support, social, political

and economic problems are so dominant, that little resources are left for adequately reforming the security/police sector. With poor conditions of service, a low motivated police department is less receptive to CP reforms as evident in what scholars refer to as organisational or institutional resistance (Brogden, 2005; Groenwald and Peake, 2004). Another often-cited problem associated with community policing is its failure to incorporate all sections of the community. There is clear evidence supporting the marginalisation of poor communities, racial groups and women and young people in CP programs (Clegg et al, 2000). In this way, community policing may serve to reinforce existing societal divisions.

2.4. From Community Policing to Peacebuilding: Convergence and Complementarity

Underlying CP strategies are certain key objectives that are mostly tailored to suit the communities they are implemented in. This is of particular significance for conflict-affected context where the police are usually perceived as the main instrument of state brutality (DFID, 2002). When there is mistrust between the police and people, there is a high propensity for breeding of community-level spoilers who challenge and resist reforms, which could lead to a relapse into war. As observed, the absence of effective coordination and trust between internal players (such as the public and police) increases the likelihood of a peace agreement and implementation gap (PAIG), a major reason why waning wars wax (Warden, 2016). Institutional breakdown, lack of law and order and sense of insecurity additionally exacerbate post-conflict conditions and may contribute to conflict recurrence. Post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding therefore requires genuine effort to maintain security and rebuild the trust of the community through partnership projects such as CP. This explains why CP, as part of security (police) sector reforms, has been a necessary prerequisite in most FCAS (Koch, 2008).

In convergence with peacebuilding, the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), which is establish to prevent the recurrence of conflict, suggest that comprehensive peacebuilding should address: drivers and root causes of conflict (e.g. horizontal inequalities); build institutions and capacities of individuals, communities and authorities to manage conflict and deliver services (e.g. political, security, justice and government institutions that deliver social services); enhance social cohesion and build trust among social groups (society-society relations) (e.g. reconciliation processes); and build trust in and legitimacy of governments

(state-society relations) (e.g. political dialogue). (UNPBF, 2016). Similarly, to measure the dividends of peacebuilding initiatives, the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States, a policy framework emanating from the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and State-building have identified five overarching peacebuilding and state-building goals: 1. Legitimate (inclusive) politics; 2. People's security; 3. Access to justice; 4. Employment generation and livelihoods support; 5. Accountable revenue management and service delivery (UNPBF, 2016)

It is clear from both the principles and goals stated above that institutional development and democratic governance, state-society synergy and social trust, safety and security are crucially interlinked components in any discussion or practice of peacebuilding. These components set out the convergence and complementarity of community policing and peacebuilding and are reflected in the theoretical framework below. Besides building trust and promoting a positive police-community relation and thus legitimacy of the police and the government (Clegg et al, 2000), CP may also be used to promote democratic ideals such as gender equality and justice (USIP, 2014, p.2), provide employment and support through recruitment and involvement of citizens (Bacon, 2015; DCAF, 2011) and enhance accountability.

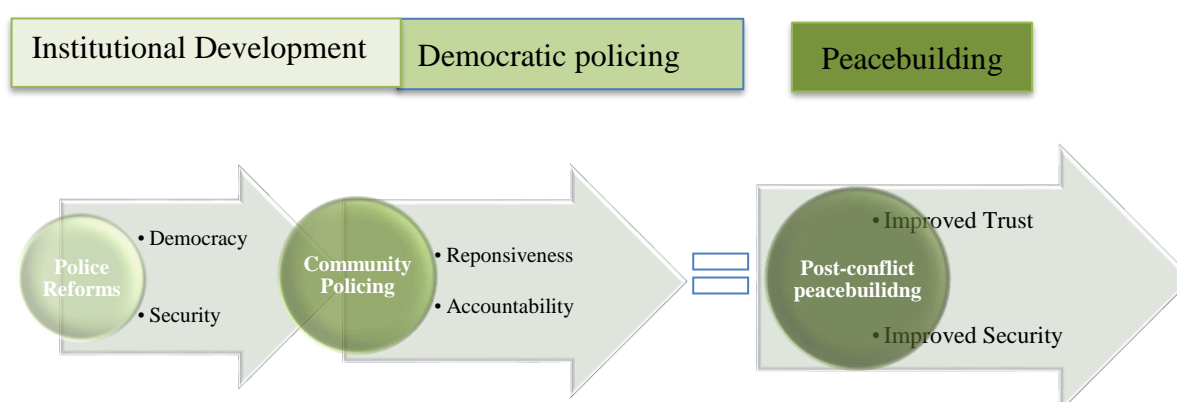
2.5. Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the democratic policing theory of CP and the institutional development theory of peacebuilding have been combined to form the dominant theoretical point of departure upon which the study is built.

Democratic policing, in its broad sense, is based on the strategy of policing of the people, by the people and for the people. The fundamental notion is that the police are a service, not a force, characterised by responsiveness and accountability and geared towards maintaining the security of the disaggregated individual by law, rather than, the state by the whims of government (Bayley, 2001). This theory presupposes a shift from a “control-oriented approach to a more service-oriented approach” where an effective partnership exists between the police and the community they serve (OSCE, 2002, p. 4). Aimed at fostering legitimacy and public acceptance, democratic policing becomes the guiding paradigm for police reforms necessary to implement successful post-conflict peacebuilding (Celador, 2005).

To complement the above theory, the Institutional Development theory of peacebuilding holds that building stable institutions that guarantee democracy, security, justice, equity will in turn foster peacebuilding (Glassmyer and Sambanis, 2008; Valasek, 2008; Strohmeyer, 2001). In the aftermath of violent conflict, government institutions are weak, if not totally destroyed. Thus, police reforms in post-conflict is a necessary part of an overall security sector institutional development in order to reclaim state monopoly of force, improve safety and ensure long term peacebuilding (Valasek, 2008)

Figure 2: Theoretical Model; Police Reform, Community Policing and Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Context



Source: Author

To follow the discussion above, the model depicts that, in merging the democratic policing theory of policing and the institutional development theory of peacebuilding, CP serves as the main point of convergence. The institutionalisation of CP provides a valuable opportunity for the successful implementation of the core principles of peacebuilding such as trust and security. In other words, given that a well consolidated democratic, responsive and accountable police institution is a prerequisite for conflict management and the preservation of peace and security, police sector reforms, imbuing principle of democratic community policing can be classified as a ‘tool’ for peacebuilding (UNPBF, 2016). It is within this theoretical framework that the research question regarding the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on peacebuilding is analysed in the context of post-conflict Kenya.

It is important to note that the theoretical model does not insinuate a lineal mechanism between a community policing and peacebuilding. The model is to aid a coherent analysis, as other contributing factors to peacebuilding are introduced in the discussions when necessary.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodological framework to be employed in the study is discussed. This includes the research strategy, data collection methods and the basis of analysis. Concluding this chapter, some ethical considerations inherent in the conduct of this study as well as expectations for the field work will be shared.

3.1. Philosophical Foundation of the study

Every research methodology is built on a certain philosophy. In this study, the research strategy to be adopted will be influenced by the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology of research. In research philosophy, epistemology “concerns itself with what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge” whilst ontological consideration deals with the “nature of social entities”, in other words, how social entities and social realities are considered independent or interdependent (Bryman, 2008, p. 13, 19). Whilst some researchers perceive this social reality as objective, exclusive and existing outside and independent of any human influence, i.e. objectivism/positivism, others perceive social reality as socially constructed and subject to human interpretations and actions, i.e. interpretivism/constructivism (Bryman, 2008).

Considering the aforementioned philosophical dispositions, this research will be based on the interpretivist-constructivist orientation. This is because it presents the researcher and the respondents the opportunity and ability to “present a specific version of social reality, rather than one that could be definitive” of it (Bryman 2008, p. 19). Interpretivism will enhance my understanding of social phenomenon such as security, and how critical concepts like community policing and peacebuilding are socially constructed from the perspective of different respondents themselves. With this philosophical basis, a qualitative approach in which data is systematically qualified and subjectively interpreted is mostly used.

3.2. Research Strategy: Qualitative

In conducting research, two main methodological strategies exist; qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative research methods produce data that is rich in information and can

enable a researcher to make conclusions about social processes in particular settings (Neuman, 2006). Quantitative methods are distinguished from qualitative methods in terms of the former generating data that can be empirically analysed by employing numerical techniques (Bryman, 2012). Both methods yield intrinsic strengths and weaknesses. Qualitative studies provide detailed sympathetic understanding of peculiar situations which tends to restrict generalizations while quantitative studies produce generalised theories and hypotheses but provides less explanation to specific contextual situations. For the purpose of this research, a qualitative strategy was adopted as it allowed the researcher an in-depth understanding of the meaning and practice of an initiative that is under-researched.

3.3. Research Design: Case study

A research design is the action plan of the whole research process that guides how the research is going to be executed to answer outlined research questions (Yin, 2003). The design is usually crafted based on the research method. Bearing in mind the research strategy, the case study research design was adopted for the study. Though many different definitions exist, one of the dominant definitions of case study in political science is that it embodies “an intensive study of a single unit or a small number of units (the cases), for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)” (Gerring, 2007, p. 37; Levy, 2008, p. 2). Though case study approach has been wrongly believed to lack a method (Levy, 2008, p. 2) it has gained importance due to its ability to allow an intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2012).

To properly utilise this approach, Levy believes an inevitable question to ask of any case study is; “what is this a case of?” (ibid). This study represents a case of locally-influenced community policing strategy in a post-conflict context. In terms of the use of theory, this is a theory-guided case study that seeks to “describe, explain, or interpret a particular “case” by employing a conceptual framework that will “focus attention on some theoretically specified aspects of reality” (Levy 2008, p. 4). Specifically, the case study provides a better understanding of the complexities and contextual issues of CP in post-conflict Kenya.

