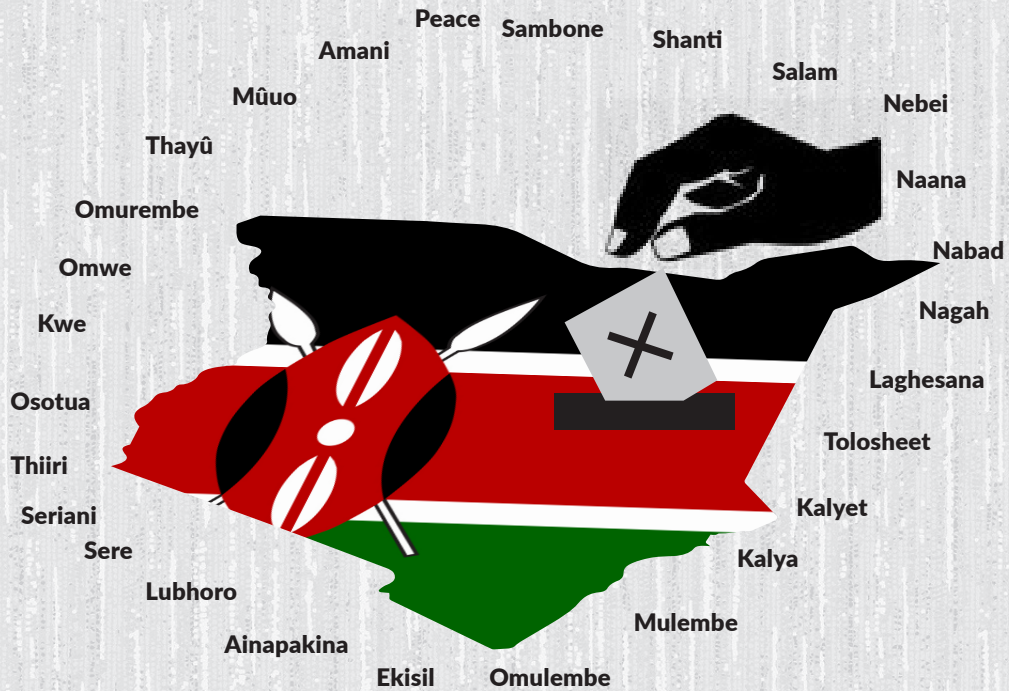


# A VIOLENCE FREE 2022

## ROADMAP TO PEACEFUL 2022 GENERAL ELECTIONS





# **A VIOLENCE FREE 2022**

## **ROADMAP TO PEACEFUL 2022 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

**Clarion Call**

**PAMOJA**



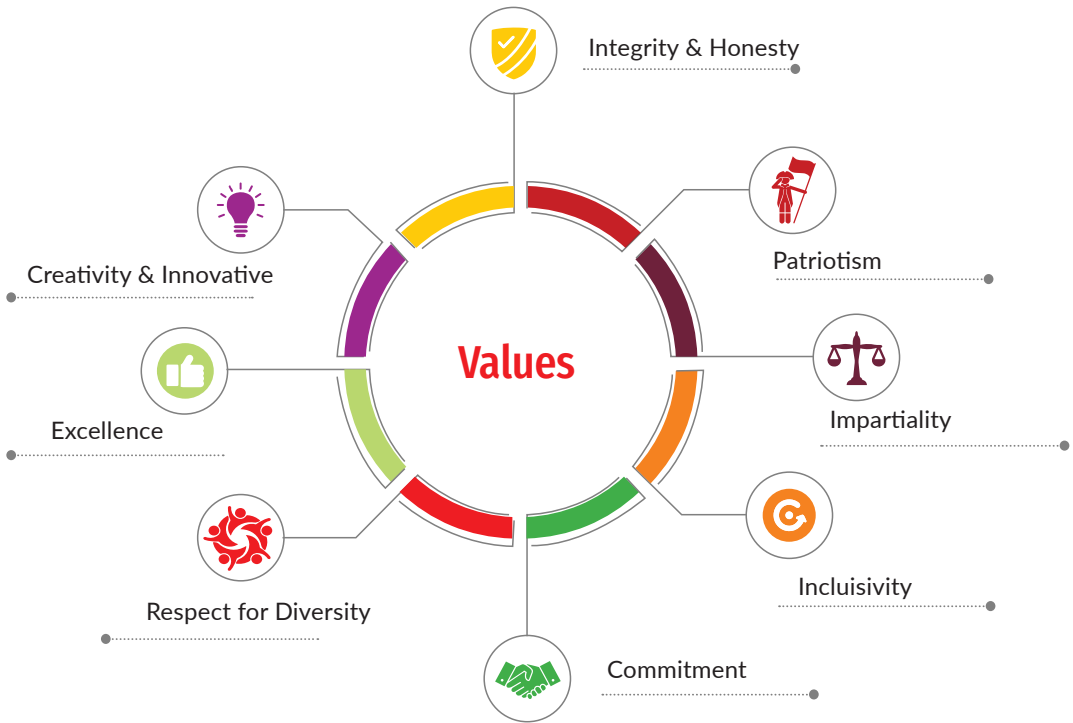
**VISION**  
A just and equitable society living in peace, unity and dignity