In terms of case selection, the reasons for the choice of Kenya’s Nyumba Kumi Community Policing have been explained above (See section 1.4). More specifically, with the introduction of Nyumba Kumi as a new model of CP, Kenya presents an interesting case

worth researching. The concept of Nyumba Kumi is regarded to be a replica of a similar system in neighbouring Tanzania where it has been largely successful for many years. How well will a borrowed concept help to solve contextual problems within Kenya? This concept is also selected for this study because it represents a modern example of South-South partnership as well as a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding. As a regional powerhouse, the future of Nyumba Kumi, in terms of success or failure, can be of significant importance to other countries in the East African sub region.

3.4. Field Trip

The researcher embarked on a field trip from the beginning of June 2017 until the middle of August 2017, days after the first round of August 2017 Presidential elections. The trip was necessary to have first-hand information on the topic under study as Nyumba Kumi remains a relatively under-research topic. The researcher volunteered with a local peacebuilding organization to participate and observe more actively. It was important to experience it from within than to watch it from outside.

The findings of the study are largely based on the circumstances at the time of the field trip. It is important to note at this point that, in the aftermath of the field trip, circumstances in the country took a different turn. The Presidential election results were contested and subsequently annulled by the Supreme Court of Kenya. As a new round of election was scheduled, events took a rather drastic turn including protest, police response and political unrest. At the time of submitting this study, these events were still unfolding, making it difficult to conclusively include them in the analysis. While the findings of this study is valid within the period of the field trip, the ongoing political unrest as well as future happenings may influence opinions that differ from current responses.

3.5. Sampling and sampling technique

On sampling, respondents for data collection included police offices, community policing committee (CPC) members, peacebuilding organisations and experts and most important women, men and young girls and boys in the community. The main sampling techniques were purposive, snowballing, convenient and simple random sampling.

During the field trip, the first point of contact was a local based peacebuilding organization known as Local Capacities for Peace International (LCPI). This organization was contacted due to their continuous work on community policing and peacebuilding in Kenya. Bryman (2012, p. 416) advises the use of purposive sampling technique where the researcher initially identifies and selects key units, individuals, institutions and documents “with direct reference” and of significance to the topic. Once these units were identified and interviewed or researched on, a snowball sampling was introduced. This meant that other participants who have had experience or characteristics relevant to the research were recommended and subsequently contacted for further information (Bryman, 2012, p.416). With the help of LCPI, the researcher had direct access to interview CPC members who are representative of police and communities working together to implement community policing. The community policing team of LCPI also served as resource persons who provided expert insights into the practical issues of community policing and peace in Kenya.

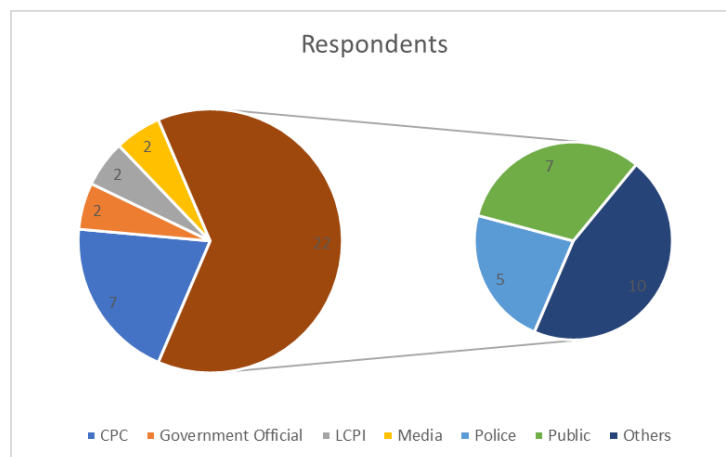
The snowballing technique also gave the opportunity to conduct Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with government officials - police superintendent at the National Steering Committee for Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) and the Director of Reforms at the National Police Force - who were/are involved in the policy formulation and implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP at the national level. The researcher engaged in semi-structured interviews with members of the public based on simple random sampling. At my convenience, this also sometimes involved engaging in conversation with a “boda-boda” (commercial motor) drivers, market women and Airbnb hosts. Together, these techniques gave me both professional and structured information as well as broad insights to have a comprehensive understanding of the questions at hand.

Geographically, the interviews were conducted in Kisumu County, home of the main opposition party, where there is a history of police brutality, conflict and security hotspots. Policy relevant interviews were conducted in Nairobi with government officials. In addition, semi-structured interviews and random conversation were in conducted in both areas to further understand some differences and similarities in implementation and results.

3.5.1. Sample Size

In total, over 30 interviews and conversations were conducted. Primary interviews included eighteen in-depth individual interviews with relevant stakeholders from Maseno, Nyamasaria, Kondele, Ahero communities in Kisumu County and Nairobi city in Nairobi County. One FGD comprising seven community policing committee (CPC) members in Kondele community was also conducted. To complement and triangulate the findings, the researcher engaged in active participant observation, particularly by engaging in relevant conversations with acquaintances and participating in peacebuilding, teambuilding and police accountability activities organized by Local Capacities for Peace International (LCPI). The remaining (others) capture these respondents. The breakdown of the respondents is shown in the figure below.

Figure 3: Total number of respondents



3.6. Data collection

To answer the research questions, it is necessary to collate and systematically organize information from primary and secondary sources. To do so, the researcher developed a semi structured interview guide⁴ to collate data on the most observable implications that were consistent with the theory (King et al., 1994, p. 24). The interview guide was developed in line with the theoretical framework and research questions. This operationalisation enabled the researcher to collect relevant data on the main themes including trust and security. Qualitative research allows for many methods of data collection. However, for the purpose of this study, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, focused group discussions and

⁴ See appendix 1

document analysis were the main methods of qualitative data collection. Below is an explanation of the pros and cons.

3.6.1. Qualitative Method of Data Collection

3.6.1.1. Semi-Structured Interview

To allow for flexibility, improvising and creativity, semi-structured interviews were the primary source of data collection. According to Bryman (2012), this form of data collection allows the research to use an interview guide but there is a fair degree of flexibility in asking and answering questions. For this reason, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the primary respondents such as police officer, members of the public, journalists and LCPI officials. The method did not only allow flexibility but also brought out deeper meaning and understanding of issues as the researcher was able to make further enquiries about the motives, rational and perspectives of respondents' responses.

However, there are challenges with this method including the likelihood of language and wording misinterpretation (Bryman, 2012) whereby translated questions are either not well understood, misinterpreted or wrongly interpreted. Because the research was conducted in a different country than the researcher's home country, there were situations where respondents spoke in their local language, as they assumed that the researcher could understand. To minimize these situations, the researcher conducted most interviews in English and also made use of a local person to assist in translation. Mock interviews were previously organized with LCPI officials and friends to make it possible to correct mistakes before proper interviews were done. During all interviews, record keeping was key. The researcher recorded most of the voice responses with a mobile phone and actively took notes of important comments. These were later used for cross-checking during transcription and data analysis. Body language and gestures of respondents and the researcher were adequately monitored during the interviews as well.

3.6.1.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation was another strategy of collating data to augment data from interviews. This process meant directly immersing into the communities, engaging in communal activities and observing behaviour of respondents. As noted by Bryman (2012), respondents may be reluctant to respond to some complex issues, such as security and crime, in an interview situation. In such cases, true meaning and "understanding comes from

prolonged interaction” with members involved (Bryman 2012, p. 494). Time and financial resources did not allow an intensive period of participant observation. However, due to the researcher’s personal background as an African who grew up in an African country, it was relatively easy to blend into the culture and life of the people. Many people, before hearing me speak, assumed I was Kenyan. Though proper observation takes time, the researcher managed to relate well with community members, formed good bonds with people and gained initial trust for further interactions to take place. These included playing football, helping neighbours and partaking in LCPI activities as shown in the images below.

Figure 4: Participant Observation

As part of the field work, the researcher volunteered with a peacebuilding organization in Kenya known as Local Capacities for Peace International (LCPI). LCPI community policing team organized workshops and activities aimed at facilitating trust among police and community members during teambuilding workshops in four sub-counties in Kisumu.



Image 1: Researcher and LCPI official facilitates teambuilding with CPC members in Kisumu

(Source: LCPI, 2017)

Image 2: Researcher engaging in football with other Kenyans in Nairobi. (Source: Author, 2017)

The researcher was aware of the language barrier and other problems associated with ‘going native’ in research and thus, the fieldwork was conducted with much caution. For example, though the researcher was associated with a local organization during some of the interviews, efforts were made to clarify that to respondents, making them aware that the purpose of the interviews was for an independent thesis, not an organizational report.

3.6.1.3. Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD remained an important part of collecting qualitative data from respondents. Because the concept of Nyumba Kumi is based on communal living and togetherness, it is a matter of necessity to understand not only how respondents provide responses as individual but also how they respond similar questions when they are together with others in collective groups. Understanding the premise that group behaviour may deviate from individual attitude, the researcher conducted one FGD with CPC in Kisumu. The discussions made it possible to reflect on police responses vs. public responses as both were represented.



The FDG offered additional data and methodological rigour to individual interviews (King and Horrocks, 2010) particularly by allowing the researcher to understand the collective view of the topic. A common challenge was that during the FGD meeting few individuals attempted to dominate the discussion. This challenge often skews the conversation in favour of the dominant person or group. The researcher was aware of this tendency beforehand and therefore managed the situation by encouraging others to add their own voice to the discussion.

3.6.1.4. Review of Document

Another qualitative source of data was the review of documents that are relevant to peacebuilding and community policing discourse. Documents reviewed included both private and state documents such as the literature discussed above as well as Nyumba Kumi policy paper, the Constitution of Kenya and other peacebuilding policy papers. Document review

also included newspapers which not only provided confirmation and clarifications of responses but also helped to identify some theoretical perspective for the study. This process of document review begun before and continued through the field trip until the end of the thesis writing. Since not all the documents were objective, the researcher exercised caution in selecting and reviewing materials for the study.