**MISSION**  
To promote national unity, equity and the elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination by facilitating equality of opportunities, peaceful resolution of conflicts and respect for diversity among Kenyan communities



**MOTTO**  
One People  
One Nation  
One Destiny



# The Pledge of a Violence-Free Election

## Introduction

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is a statutory body established under the National Cohesion and Integration Act No.12 of 2008. The establishment of NCIC recognized the need for a national institution to promote national identity and values, mitigate ethno-political competition and ethnically motivated violence, eliminate discrimination on ethnic, racial and religious basis and promote national reconciliation and healing. The mandate of NCIC as provided for in Section 25(1) is to facilitate and promote equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful co-existence between persons of the different ethnic, racial and religious communities of Kenya, and to advise the Government on all aspects thereof.

## Background to the Electoral Process in Kenya

Kenya organized its first post-independence election in 1969. Since then, the country has had 11 general elections. Unfortunately, political conflict, social revolt, ethnic rivalries and opportunistic crime have been entrenched during elections, especially since the inception of multiparty politics in 1991. This has resulted in the loss of lives, property and internal displacement of persons.

While the triggers of these conflicts in the country are multi-dimensional and include historical, structural, institutional, legal, and cultural factors, they have always reflected an underlying ethnic-identity problem. This is because the foundation of pluralist democratic politics in the country was anchored on political party structures and strategies that originally segmented the country along ethnic alignments.

## Rationale and Problem Statement

The existing concern is that the 2022 General Elections draw several parallels to the 2007 one. For one, it will follow a possible Building Bridges Initiative (BBI)-inspired referendum that will amend parts of the constitution with the aim of reducing political competition. Moreover, most of the underlying causes of conflict identified in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) process largely remain unresolved. Given the increased expectations by Kenyans following the establishment of government agencies to resolve these issues, public mistrust and grievances have multiplied. In addition, 2022 elections will take place in the context of succession politics and transition.

The 2022 General Elections shall take place on the second Tuesday of August as provided for in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. The pre-election phase has already started with alignments and re-alignments taking place in the political sphere. It is therefore vital to establish strategies and put in place measures to secure a peaceful electoral process from this phase through to the post-election period.

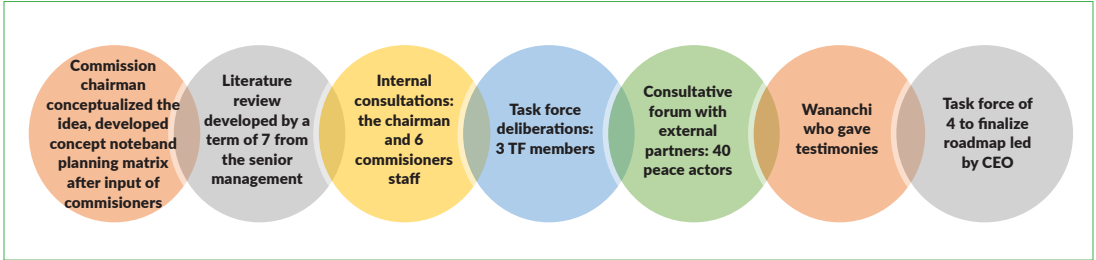
It is upon this background that the Commission developed strategies to secure peaceful general elections in 2022.

## Objective

The overall objective of the NCIC election roadmap is to set the agenda and needed direction for all peace actors to make adequate preparations for a peaceful electoral process. It outlines a concrete roadmap to peaceful 2022 general elections.

## Development

The roadmap was developed through a consultative process as indicated in the figure below.



## Conclusion

This roadmap for peaceful elections is born out of an urgent call to action to all peace stakeholders to synergize towards this reality. Indeed, a peaceful election can only be achieved through a synergetic front of all peace builders in the country including but not limited to:

- Decision makers at all levels and from all sectors who have responsibility for implementing fair, credible and peaceful elections
- International and regional organizations, and multi-stakeholder partnerships
- Civil society networks and organizations, both as advocates and given the important role they play in electoral processes
- Private Sector leaders, given the importance of peace to their operating environment, and their role in tackling violence, curbing corruption, and increasing inclusion
- Academia, research partnerships and networks, ensuring that evidence is

generated that will meet the future needs of policymakers

- Development partners, especially those prepared to invest in innovative, synergetic, and strategic approaches of attaining peaceful democratic processes
- Media given their ability to reach wider populations
- The electorate/ wananchi given that all power belongs to them; power to choose selfless leaders, power to trust each other and not to indulge in violence.

Together, we can achieve a violence free 2022 general election in Kenya.

**Pamoja, we shall achieve...**



# Roadblocks to a Peaceful Election in Kenya

The consultative process revealed six main factors that contribute to violence in elections in Kenya.

## ROADBLOCKS TO PEACEFUL ELECTIONS IN KENYA

### LACK OF TRUST

- Low trust levels between communities
- Declining public trust in government institutions
- Distrust among leaders



### SUB-CULTURE OF VIOLENCE



- People use violence to express dissent
- Some politicians encourage the imposition of violence on people of opposing political persuasions

### SELFISH LEADERSHIP

- Political actors put self-interest above national interest
- People protect selfish leaders simply because they belong to the same tribe



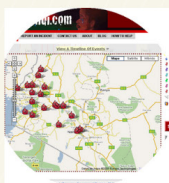
### ETHNIC POLARIZATION



- Hate related speech increases during campaigns
- Media escalates conflict by disregarding conflict sensitive reporting
- Social media intensifies polarization

### UNTIMELY & INADEQUATE RESPONSE TO CONFLICT

- Delayed response to conflict
- Citizens do not report incidents timely
- Inadequate coordination & synergy between peace actors



### STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES



- Kenya remains an unequal society
- Historical injustices have not been fully addressed
- Some pre-existing community conflicts remain unresolved

## Lack of Trust

The 2013 Social Cohesion Index established that the levels of trust between Kenyan communities are very low. In addition, the trust between state and society is also questionable. Yet, trust is critical to elections. Citizens that trust each other are more likely to uphold the rule of law and will not exploit the system to their advantage. Enhanced levels of trust between citizens and state increases the ability of citizens to report incidences of crime. Also, leaders who trust each other are less likely to resort to violent strategies and more likely to accept the results of political processes.

## Sub-Culture of Violence

Violence has become a common means of expressing opposition and dissent on most issues in Kenya. Politicians use it to demonstrate their political power, ethnic groups to express their grievances, school children to complain about unsatisfactory conditions, and even religious leaders to manifest their dissatisfaction. In the electoral process, citizens are even manipulated to participate in violence through persuasion, payment and benefits.

## Divisive and Selfish Politics

Most leaders in Kenya seem to have abandoned the nationalist vision of equity and justice and given primacy to the acquisition of political power and wealth. They place their own self-interest and ambitions above national interest. In fact, some are said to manipulate vulnerable populations to engage in

(c) National Cohesion and Integration Commission

violence by paying handouts, appealing to emotional persuasion, and providing drugs and alcohol among other things in total disregard of the resultant consequences.

## Ethnic Polarization

Competitive politics have been attributed to ethnic polarization in Kenya because political support is mobilized along ethnic lines. Polarization is manifested through heightened hate related speech (fake news, misinformation etc.) and ethnic incitement. Negative ethnic messages are shared with the aim of discrediting a political opponent and derailing voters to more readily accept campaign claims made by co-ethnic leaders. As a result, ethnic communities adopt increasingly negative beliefs about the leaders and communities on the other side of the political divide over the course of the campaign. These negative messages may be sent out by political leaders, musicians, political analysts, journalists or bloggers among others.