3.7. Data Analysis

The research adopted thematic analysis to understand the qualitative data. Bryman (2012, p. 578) notes that thematic analysis, which is one of the most common approaches to qualitative data analysis, involves the search for recurrent themes that are of significance to the research question. A theme represents a category of indicators built on coded transcripts (and notes), identified through data, that relates the research question and provides the researcher with a theoretical understanding of data (Bryman, 2012, p. 580). Key themes in this study included ‘trust’, ‘security’, ‘community policing and ‘peacebuilding’, all of which were directed related to theory and research questions.

Due to the voluminous amount of data and the relative time available, data analysis was done as an “iterative and reflexive process” that begun during data collection rather than after data collection (Stake 1995, p.9). The researcher initially transcribed interview responses, field notes from participant observation and key themes from document reviews. To not miss out on important information, the transcripts were compared to the voice taping recorded during interviews. This was followed by a frequent reading and rereading of transcript to identify core themes that was then categorized in the thematic framework. Identification of themes was mostly based on, inter alia; recurrence topics, theory-related ideas, and similar/diverging factors (Ryan and Bernard, 2003).

To analyse the concept of community policing and peacebuilding, the first two indicators of measuring the dividends of peacebuilding – 1. legitimate politics based on public trust and 2. security are used (see section 2.4). Since these indicators are wide and abstract, the study examined two proxy parameters – perception of trust and sense of security. Besides limited time and space to measure all goals more detailed, the Kenyan model of community policing places greater emphasis on the first two indicators that are most pressing objectives that CP is meant to deliver. These core themes were further broken down into sub-themes -

communication, information sharing, accountability, responsiveness, crime rate - for detail analysis. Together with the researcher's observation in the field, thematic analysis of data provided meaningful understanding on the theoretical connections between subthemes and main themes in generating findings about how community policing contributes to peacebuilding in post conflict context.

3.8. Ethical Consideration

In every research, it is prudent and for that matter necessary to evaluate the values and ethics involved at all stages of research. Bryman (2012, p. 130) maintains that, ethical considerations are significant because they directly relate to the “integrity of a piece of research and the discipline that are involved”. According to Diener and Crandall (1978, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 135) the four main ethical issues necessary for consideration include “harm to participant; lack of informed consent; invasion of privacy and deception”.

With regards to harm to participants, the researcher is mindful of the fact that the study could possibly be harmful to the respondents during or after the research. Harm can either be emotional or physical (Bryman, 2012, p. 135). For example, it is possible that some questions posed to respondents concerning conflict, crime and security might remind them of bad experiences and bring back pain or sorrow which can be emotionally harmful. To address this, the research conformed to the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (2002) by attempting to “anticipate, and to guard against, consequences for research participants that can be predicted to be harmful” (Article 26). This was done by rephrasing or ignoring questions when harm is anticipated.

Closely related to harm-to-respondent is the invasion of privacy; anonymity and confidentiality of respondent. Sensitive issues like trust, crime and security are likely to produce sensitive response. As such, the researcher made efforts to ensure a high sense of confidentiality of report in order not to put respondents into trouble in the future. Thus, numbers and alphabets, rather than names were mostly used to identify respondents in the process of data collection.

Arguably, the most challenging ethical consideration is the lack of informed consent. By adopting participant observation, it was practically impossible to be able to inform all

participants about the purpose and role of the researcher. Some respondents are better studied from afar, without directly informing them. Thus, informing all participants might affect the findings. Lack of informed consent is related to the issue of deception- “research without consent” (Bryman, 2012, p. 140). However, the researcher provided adequate information and sought proper consent as and when it is necessary. This was done mainly by verbally informing participants before any interview is conducted. Similarly, respondents were asked before any voice recording is made.

3.9. Research quality, validity and reliability

It is important to note that since this research is qualitative, the constructivist ontological consideration will allow the researcher to consciously and unconsciously influence the study. Also, the fact that the researcher is identified as a researcher may have had reactive effect on respondents who might exaggerate or understate important information (Bryman 2008). These situations, together with others, may affect the quality of research. For this reason, the section below identifies some of the research obstacles and the attempts to achieve a good research quality.

3.9.1. Researcher Validity

The concept of validity in social science research generally deals with whether we are measuring what we intend to measure (Bryman 2008, p.149). Specifically, it can be categorised into external validity and internal validity.

External validity focuses on the representativeness of a sample (Gerring 2007, p. 217). Thus, researcher is said to be externally valid if the findings can be used to generalise to other similar cases. A major challenge with the use of case study is the limited external validity - the ability to generalise into broader context with the findings of a specific case (Bryman, 2012, p. 69). It is generally argued that the narrow scope that single cases study makes it heavily handicapped when it comes to drawing general inferences. As Lijphart (1971, p. 691) posits, a single case can “constitute neither the basis for a valid generalization nor the ground for disproving an established generalization”. As stated earlier, since the study is based on specific contextual issues, it has less external validity. Although the main preoccupation of the study is a detailed understanding of the case, it is assumed that the findings can be of inferential relevance to future studies. By focusing on observable indicators that are valuable

to general theoretical propositions, the findings will make contributions to the theory that can be applicable to similar cases and different situations. In order to maximise validity of findings, the data collection process also involved data triangulation whereby data was collected from different participants from different settings, different stages in the study and at different locations.

Internal validity also known as measurement validity emphasises the robustness of a study, particularly on whether the indicators chosen are appropriate in measuring the concepts that one intends to measure (Adcock and Collier 2001, p. 530). Though improved internal validity does not imply increase in external validity, it does have an influence on whether a study can make sense outside a single case. Indeed, any study that adopts a wrong strategy or irrelevant indicators as a point of measure cannot make credible conclusions capable of making generalisations. As discussed above, this study has carefully selected indicators on how to measure both the dependent and independent variables.

The Dilemma

There is a dilemma here: using globally known indicators that are not context relevant affect the core purpose of the study. Using locally based indicators affect the ability to speak beyond the case. A balance is needed to overcome this dilemma of research validity. In selecting the indicators that were methodologically consistent, the researcher took into cognizance both international standards (e.g. the New Deal) as well as national context (Nyumba Kumi official policy document) and local needs (security and trust). By coherently measuring these indicators, this study has attempted to overcome the dilemma of generalisability and robustness. Additionally, research suggests the importance of maximizing leverage by means of limiting the number of explanatory variables (King et al., 1994). In this study, this was done by using the family resemblance strategy for specific questions in order to focus more on the most significant data (Goertz, 2005). According to Goertz (2005) family resemblance strategy, when used in qualitative studies implies focusing on ‘M’ out of ‘N’ conditions. For example, in examining how CP contributes to peacebuilding, the researcher concentrated on a certain number of indicators that were needed as sufficient enough to determine a positive impact on peacebuilding.

Indeed, peacebuilding is a broad concept, and many factors affect both short and long-term peacebuilding processes. This fact is well noted. By limiting the measuring indicators to two-

trust and security, the study provides rigorous data on specific variables. As suggested, these concepts were well-defined and observational indicators were well-highlighted. Thus, the theoretical model used in this study does not insinuate a lineal mechanism between a dependent (peacebuilding) and independent variable (community policing). Rather, it is suggesting few explanatory variables, as part of the many other factors, to clarify several observations on the dependent variable (King et al., 1994, p. 123). The other factors that have contributing impact on the dependent variable are discussed throughout the study as and when it is necessary and possible.

3.9.2. Researcher Reliability

Regarding research reliability, the question of replicability, rather than generalisability arises. As Bryman (2008, p. 31) argues, “Reliability is concerned with the question whether the results of a study are repeatable”. Thus, the findings of a study are reliable if it is possible to reproduce the results of a study under circumstances where a similar method is applied. This is arguably impossible in qualitative studies where researchers’ subjectivity may influence the study. One main way of affecting reliability is through random errors, i.e. in the classification of the sampled data (Adcock and Collier 2001, p. 531). Qualitative research is recommended to gather more data as possible to identify and understand diverse observations to improve reliability and validity (King et al. 1994; Lijphart 1971). At the same time, excessive data from different sources is difficult to process, thus increases possible sources of error in data collection as well as propensity for inaccuracy, mistakes and other forms of error during data analysis and discussions.

The first solution was to employ concurrent data collection and analysis method. The researcher addressed this challenge by analysing field data on a daily or weekly basis while data collection was on-going. This meant that interviews, observations and questionnaire responses were jotted down and organized into categories and main-sub themes at the end of a day/week of data collection. The approach of addressing research reliability may affect reliability due to events that developed after the research period. As noted above, there were ongoing political unrest at the time of submitting this study. Since the study this not extent further to include the ongoing circumstances, it is possible that respondents’ opinions may change if this research is replicated. The conclusion chapter of the study suggest that an

investigation into the impact of Nyumba Kumi during and after the political unrest can be an interesting area for further research.

Another approach to deal with replicability is to be honest. Though a clear solution is difficult, it is suggested that researchers provide adequate information about the research methods to allow readers' scrutiny and increase reliability (George and Bennett 2005, p. 106). Throughout this chapter and other chapters, the study has consistently sought to explain the methodological process involved including recording and reporting the process by which data were generated (King et al. 1994, p. 23). These processes challenged the researcher biases throughout the study and enhanced an introspective self-reflection over the methods used. In all, the aim has been to strengthen the reliability of the study.

3.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, the methodological framework of the study has been holistically discussed. The beginning part of the chapter examined the philosophical orientation of the study as a constructivist/interpretivist approach of research. The case study design as it is employed in a qualitative research strategy has been discussed as well. The pros and cons of the different data collection and analysis strategies have also been looked at. The final part of the chapter identified solutions adopted to address ethical issues as well as research quality challenges. The next chapter will present and analyse the actual findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Findings, Discussions and Analysis

This chapter presents the findings of the field research conducted in Kenya. These findings are concurrently discussed and analysed based on previous research and existing theories to answer fundamental questions on community policing and peacebuilding. Before proceeding, it is prudent to reintroduce the research questions.

- *What is the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding in Kenya?*
- To answer the overarching research question, the study specifically seeks to answer the following questions:
 - *Has Nyumba Kumi community policing improved trust in Kenya?*
 - *Has Nyumba Kumi community policing improved security in Kenya?*
 - *How can Nyumba Kumi CP effectively contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding?*

To answer these questions, the findings and analysis are divided into four main sections. The chapter begins by presenting the public perception/understanding of the meaning and rationale for the Nyumba Kumi Community Policing initiative. In the second section of this chapter, focus is on whether and how the implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP has improved trust and security-the two parameters of peacebuilding as used by this study. Based on the discussion of the community policing, the theoretical framework is reintroduced to analyse its impact on peacebuilding in the third chapter. The fourth section discusses the challenges of Nyumba Kumi.

4.1. Ten houses? Understanding the meaning and rationale of Nyumba Kumi

4.1.1. Knowing your neighbours

To examine the impact of Nyumba Kumi CP, it was imperative to understand the public perception of the Nyumba Kumi initiative. The first part of the research therefore sought to identify the meaning and rationale for implementation the Nyumba Kumi initiative. When respondents were asked what they knew about Nyumba Kumi, the findings reveal that a large

majority of respondents have an appreciable knowledge of Nyumba Kumi. The dominant understanding of Nyumba Kumi according most respondents was the emphasis on ‘*knowing your neighbour*’. As an elderly respondent in Kisumu clearly captured;

Nyumba Kumi was started so that you can know who lives next to you. If any new person comes into the areas, we have to know you, what you do, where you come from and why you are here. That’s how we keep trust between us, we have hope and we have peace. This is why I came to ask you (the researcher) many questions when you arrived.

(In the above, the respondent, who was the Landlord of the house in which the researcher lived during the field work in Kisumu, referred to an earlier conversation with the researcher). The response above confirms the understanding throughout the research that the concept of Nyumba Kumi as ten houses is only theoretical. In practice, it implies familiarising yourself with your immediate neighbours, with whom you have frequent Nyumba Kumi meetings. Unlike other examples of community policing strategies in Sierra Leone (Baker, 2007) and Liberia (Bacon, 2015) where units and departments were set up within the police, Nyumba Kumi meetings are arranged at the core of the social structure, which is the households. This allows interested citizens to have an opportunity to frequently meet and discuss security and other household issues.

4.1.2. Why the hype?

Although different community policing strategies have been previously implemented in Kenya, this significant level of awareness about Nyumba Kumi CP partly owes to its traditional underpinnings. The idea of communality and collective security is not new in most African countries (Baker, 2009). Knowing your neighbour and making sure s/he is doing well has been a part of the African culture since time immemorial. As a good value, it is a sign of wealth and quality life. It provides the assurance of togetherness, mutual support and safety. As such, Nyumba Kumi CP initiative received a good acceptance because of its bottom-up meaning which makes it resonate well with most people. Also, Nyumba Kumi was initiated and championed by an incumbent president. This meant the initiative not only received a strong media push across the country but also a high-level support, both of which are necessary for awareness creation for any policy. As a result, in both Nairobi and Kisumu where interviews were conducted, all respondents were familiar with the Nyumba Kumi initiative and for that matter, what community policing was about.

4.1.3. Diverging opinion on Nyumba Kumi community policing

Despite the high level of knowledge, the findings suggest divergent opinions on the meaning and rational of Nyumba Kumi. To borrow the words of Skolnick and Bayley (1988, p.4), “the reality is that while everyone talks about it, there is little agreement on the meaning”. First, the police and the public presented slightly different meanings of Nyumba Kumi. On one hand, most police respondents emphasized Nyumba Kumi as an initiative to improve communication with the communities, a way of getting information from the public. On the other hand, most members of the public suggested that Nyumba Kumi was initiated to improve relations and narrow the gap between police and the people. These diverging opinions were evident during FGD with CPC members in Kisumu.

Police officer: *“Nyumba Kumi CP is a way of bringing communities and police together to enhance information from the public to the law enforcers.”*

Community member: *“Nyumba Kumi means knowing your ‘jirani’ (Kiswahili word for neighbour), maintaining relationship with neighbours and the police. That way, we built trust with among ourselves and the police”.*

The statements above illustrate the different notion expressed by different respondent. While majority of the police used such words as information and security, majority of the public emphasised sharing information and trust.

Second, Nyumba Kumi seems to be explained differently from CP. For some respondents, especially those in informal settlements in Nairobi and Kisumu, Nyumba Kumi is perceived as a trust building idea between members of the community and not necessarily with the police. A young respondent in Kisumu had this to say regarding Nyumba Kumi: *“the idea of Nyumba Kumi is communication and working together among neighbours, but CP is when you involve the police”*. Another respondent, who described herself as human right activist working within Kisumu communities also opined that *“Nyumba Kumi is practiced at the household level, Nyumba Kumi leaders are well respected by the people. As for CPC members, they act and are seen as informants to the police, so they are not trusted”*.

Though such claims did not reflect the general opinion of most respondents, they raised concerns about the role of CPC members in the community. Is community policing different from Nyumba Kumi? Is CPC becoming self-serving and can CP be an obstacle to building police-public trust. These issues are further discussed under the section on challenges.

To further uncover these issues, key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with the two top officials. The first was the Police Superintendent at the National Steering Committee for Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) and the second was the Director of Reforms at the National Police Force. Both were/are involved in the policy formulation and implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP at the national level. The Police Superintendent in-charge of coordinating the implementation of Nyumba Kumi at the NSC had this to say:

Nyumba Kumi is a concept, a strategy within CP that was started in response to the terrorist attacks. Since terrorists operate outside known security domain and because civilians are the most affected, it became important to engage the members of public in security matters.

Also emphasising on the security angle of CP, the Director of Reforms at the National Police Force, who was involved in the early days of framing the Nyumba Kumi policy, agreed that Nyumba Kumi is a form of CP that is “*anchored at the lowest level of community policing*”. He added that, because of the diverse understanding of Nyumba Kumi and CP among the public, a taskforce has been established to synergize the implementation of Nyumba Kumi and existing CP strategy.

The findings above which suggest a diverse meaning attached to Nyumba Kumi as a CP strategy are not new. As Brogden (2005) maintains, community policing lacks a clear and coherent definition and it is manifested in many different ways around the world. This goes to confirm the difficulty in defining the nature and extent of community policing implementation. Unfortunately, this diversity and variation in CP implementation has become so wide across countries that, it is increasingly difficult to capture the meaning. From neighbourhood watchdogs, vigilante groups, proximity policing, police-community consultative forums to specific problem-solving units in police departments, community policing has travelled around the world in different shades. In the case of Kenya, observations from the field trip suggest that Nyumba Kumi CP implementation tends to lean towards a police-community consultative forum strategy, though characteristics of neighbourhood

watchdog are emerging in some areas. This is further discussed below under challenges of Nyumba Kumi implementation.

In terms of rationale, responses from the research pointed towards security as the main rationale for the implementation of Nyumba Kumi. The history of police-community mistrust before and after the 2007/08 conflict has made trust building another primary focus of Nyumba Kumi. The findings on the rationale behind Nyumba Kumi conform to existing literature recognising trust and security as the main reasons why community policing is implemented in most countries (Clegg et al, 2000: Kosh, 2008). The next section therefore examines the impact of Nyumba Kumi on trust building and security.

4.2. Impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on trust and security

The efficacy of most police initiatives is assessed based on crime rates. Community policing is more complicated than simply comparing crime rates since many other factors including economic growth rates, time, increase in police recruitment and training may concurrently contribute. As stated earlier, CP is implemented differently, with different objectives in different settings. Hence, for the context of this study, I focus on two features of community policing - responsiveness and accountability- and apply to them two peacebuilding dividends – trust (legitimate politics) and security (people's security) - that are particularly relevant for engaging in post-conflict societies (UNPBF, 2016).

Bayley (1997) identifies two essential features of democratic policing: responsiveness and accountability. He argues that a democratic police should respond to the needs of individuals as well as government. The police should also be accountable downwards to the disaggregated public. Responsiveness of police can improve people's sense of security while police accountability can enhance legitimacy and reduces mistrust. In terms of analysing the proceeding, if these aforementioned conditions are present, Nyumba Kumi community policing can be regarded as having a positive impact on trust and security, thus leading to peacebuilding in post-conflict context. The opposite holds true.

With the respondents confirming the two reasons as the most dominant reasons for Nyumba Kumi, in line with existing literature and government's 2013 policy document on Nyumba

Kumi, respondents were asked to explain if and how Nyumba Kumi CP has and is contributing towards trust building and improved security.