## Untimely & Inadequate Response to Conflict

There has been inaccurate predictions and inadequate linking of operational responses to conflict warnings. Under UWIANO, the Commission is part of a group of actors involved in the early warning-early response chain. This collaboration taps into already



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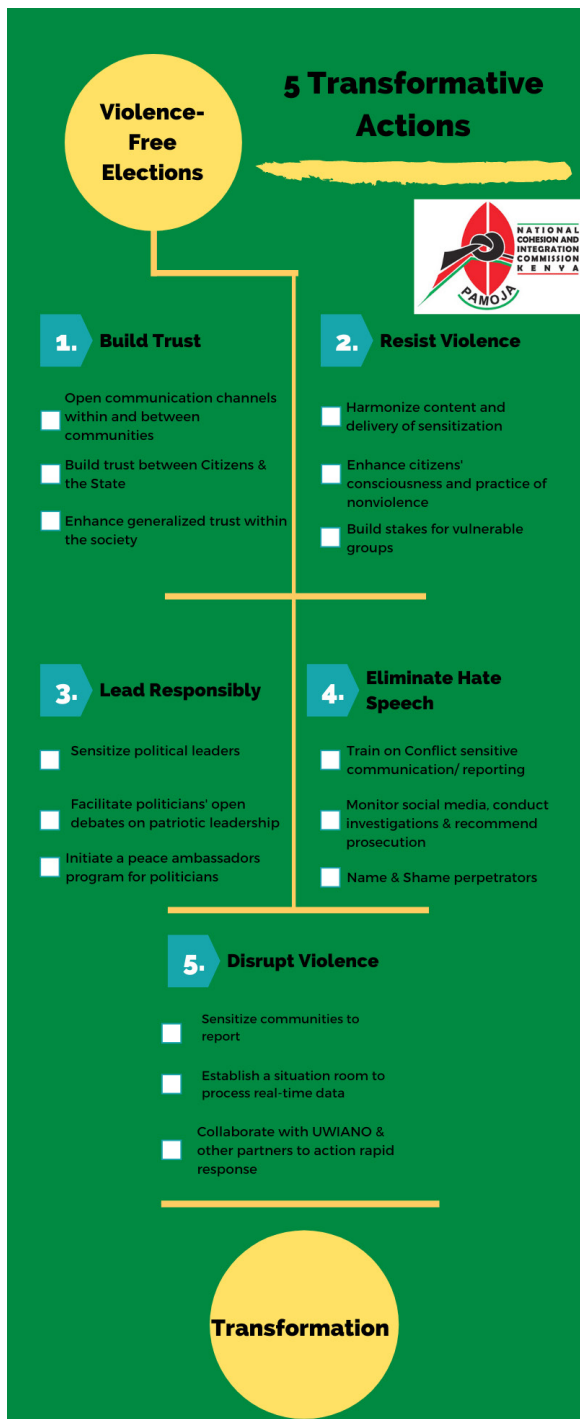
existing infrastructure like CEWARN and the NSC coordinated local peace infrastructure.

## Structural Inequalities

Another major source of electoral conflicts in Kenya is the prevailing structural inequalities in the distribution of both economic and political resources. The resulting violence is only a symptom of broader failures to address grievances within a society. These inequalities are not only embedded in the institutions but are also manifested through historical grievances on the part of communities.

# Transformative Strategies

The Commission adopted six transformative strategies to unlock to the identified roadblocks.



## Conflict Disruption

Intensive and targeted forms of prevention are needed if the risks of violence are to be reduced. Even during a crisis, prevention should be a priority because it will stop further deterioration. Therefore, the Commission shall effect collection of conflict early warning information in real time and facilitate timely and adequate rapid response.

## Citizens' Empowerment

The whole society including women, youths, men, and children should be adequately empowered to play their optimal role as active agents of peace. It is on this basis that the Commission seeks to improve the capacity of communities to resist manipulation and shun perpetration of violence.