4.2.1. Bonds or bridges: Nyumba Kumi community policing and trust building?

Because the police are often perceived by the community to be “the face of the executive” and the main instrument of state brutality on citizens in post-conflict states (Meyer, 2006; DFID, 2002), the vacuum of mistrust created remains a major hurdle. Building trust, particularly between citizen and security forces, underpins the foundation of any peacebuilding effort. In this study, a high majority of respondents opined that trust between the public and police has improved since the implementation of Nyumba Kumi. All respondents, except two, noted that since Nyumba Kumi was implemented, they feel they trust the police more than before. But what exactly does this trust entail and how did it come about. Respondents specifically referred to how Nyumba Kumi has improved communication, relationship and information between the two stakeholders. During the CPC FDG, a female community representative noted that;

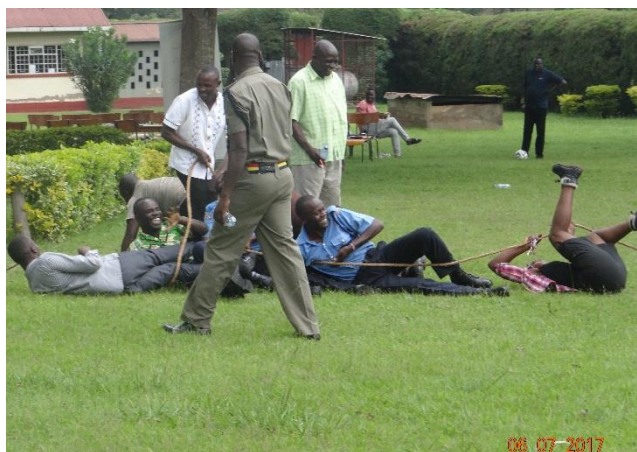
Before Nyumba Kumi, there was virtually no relationship between the communities and police, the relationship was characterised by fear and brutality especially here (in Kondele sub-county) which has been tagged as a hotspot. Now, we can interact with the police and provide them information. There is more trust.

The idea that community policing translates to trust building between people and police is backed by research. According to Baker (2007), following the war in Sierra Leone, the police were perceived as a tool of state repression, incompetent, corrupt, unaccountable, heavily politicised and engaged in human rights abuse. In response to this and in an effort to reconstruct, the new police department initiated and implemented CP practices that gave local communities a voice in local policing. This helped to improve police-community relation in the country. In the context of this study, improved communication and interactions were facilitated through Nyumba Kumi meetings and community policing activities.

Figure 5: Community policing activities aimed at building trust between the people and the public



Image: Police accountability forum in Ahero community. Organized by LCPI community policing unit (Source: LCPI, 2017).



Images: Community-Police bonding activities in Kondelle and Maseno communities. Organized by LCPI community policing unit (Source: LCPI, 2017)

For a country recently emerging from conflict, the importance of these images above cannot be overstated. They depict the possibility for police officers and public to communicate and engage each other in fun activities. They depict how children (standing behind) grow up to perceive a police officer (in white with a balloon) as an approachable, not brutal, character. The realities behind these images have not always been the case, as the perception of public towards the police has been one of mutual fear and mistrust.

In the times after conflict, “if they (police) want to enlist public support and cooperation, they must be prepared to listen to what the populace has to say, even if it may be unpleasant” (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). By listening and answering to the people, Nyumba Kumi community policing has made the police accountable, especially before the elections. During the research, the researcher observed that the police answered questions to the public. Among these questions included how the police intends to respond differently to election-related protests in order to maintain calm without causing case. Going beyond simply listening and answering, the findings show that the police, through police participation in bonding activities, are bridging the gap of mistrust with the public. On the other side of the coin, public cooperation and openness to interact has and will continue to be key for these initial efforts to be productive in the long term.

The findings were not limited to ‘vertical’ trust between police and the public (Eek and Rothstein, 2005). In fact, what was more observable is an even higher level of ‘horizontal’ trust among people, citizens and community members. In reference to Nyumba Kumi’s idea of knowing your ‘jirani’, it was pointed out by a teacher in Kisumu during an individual interview that:

Yes, trust has improved, very much, now that we know each other and people in the community, you can ask them for help and information if you are not sure about anything.

A young man in Nairobi believed that:

If you come to the ghettos, we are together. Nyumba Kumi is always part of our lives. We always talk and take care of each other. This is how we keep building trust and peace.

Both respondents highlighted the importance of trust through community policing, as many studies have found (Clegg et al, 2000; Brenya and Warden, 2014). As noted above, few respondents held divergent opinion about Nyumba Kumi and CP and were therefore sceptical about the vertical trust building capacity of CP. A civil society respondent opined that, *“Nyumba Kumi has been promoting trust and peace among people at the local level, however, CP, is creating enmity”*. Another added that CPC members were acting as *“informants”* to the police and as such, have become middle men/women in the community. According to this version, CPC may have the potential of hindering progress towards bridging community and police gap, as well as creating further enmity and mistrust. This is further discussed below under conclusion.

That notwithstanding, what these findings illuminate is how horizontal trust between people is fostered by the traditional understanding of collectivism, which is inherent in Nyumba Kumi. Post-conflict peacebuilding does not rest solely on vertical trust. It is equally important that citizens and communities attain a significant level of trust among themselves - horizontal trust. Research shows that societies with horizontal trust, otherwise referred to as social capital, correlates with numerous positive social gains including having well-functioning democratic processes (Putnam, 1993). This form of trust is as important as vertical trust because building social capital can have a long-term impact on building trust between people (public) and higher authorities (police).

To sum up, the analysis of the findings shows Nyumba Kumi community policing activities have afforded both the police and the communities an opportunity that rarely existed before – a platform for increased communication and relationship. It has contributed to improved information sharing, thus bridging the gap between the police and the people. To an even larger extent, it has fostered stronger bonds among people. Nyumba Kumi can therefore be regarded as having a positive contribution on trust, by making the police relatively accountable. However, this impact on vertical trust and police accountability is limited. This is because Nyumba Kumi CP has not necessarily fostered stronger trusting bonds between police and communities. Time, consistency and further development of Nyumba Kumi implementation can improve its long-term impact on trust building.

4.2.2. Safety and stability: Nyumba Kumi community policing and security

Restoring security and maintaining a stable sense of safety among citizens forms a crucial component of any post-conflict peacebuilding effort. To understand the impact of Nyumba Kumi CP on security, respondents were asked to briefly discuss the security challenges and situation in the area. In Nairobi, the Police Superintendent noted the response to terrorism threats as a reason for Nyumba Kumi. According to the Kisumu County Police Commander; theft, domestic violence, occasional fights and electoral violence were the most significant security challenges. He stated that “*Nyumba Kumi CP was implemented in 2013 to strengthen previous CP efforts started in 2002 by bringing the community closer to the police in order to improve security*”.



Image: Interview with the Kisumu County Police Commander (Source: Field trip, 2017)

Other respondents also lamented about the terrorist attacks, election violence and crime rates as the main reasons for Nyumba Kumi implementation. A young respondent in Nairobi noted that Nyumba Kumi was to “*back up the limited number of police so that more people can get involved in securing the neighbourhood*”. Talking about Nyumba Kumi, Professor Petronilla Muoka, a security analyst, made that point that in a country where the police to civilian ratio stand at 1:1000, the citizens have become key players in bringing crime down by being the ears and eyes of the police (Koigi, 2016).

Like Professor Muoka, majority of the respondents were supportive of the fact that the inception of Nyumba Kumi CP has significantly improved security. The reasons given were that Nyumba Kumi has helped communities and police to know each other, thus, there is more information sharing, making arrests more possible and faster. One female respondent who participated in the police accountability forum in Ahero explained that

Before, the police were simply enforcing the law and people were expected to abide. Now we can share some more information together. Nyumba Kumi has also helped to resolve a lot of domestic issues so that the big (more serious) issues are reported to the police. There is security better.

Her narrative shows how Nyumba Kumi has created more alertness and readiness to identify ‘outsiders’ who are likely to perpetuate crime. An elderly man also noted during the FGD that: “because of Nyumba Kumi, we now know our ‘jirani’, we also know the bad guys and we can ‘tame’ them very early before the election” Providing a clear example of Nyumba Kumi CP’s quick response to crime, a youth leader in Kisumu narrated that:

Sometime ago, a person was stabbed and killed in an attack. This is quickly notified to the Nyumba Kumi representatives. Just the following day in the morning, the person was arrested because we easily knew who was involved.

This narrative is further supported by recent research on Nyumba Kumi implementation in other areas such as Lungalunga in Kwale sub-County, Kenya (Munyao et al, 2017: Letig, 2017: Koigi, 2016).

We meet every Wednesday...We review the security situation in our estate, discuss if there are any suspicious activities or persons and then prepare a report that we then share with the local police. It has been effective so far because we have managed to stop possible robberies and break-ins in our apartments. Koigi, 2016

Comments like this have increased in the last years. Koigi (2016) notes that “last year for example, numerous reports emerged of how residents tipped the police on suspicious activities in their neighbourhood across the country which led to police raids and foiling of

major terror attacks. In one such instance police recovered 401 rolls of ammonium nitrate explosives in a bus that was headed to the coastal town of Mombasa following a tip off from the public. The explosives according to the police were capable of bringing down a 30-storeyed building”. The Kisumu County Police Commander admitted that crime reports, investigations and arrests have become more frequent through Nyumba Kumi.

“I can say security has improved. You know this area is big and there was only one main police station. Since the implementation of Nyumba Kumi, people can now report crime to their Nyumba Kumi leaders who then report to us to respond to the situation. Because of that, we now have more investigations going on”.

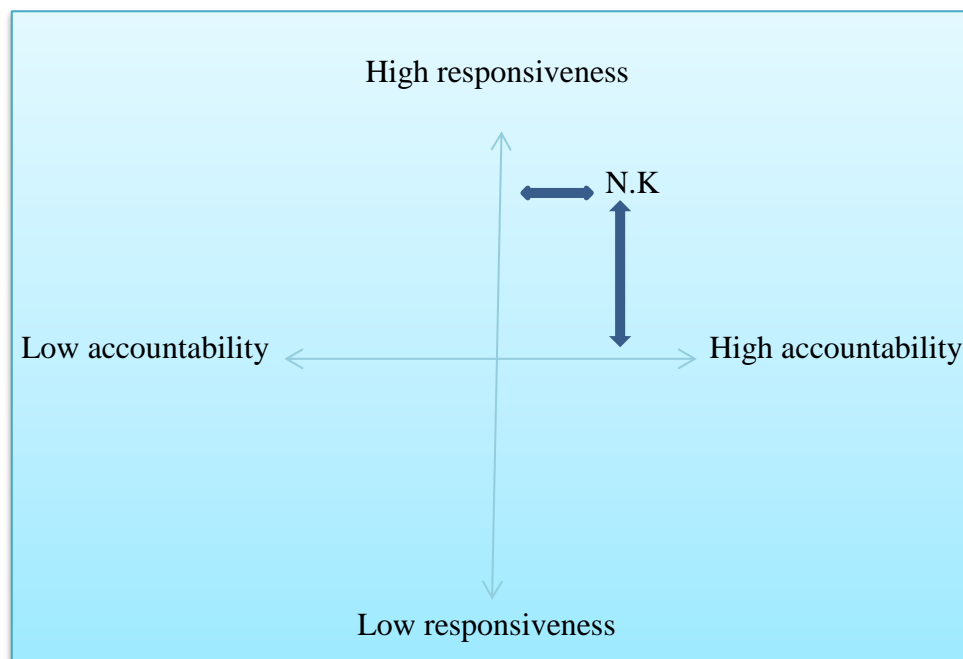
The alertness among people and the responsiveness of police has made most people conduct their daily business without constant fear of terrorism. In terms of electoral violence, there were generally no major election-related violence during the period of the field work. During the election, isolated cases of clashes between the police and people ensure days after voting in some areas including Kisumu. In the aftermath of the elections, protest and unrest have been recorded in Kisumu and other areas. Though such incidents erode the growing peacebuilding gains, the improvement in peace and stability since the last 10 years after the 2007/8 conflicts cannot be overlooked. This notion that Nyumba Kumi has improved the security was further supported by two journalists interviewed in Kisumu. They opined that the number of crimes and thefts reported in the area had reduced since the last couple of years.

Altogether, the respondents’ opinion about the impact of impact community on security was well articulated. Nyumba Kumi CP has improved the means of addressing security issues and the sense of security, though other factors are possibly influential. In particular, it has enhanced the level of information sharing, thus making the police more responsive. It has also made people communicative, more alert and aware, as they discuss security issues more often than before. To a large extent, Nyumba Kumi can be regarded as having a positive contribution on security due to increased police responsiveness and public awareness.

4.2.3. Responsiveness vs Accountability

Using Bayley's (1997) democratic policing features of responsiveness and accountability, the findings can also conclude that Nyumba Kumi CP has improved police responsiveness, and accountability (albeit limited) mainly through enhanced communication, information sharing and mutual interactive activities. The matrix below illustrates the extent of Nyumba Kumi on police responsiveness, and accountability, and thus trust and security.

Figure 6: Police Accountability and Responsiveness Matrix

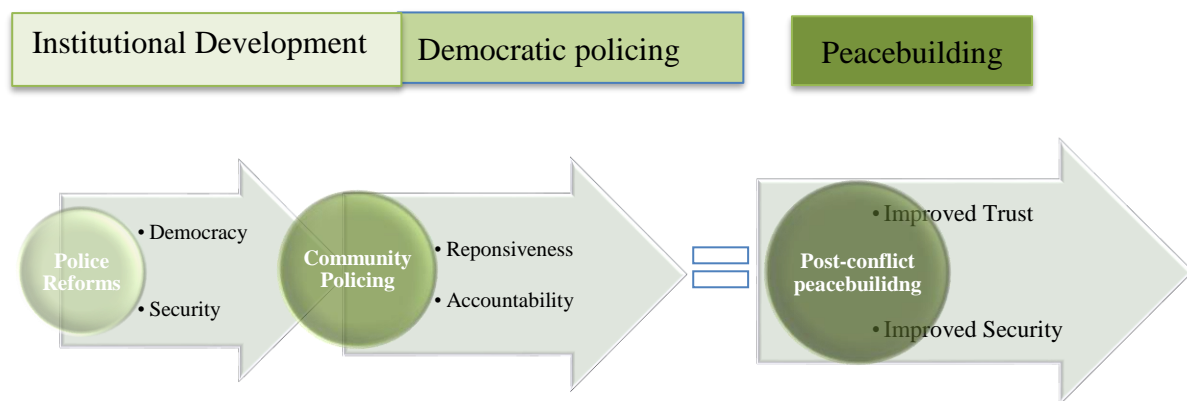


The matrix above illustrates that though Nyumba Kumi has had impact on both police responsiveness and accountability, the findings of the former were more evident than the latter. Analysis of the findings suggests that Nyumba Kumi CP has provided a platform of community and police to engage in discussing security issues and other bonding interactive activities. By so doing, the level of mistrust between the police and the communities where Nyumba Kumi has been implemented has been relatively bridged, though this has not led to stronger bonds. With the reinforcement of community-police trust and accountability comes improved communication, information sharing and thus better and faster ability to respond to crime situations. These have together resulted in improved security. In contrast with studies by Gill et al (2014), this study suggest that the impact of CP on security is more prevalent than police-public trust.

4.3. Nyumba Kumi community policing and peacebuilding

Based on the discussions above, respondents were asked to share their opinion on Nyumba Kumi CP and peacebuilding. This question on the impact of Nyumba Kumi CP on peacebuilding gained unanimity among respondents. Every single person interviewed was positive and optimistic that Nyumba Kumi CP has and can contribute to peacebuilding in Kenya. Most of the reasons given connect with the aforementioned impacts of Nyumba Kumi on trust building and sense of security within Kisumu country. To further analyse this, the theoretical model is reintroduced to provide a framework for discussion.

Figure 7: Theoretical Model; Police Reform, Community Policing and Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Context



Source: Author

Following the theoretical model above, Nyumba Kumi CP can be said to have served as the main point of convergence in merging the democratic policing theory of policing and the institutional development theory of peacebuilding. In other words, the implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP has provided a valuable opportunity for the successful institutionalization of democratic principles of peacebuilding interventions. First, in terms of post-conflict institutional development, the findings have confirmed that the Nyumba Kumi initiative was a police reform strategy to respond to the growing security challenges facing the country in the aftermath of the 2007/08 electoral violence. Second, the findings as discussed above show that the implementation of Nyumba Kumi has improved responsiveness and accountability.

Going by the theoretical understanding, - that institutional development based on democracy and security produces responsiveness and accountability; police responsiveness correlates with improved security; and police accountability leads to better trust - Nyumba Kumi can be

regarded as having a positive impact on public-police trust and an even better impact on security, both of which are prerequisites for preservation of security and peacebuilding in post-conflict countries (UNPBF, 2016). With these conditions present, based on the theoretical framework, the study concludes that Nyumba Kumi CP has contributed positively, but to a limited extent, to post-conflict peacebuilding. The findings also revealed certain issues (as noted above and further explained below). Since peacebuilding is a process, present and future conditions including the on-going electoral circumstances will have immense influence on the long-term impact of Nyumba Kumi on peacebuilding in Kenya.

4.4. Challenges of Nyumba Kumi implementation

Community policing is a popular reform, but has paid little attention to the challenges of implementation (Mastrofski et al., 2007), which is often said to be fraught with problems and challenges for a number of reasons. The finding of the study suggests several challenges regarding the implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP.

4.4.1. Lack of financial and material support

The most mentioned challenge was funding - the lack of financial and material facilitation of Nyumba Kumi implementation. These problems of lack of financial and material support were highly lamented and exemplified by members of the CPC during the FDG in Kisumu. Many of the respondents argued that, because Nyumba Kumi activities are voluntary, it was very easy for members to lose motivation. Besides, the work of a CPC member can be so demanding that they usually have little time to do any other work. Without any financial support, participation and enthusiasm cannot always be guaranteed. The challenge of funding has been identified as a reason for the failure of previous implementing of community policing in Kenya (Ruteere and Pommerolle, 2003)

Figure 8: Funding challenge: a major obstacle to successful implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP

During a FGD, members of CPC in the Kisumu County narrated examples of situations to explain the challenge of lack of financial and material support.

Respondent A: *We lack funding when we are following cases. Let's say someone has been raped and has no money. As a CPC member, you take this person to the hospital with your own money. Now, you are asked to return to the hospital many times, at the same time, you are following the case with the police and the court. This becomes difficult to do your job well without much money to move around and pay the bills.*

Respondent B: *We also have a challenge with transport. You may find one vehicle serving the whole of Kondelle as well as many towns such as Nyamasaria, Car-wash, Mamboleo at the same time. So, if you call in Mamboleo, they will tell you wait for 30 because the vehicle just left to Nyamasaria to attend to another problem. In that case, the culprit will run away before you arrive. One day, somebody's wife was beaten by another man in Magadi and the case was reported to Mamboleo station. I was mandated to go find the culprit and if the case was true that I report back to the police for an arrest. By the time I reported back around 8 o'clock pm, there was no car. So, by the time we had a car and got there at 11 pm, the culprit had fled.*

Closely related to this problem was the lack of material support. Many of the CPC members, as well as members of the public and police complained about the lack of materials to facilitate the work of Nyumba Kumi CP. Means of transportation (cars, motor), forms of identification (badges, uniform, ID cards), means of communication (phone and phone credits) as well as other tools such as torchlights were some of the material support that were listed to be useful for effective implementation.

4.4.2. Lack of capacity building

A second major challenge that was cited was the lack of capacity building for Nyumba Kumi CP members. Some of the respondents argued that Nyumba Kumi leaders and CP members lack adequate training and knowledge about their actual roles, as well as basic techniques to

handle issues. This stems from lack of proper training and education. A study by Carroll Buracker and Associates Limited (2007) suggest that officers in general are not trained in the formation of partnerships; nor do they have experience in organising community involvement or empowering the community. With limited training, it is unlikely that police will realise the full potential of community policing. As a result of the limited training, there were questions raised about the credibility and professionalism of some Nyumba Kumi and CP members. Some respondents claimed that CP members are not well selected, as some of them are “*thugs*” themselves within the community, as one respondent put it. Others alleged that some CP members are engaged in bad habits, such as drinking and bribery. As a result, they are occasionally compromised when performing their duties. One of the chairmen of the CPC unit noted during the FDG that: “*you sometimes find that in the home of a community policing leader, there is ‘changaa’ (a local alcoholic brew). How can you perform your duties well if you are always drunk*” he asked?