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## Trust Building

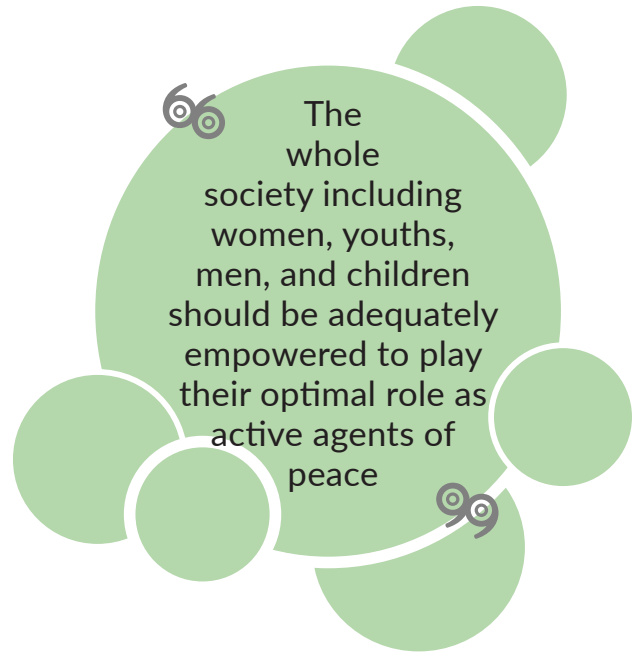
Trust within a society, as well as between the society and state is a critical element in any democracy. The Commission shall enhance trust within communities and between communities and state agencies by building trust, tolerance and understanding among all ethnic, religious and racial formations in the country.

## Long-Term Transformation

As Mandela mentioned, if people can learn how to hate they can be taught how to love. The Commission shall endeavor to change mindsets by infusing cohesive values into the socialization process for attitude and behavior change.

## Selfless Leadership

Leaders should operate from a desire to better serve others and not to attain more power. It is fitting for leaders not only to engage in behavior that put citizens first, but also to empower and encourage them to be the best version of themselves, for a better Kenya. The Commission shall open up deep conversations, and sensitize leaders on patriotic leadership in a bid to encourage leaders to adopt a leadership style that transcends self-interest.



## Hate Speech Elimination

The right to freedom of expression does not extend to inter alia hate speech and incitement to violence. The Commission shall strive to eliminate hate speech, ethnic incitement, fake news and misinformation that accentuate the prevailing negative cultural and ethnic differences. The effort to seal polarization shall be specific to influential sources such as politicians, bloggers, media and media personalities, musicians, analysts and commentators among others.

# Roadmap to a Violence Free Election in 2022

The following actions were endorsed to deliver a peaceful 2022 general election.

Strategy	Period	Catalytic Action	Oct - Dec '20	Jan - Mar '21	Apr - Jun '21	July - Sept '21	Oct - Dec '21	Jan - Mar '22	Apr - Jun '22	July - Sept '22	Oct - Dec '22	
<b>Trust Building</b>												
Strategy 1: Enhance trust within a society and between society and state	Output 1.1: Generalized trust in the society enhanced	Conduct research on the state of social cohesion and reconciliation										
		National Dialogue on 2022 General Elections										
		Symposia with Partners and thought leaders on the theme of elections										
		Evaluation of Peace and Harmony in 2022 Elections										
		Feedback the nation on impact of Elections on Social Cohesion										
	Output 1.2: widened Communication Channels within and between communities and groups	Facilitate mediation and dialogue forums between communities										
		Promote inter-faith dialogue										
		Conduct Sports for Peace Tournaments in hotspot Counties and other conflict prone areas										
	Output 1.3: Trust between the society and the state enhanced	Facilitate open discussions between the community and state agencies										
		Develop policy briefs to advise Government on ways of improving citizens' trust										





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<b>Selfless Leadership</b>											
Strategy 3: Engage political parties and politicians in promoting peace during electoral cycle	Output 3.1: Enhance the role played by politicians to build peace	Sensitize politicians on servant and patriotic leadership									
		Engage Political Parties on their preparation for Elections (hold meeting with principals)									
		Townhall Meetings for Candidates to debate on patriotic leadership									
		Carry out a peace ambassadors program for politicians (Draw strategy for establishing commitment of political class (signing of peace charters)									
<b>Hate Speech Elimination</b>											
Strategy 4: Eliminate political incitement, hate speech and ethnic balkanization	Output 4.1: Tightened checks on hate related speech, fake news, misinformation and incitement to ethnic hate	Sensitization of politicians, media, bloggers, analysts and commentators on conflict sensitive communication/ reporting									
		Training of Trainers on Elections Watch (cohesion monitors)									
		Formulate NCIC Criteria for Vetting Candidates									
		Monitor public spaces and social media for hate related messages, investigate and recommend for prosecution									
		Establish wall of honour and wall of shame for cohesion champions and violators respectively									
	Infuse positive messages on social media (positive peace campaigns)										





**ONE PEOPLE**

**ONE NATION**

**ONE DESTINY**

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