In Nairobi, the Police Superintendent referred to some areas where CP members were asking for money in order to provide security. Such claims suggest that without adequate training and professional capacity building, the core strategy of Nyumba Kumi CP may gradually skew from a consultative unit towards something similar to vigilantism or neighbourhood watchdog. Partly related to issue of professionalism and training, it was noted that though police relationship with the public had improved since Nyumba Kumi, there was still a challenge of lack of timely and accurate information. A Police Officer complained: “*the people don’t give you the right information. If they give you, it’s very late and nothing can be done. It is a challenge to cooperate with them (the public) sometimes in arresting culprits*”. The complaint above was explained as being caused by the police and CP leaders themselves. One female respondent in Kisumu noted:

It is a challenge that police ask so many questions you don’t have answers. When someone has a problem and it is reported to Nyumba Kumi or CP members, after reporting to the police, they also gossip about it to other people. So later the person who committed the crime will get to know who reported the crime

These responses partly illuminate the lack of information as a result of fear of reporting suspicions to Nyumba Kumi leaders or police since they may face intimidating questions from police or risk being exposed to the perpetrator.

4.4.3. Gender Representation

Gender representation in post-conflict reconstruction and reform programs has been largely cited as a major challenge (Valasek, 2008; Clegg et al, 2000; Brogden, 2005). This study takes into cognizance the realization that women, men, girls and boys have different security experiences, needs, priorities and actions depending on their gender (Valasek, 2008, p.3). In the context of conflict-affected areas, fragility most negatively affects the poorest and the most vulnerable groups in society, including women and children. It is therefore suggested that post-conflict reconstruction and reforms should provide new opportunities for transforming gender relations and promoting more inclusive, equitable, social, economic and political structures and conditions community based projects such as CP. In the study, representation of women was lower than men though this was not cited as a major problem among respondents interviewed.

From the researcher's participant observation, the women representation in the CPC teams was relatively lower. However, they were vocal and active during police accountability and CP activities that were organized. Though women representation seems lower, young girls were even poorly represented, or perhaps disinterested. Also, the interviews revealed further that unlike the male counterparts, females are not always actively participating on a daily basis. The findings resonate with other studies suggesting that issues related to women's rights, representation and participation are often overlooked or inadequately addressed in processes of post-conflict state-building and peacebuilding (Kangas, 2014, p.95). With relatively less representation, the problem of marginal under representation and participation of women may imply inefficacy in comprehensively addressing trust and security issues, particularly regarding females.

4.4.4. Lack of coherent awareness

On the side of the public, the main challenge seems to be the lack of coherent awareness about Nyumba Kumi CP as discussed under 4.1.3. The problem of inconsistent knowledge is brewing a cocktail of rumours as noted above. For example, some respondents claimed that people perceive CPC members as informants of the police. These rumours seem to have affected public trust towards some Nyumba Kumi CP members. It has also kept some members of public disinterested, thus leading to limited active participation from the public.

4.4.5. Geographical disparity of Nyumba Kumi CP implementation

Is it true that “the better equipped a community is to engage with the police in this way, the less likely it is that the community needs police protection” (Stone and Ward, 2010)? Regarding participation, it became known through the interviews the geographical disparity of Nyumba Kumi CP implementation. In Nairobi and Kisumu, some respondent argued that Nyumba Kumi is not possible in residential areas. In Kisumu, one respondent from a Milimani Residential Estate said that it is difficult to implement Nyumba Kumi CP in residential areas. He explained that *“most of the houses are fenced and you do not always see your neighbours, so it becomes difficult try to assemble people for Nyumba Kumi meetings”*

Similarly, in Nairobi, most residents in high-earn residential areas such as Kilimani, Parklands and Westlands who were randomly asked by the researcher said they had not participated in any Nyumba Kumi meeting. In a short conversation with a young man and a lady, they argued that Nyumba Kumi works in the ghettos not the residential areas. According to him: *“We live close to each other, with no walls. You get to know each other and support one another”*. Unlike the informal settlements and average households in Nairobi, residents in most of these upper-standard areas can afford security guards to manage their safety needs. In the same vein, it was observed that Nyumba Kumi is more effective in rural and semi-urban communities rather than in cities and urban centres. These findings correlate with previous research in Brazil, South Africa, Uganda and the United States where police executives observe regretfully that community policing often works best where it is least needed (Stone and Ward, 2010).

4.5. Concluding remarks

The chapter has presented, discussed and analysed the major findings of the study. It has noted the key understanding and divergent opinion about Nyumba Kumi. It has also highlighted that Nyumba Kumi has had a positive impact on police responsiveness and accountability, both of which have contributed to trust building and security. While recognising the impact of Nyumba Kumi, the chapter has captured some implementation challenges. The next chapter sums up the study and suggest recommendations on how Nyumba Kumi can effectively contribute to peacebuilding in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The importance of post-conflict peacebuilding has grown with the emergent threats to global peace. In fragile and conflict-affected states, the aftermath of conflict opens a window of opportunity to implement community policing strategies as part of police sector reforms. Due to flaws in conventional policing, failures in previous community policing practices and the continual promise of community policing, new models are emerging, not the least, to respond to current conflict dynamics. The study sought to examine the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding in Kenya. Its preoccupation has been to answer the question:

What is the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on post-conflict peacebuilding in Kenya?

To answer the overarching research question, the study specifically answered the following questions:

- *Has Nyumba Kumi community policing improved trust in Kenya?*
- *Has Nyumba Kumi community policing improved security in Kenya?*
- *How can Nyumba Kumi CP effectively contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding?*

The summary of the entire thesis is highlighted below.

5.1. Summary of the thesis

5.1.1. Chapter one

As part of setting the premise, the first chapter introduced the background that necessitated this study. It also highlighted the significance and outlined the structure for the study. The chapter shows that this study was not solely built on the promise of community policing but also the lack of research regarding its impact on peacebuilding in post-conflict context. Kenya's history of public-police mistrust, conflict and the development of a new home-grown strategy to address emerging insecurities influenced the choice of research topic and questions.

5.1.2. Chapter two

The second chapter captured a review and discussion of the main literature on community policing, police reforms and post-conflict peacebuilding. From the early works of Robert Peel in 1829, community policing has developed across borders in different forms. Thus, it has become increasingly difficult to cloth a single definition around it. However, its main philosophy holds: police and public partnership to provide security. Whiles the debate on whether community policing is a reality or rhetoric seems unresolved, its impact on trust, security and thus peacebuilding, whether potential or real, seems promising. Based on local contextual issues and international standards, a theoretical framework merging democratic policing and institutional development provides a framework for analysing the impact of Nyumba Kumi on peacebuilding.

5.1.3. Chapter Three

Chapter three detailed the methodological foundation and discussed the reasons, pros and cons of the strategies used to complete the study. Considering the nature of the research question, a qualitative strategy based on case study is adopted as the main methodological strategy. This is to allow an intensive investigation, based on a theory, to better understand the complexities and contextual issues of CP in post-conflict Kenya. Using this approach meant having enough data from different sources to explain a single case comprehensively. This comes with challenges of voluminous data and other associated effects on research quality. Data triangulation, reporting adequately on methods and careful selection of variables are among the suggested measures employed to enhance the reliability and validity of the study.

5.1.4. Chapter Four

In chapter four, the main findings and analysis of the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing were discussed. The main findings are that public knowledge about Nyumba Kumi is appreciable, but also divergent. Majority of respondents opined that trust between members of the public and police has improved since the implementation of Nyumba Kumi. Similarly, most respondents believed that the implementation of Nyumba Kumi has contributed to improved security within their area. Reflecting on the research questions and based on the theoretical model developed, analysis of the findings suggests the following.

5.1.4.1. Has Nyumba Kumi community policing contributed to building trust?

Nyumba Kumi has improved horizontal trust among people, not as much vertical trust with the police.

The implementation of Nyumba Kumi has provided a platform for police-people to interact and share information in a way that has never existed. This has, to some extent, improved the public-police relations since the 2007/08 conflict. At the same time, it has contributed in an even better relationship between people and communities. These have culminated into relatively more accountable police, thus bridging the mistrust gap between the people and police. That notwithstanding, challenges persist as a real bond between the two is far-sighted.

5.1.4.2. Has Nyumba Kumi community policing contributed to improving security?

Nyumba Kumi has improved police responsiveness and security awareness.

As noted above, Nyumba Kumi has provided a platform for police-people to interact and share information. This has made the police more responsive to addressing security issues. As a result, crime reporting has increased. Besides, it has also made the public more security conscious, as they tend to discuss and prioritise security issues more than they did before. Police responsiveness and public alertness in combination have contributed to an improved sense of security.

5.1.4.3. Nyumba Kumi community policing and peacebuilding

Nyumba Kumi CP has had a positive but limited impact on peacebuilding

The study suggests that Nyumba Kumi has had a positive impact on public-police trust and an even better impact on security. Specifically, Nyumba Kumi has enhanced a democratic, responsive and accountable police-community interrelationship that has promoted trust and improved the sense of security, both of which are prerequisites for preservation of security and peacebuilding in post-conflict countries. Going by the theoretical framework, the study concludes that Nyumba Kumi CP has contributed positively to post-conflict peacebuilding, albeit limited. The findings also revealed certain challenges including funding, representation and geographical disparity of implementation. Since peacebuilding is a process, present and future conditions including the on-going electoral circumstances have and will have immense influence on the long-term impact of Nyumba Kumi on peacebuilding in Kenya.

5.2. Moving forward: How can Nyumba Kumi community policing effectively contribute to post-conflict peacebuilding?

Based on an analysis of the findings as well as existing research and theories, the study suggests the following recommendations.

5.2.1. Build a coherent understanding and implementation strategy for Nyumba Kumi

The study notes the uncertainties regarding Nyumba Kumi and CP, the rationale of implementing Nyumba Kumi CP and the role of CPC members among others. To achieve a coherent understanding and implementation, Nyumba Kumi and CP should be streamlined and mainstreamed. The government, media and relevant organizations should endeavour to connect different and previous CP strategies, align them with Nyumba Kumi and embed a more consistent system into existing police and local government structures. This can create a more coherent understanding and implementation strategy, making it more possible to reap long-term benefits of Nyumba Kumi community policing on peacebuilding. As suggested by one of the CPC members, *“today’s activity (referring to the police-community team bonding activities) was great. We need to do more and engage more people from the community and more police officers. That’s how we can all say Nyumba Kumi is getting better”*.

In a bid to synergize implementation, it is crucial to actively involve the public. Active participation can ensure learning by doing. This can also help in building coherent knowledge about Nyumba Kumi and reduce rumours and misunderstandings. Post-conflict asymmetric relationship between police and public means the police must do more to turn citizen relationships from hostility, based on a history of previous abuse, to mutual engagement (Baker, 2009, p. 385). However, in many countries, CP has been stalled because the police are not fully willing to give up their ‘professionalism’ and partner with the public. Consequently, community relations and information sharing becomes a one-way affair. Skolnick and Bayley (1988, p. 10) have argued that unless police are willing, at the very least, to tolerate public feedback, community policing will be perceived as public relations, and the chasm between police and public will grow wider once again. As such “reciprocity of communication is not only accepted but encouraged” (p. 13) Adding to this, it is even more important that the communities and people are encouraged by the police to participate more actively, rather than during special events and meetings. An active participation of people and

police sustain implementation of Nyumba, allowing for long-term reaping dividend on peace and stability.

5.2.2. Build capacity to sustain implementation

Better education and training should be frequently organized for Nyumba Kumi community policing members. The findings note rumours and claims of some CPC members engaging in bad habits and unprofessional behaviours. Such rumours can inform public opinion, become a dominant narrative and distort the impact of Nyumba Kumi CP on trust and security. Hence, CPC training should emphasise on specific roles and conducts of CPC members so that they can serve to bridge rather than widen the gap between communities and police. As suggested by a respondent, it may be useful to consider targeted trainings that involve “*educating and training CPC members on basic knowledge of handling crime, conflict prevention techniques, legal and domestic issues*”. Empowering CPC members to handle minor issues may enhance the image of Nyumba Kumi and CPC officials. If considered, this should be done carefully so not to transform Nyumba Kumi CP as a pseudo police department.

In relation to the previous recommendation, training and capacity building must be equally extended to the police. Police officers are not always trained to partner with the public since they are too often inclined to use the public more as a tool of instruction than of listening to local concerns or as a means to enhancing their own police image rather than on crime prevention (Raleigh et al. 2000, Baker 2007). That makes the nature of the partnership essentially instrumental; as it is primarily serving a police goal rather than a community goal (Baker, 2009, p. 385). Indeed, community policing requires a great deal of training, close supervision, strong analytical capacity and organization wide commitment (Skogan and Steiner 2004, p. 155). Police trainings on effective public partnership and capacity building for Nyumba Kumi community policing members will help to strengthen Nyumba Kumi CP at the grassroots level.

5.2.3. Adequate resources need to be committed to ensure success

The issue of financial and material challenge has been discussed above. For Nyumba Kumi CP to be implemented sustainably, funding should be improved. Government, funding agencies and local implementing partners should prioritise Nyumba Kumi CP as a security programme and set aside adequate funding to facilitate the day-to-day functionality of

Nyumba Kumi CP. Several respondents believed that providing some sort of remuneration, form of identification and means of communication can increase motivation of members and facilitate Nyumba Kumi CP implementation. As such, necessary materials and facilities should be provided. As a philosophy that emerged from the people's way of life, implementation of Nyumba Kumi CP is better if it does not depend on foreign donors. This research does not have any financial solution to propose. However, it encourages local governments to discuss and identify locally-based means of generating funds to keep the strategy viable. Adequate funding should go hand-in-hand with effective monitoring, evaluation and accountability so that resources are used appropriately. The lack of continuity of peacebuilding efforts such as Nyumba Kumi can reduce capacity to cope with vulnerability and fragility, thus, making conflict recurrence more risky.

5.2.4. Gender representation and participation is key

The neglect of gender issues perpetuates inequalities and may lead to conflict recurrence. The study suggests that though women are partly represented, daily participating by women is not guaranteed. Several studies provide a strong argument that addressing gender inequality in post-conflict reforms could contribute to more stable societies. Mainstreaming gender into community policing programs “contributes to creating an efficient, accountable and participatory security sector, which responds to the specific needs of men, women, girls and boys” (Valasek, 2008, p.1). The basis of gender dimension of security reforms is rooted not only in the practical benefits but also stems from international regulations such as the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and most importantly the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000) which urged countries to increase women's representation in the security sector.

For Nyumba Kumi CP to achieve the government objective of enhancing equitable gender representation and have a far-reaching effect on peacebuilding, gender mainstreaming should not be limited to representation, as it goes beyond simply ‘speaking’ to ‘being part’ and ‘being heard’. For gender issues to be well addressed, women and girls should be encouraged to actively participate in Nyumba Kumi CP meetings and programs. Without actual and active participation through gender mainstreaming in police reforms and community policing activities, mere representation will have little impact on peacebuilding. Creating real

opportunities for gender inclusivity will provide excellent means to establish accountable, equitable, effective and rights-respecting police services that are capable of providing security for women in crisis and post-conflict situations (UNIFEM, 2007, p.2).

5.3. Concluding remarks and opportunities for further research.

As the country endures electoral uncertainties, Kenya faces the dual test of maintaining peace and stability within the short-term whiles effectively implementing reforms to improve security governance and sustain long-term peace. Nyumba Kumi community policing will remain a dominant strategy for both short-term and long-term peacebuilding efforts. Creating democratic institutions that can prevent repeated violence is undoubtedly slow. Nevertheless, without concerted efforts, the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing cannot be sustained for long-term peacebuilding. Suffice it to mention, high-level government support is continually needed. The public and communities should make unceasing efforts to cooperate with the police. The police should improve on their role as an approachable service than a force. Civil society organizations and media should continue keeping up the momentum. Together with the aforementioned suggestions, these can contribute in rebuilding governance institutions and social systems strong enough to cushion conflict threats.

The findings of this study are by no means a conclusive picture of post-conflict Kenya. Recognizing the flaws of research and the practical complexities involved in peace and security issues, further research will be needed to fully understand this relatively new typology of community policing. It will be interesting for example to study how the on-going electoral uncertainties have influenced the impact of Nyumba Kumi on peacebuilding. What role did Nyumba Kumi play during these uncertain and vulnerable times? How did that impact peace and stability? Also, based on these findings, a comparative study of Nyumba Kumi in Kenya and Tanzania might provide valuable similarities and differences in findings that can aid understanding of different community policing strategies. The study of community policing on peacebuilding in post-conflict countries will also benefit from a large 'N' quantitative analysis with its capability for statistical inferences and generalizability.

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Appendix

Semi-structured interview guide

My name is Edwin Wuadom Warden. I am currently pursuing a Master Degree in (MA) Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Oslo, Norway. This questionnaire is part of my master thesis, a requirement to obtain my master's degree in the above-mentioned programme. My topic is "Nyumba Kumi Community Policing and Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Kenya". The objective of the study is to examine the impact of Nyumba Kumi community policing on peacebuilding in Kenya. I would therefore be grateful if you could spend some few minutes to answer the questionnaires.

All answers provided are strictly for academic purposes and would be treated as confidential.

Respondents

- Police offices
- Community policing committee (CPC) members
- Peacebuilding organisations and experts
- Public (community members)

Background information of respondents (not applicable to all)

A. Gender: Male () Female ()

B. Age group 18-29 () 30-59 () above 60 ()

C. Level of educational attainment

No formal education () Basic () Secondary () Tertiary () others ()

D. Occupation/Position please specify.....

Understanding the general knowledge about the introduction and implementation of Nyumba Kumi Community Policing

- Kindly brief me on what you know about Nyumba Kumi COP and the rationale behind the initiative.

Measuring the impact of Nyumba Kumi on Trust

- Kindly share your opinion about Police-Community trust before and after the implementation of Nyumba Kumi.
- Has your level of trust for the police improved since the implementation of Nyumba Kumi? Kindly explain your answer.

Measuring impact of COP on Security

- Kindly share your opinion about the sense of security before and after Nyumba Kumi.
- What were the main security concerns faced by people in the community?
- What has been the impact of Nyumba Kumi on the security situation since its implementation? In your opinion, do you think Nyumba Kumi has improved the overall sense of security in your community?
- Can you describe any real example to explain your opinion about the impact of Nyumba Kumi on security?

Assessing the challenges associated with the implementation of Nyumba Kumi

- In your opinion, what are the main challenging obstacles to the successful implementation of Nyumba Kumi?

Understanding the impact of Nyumba Kumi on long term peacebuilding and further recommendations for implementing Nyumba Kumi.

- Has Nyumba Kumi contributed in peacebuilding and stability in the community since its implementation?
- What do you think can improve be done to ensure the sustainable implementation and success of Nyumba Kumi?
- Any final comments?