

# FOOTPRINTS OF PEACE



**Consolidating National Cohesion in a  
Devolved Kenya  
2014 - 2018**

**THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NATIONAL  
COHESION AND INTEGRATION  
COMMISSION**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
CAK	Communications Authority of Kenya
CDF	Constituency Development Funds
CSIC	County Security Intelligence Committee
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DCI	Directorate of Criminal Investigations
DPC	District Peace Committee
GoK	Government of Kenya
H.E.	His Excellency
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IRCK	Inter-Religious Council of Kenya
KNDR	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
KRCS	Kenya Red Cross Society
KSA	Kenya Scouts Association
MP	Member of Parliament
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NCI Act	National Cohesion and Integration Act Number 12 of 2008
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIS	National Intelligence Service
NLC	National Land Commission
NPS	National Police Service
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
ODPP	Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PNU	Party of National Unity
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SCI	Social Cohesion Index
SLDF	Sabaot Land Defence Forces
ToT	Training of Trainers
UN	United Nations
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme
UNON	United Nations Office at Nairobi
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution



## FOREWORD



**T**he Footprints of Peace report 2018 is the National and Cohesion Integration Commission's success story for the last four years. It highlights the progress made in facilitating and promoting equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony, and peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

The report details key achievements made by the Commission between August 2014 and August 2018, under the stewardship of Hon. Francis Xavier Ole Kaparo, EGH, SS, the outgoing Chairman, together with his Commissioners. The expertise brought on board by this team enabled the Commission to accomplish several successful programmes.

During its tenure, the Commission enjoyed full support from the National and County Governments, development partners, the public, and non-state actors; resulting to an increase in programmes, budget and staffing. The Commission contributed to peaceful elections during the 2017 electoral cycle despite the emerging challenges posed by the new political structure of devolved governance and the widespread fear of a recurrence of the 2007/2008 post-election violence.

Hate speech in public spaces and social media platforms was countered by continuous monitoring and thorough investigations. Although not as many convictions have been realized as were expected by Kenyans, due to the rigorous and protracted nature of the due process of law, the Commission takes pride in having played a crucial role in deterring hate speech. The Commission deployed a multi-stakeholder approach that created synergy between the NCIC and National Police Service (NPS), Office of the Director of Public Prosecution (ODPP), Directorate of Criminal Investigation Department (DCI), Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK) among others.

I wish to commend the contribution of NCIC staff who worked closely with the Commissioners, in the respective Committees as constituted, to provide strategic focus in executing the Commission's mandate. This structured approach ensured that the Commission paid attention to critical areas of its core functions and provided invaluable guidance, with the aim of meeting the general expectations of the public in alignment to the Commission's five-year Strategic Plan.

I thank the outgoing Commissioners for their leadership and dedication, without which our ambitious objectives could not have been achieved.

**Mr. Hassan Mohamed, OGW,  
COMMISSION SECRETARY.**

## STATEMENT FROM THE CHAIRMAN



**A**lthough I have had a long career of service in various public positions, my appointment as Chairman of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) has been the most meaningful yet most difficult opportunity accorded to me by Kenyans. This was confirmed by the experiences of the Commission during the four years of our tenure. It was a mix of celebratory milestones and severe challenges, which we ably surmounted.

The quest for national cohesion and integration in Kenya remains elusive, but major advances towards its achievement have been registered. The inception of devolution in 2013, just a year before my appointment to the Commission, presented emerging challenges to cohesion building. The Commission addressed these dynamics in many ways through engagements with the county leadership as well as with the people. Currently, each county considers national values, as prescribed in the constitution, in the course of its decision making. Devolution could be an anchor to the achievement of both county and national unity if these engagements are sustained.

On the other hand, the numbers and intensity of community conflicts involving cattle theft, resource struggles and whipped up ethnic sentiments seem to be on the rise. My presidential appointment to mediate the Mandera conflict laid a good foundation to the Commission's engagement in community conflicts across the country. From Turkana, Marsabit, Nandi, Lamu, Narok to Tana River, no conflict was left unattended. Deliberate, systematic and concrete investment in mediating community conflicts was and still is the path that ensures community cohesion.

For a long time, elections have presented a point of low productivity and development for many societies. The 2017 general elections were no exception. The Commission worked tirelessly to ensure peaceful coexistence prior, during and after these elections. We worked through the secession debate, the no-dialogue stint and well into the handshake moment. All this time, the Commission stood on the side of peace, operating the early warning and rapid response system, facilitating dialogue between people on the different political divides, urging politicians to maintain integrity, encouraging communities to uphold non-violence, and institutions to remain unbiased. Another problem that accompanied elections was gang violence. The Commission revealed the magnitude of the threat to violence caused by organized gangs and worked towards reducing the impact of this violence. Relevant institutions like the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) joined our efforts to reduce the involvement of politicians with organized gangs, while the Ministry of Education banned the use of school buses for political campaigns.

Radicalization and violent extremism have affected social cohesion within communities especially between Christians and Muslims. The Commission implemented comprehensive programmes in

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), particularly at the Coast and in Northern Kenya. These efforts included direct engagement with victims as well as perpetrators of violence. There is a need to acknowledge that although hard security approaches account for the success of CVE programmes, more focus must be accorded to soft approaches that appreciate the underlying causes of radicalization.

The Commission has progressively raised the bar of accountability in regard to the sharing of public employment opportunities in Kenya. Several minority communities that were once excluded have now been given an opportunity to serve in public institutions. Moreover, more public institutions are improving, towards compliance with the set standards in the Constitution and other statutes. There can be no cohesion without total inclusion. This is because as a country, we can only have a shared vision, enhanced belonging and a common bond when all of us, big or small, powerful or not, are involved in nation building.

I thank all institutions and individuals who collaborated with and helped the Commission in this period to achieve its mandate. Specifically, we could not have made it without the Government and its numerous agencies, development partners, civil society organizations including faith-based organizations and all Kenyans. To you, I extend our gratitude and urge your continued support to the Commission in the forthcoming dispensation.

Martin Luther King Jr.'s wisdom is more relevant today than it was in his day; we must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.



**Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo, EGH, SS,  
COMMISSION CHAIRMAN.**



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**T**his report summarizes the achievements made by the National Commission Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) between 2014 and 2018. These four years of the Commission's work were defined by three aspirations. First, there was need to consolidate the foundation laid by the inaugural Commission, which served between 2009 and 2013. Secondly, it was necessary for the Commission to develop a mechanism of dealing with the novel challenge of building national cohesion in a newly devolved country. Thirdly, the Commission sought to lay a firm foundation for investment in a future defined by peace, national cohesion, and an entrenched perception of diversity as a strength rather than a weakness.

The Commission strongly pursued these important aspirations to resolve conflicts in various parts of the country. This was mainly achieved through dialogue, while grappling with the challenges of an intensely competitive political climate that culminated in a long-drawn out election year in 2017. As a result, the Commission's early warning, information sharing and collaboration efforts with other State peace and security structures led to relatively peaceful elections in 2017 at the county and national levels.

The NCIC's core mandate is to promote peaceful coexistence through mediation, dialogue and other forms of conflict mitigation effort. Over the four-years, the Commission resolved scores of intra- and inter-community conflicts arising from competition for natural resources; national and county resources and opportunities; as well as politically motivated conflict. NCIC spearheaded peace dialogues and mediation meetings that mitigated conflicts in various counties and facilitated the cessation of hostilities among the feuding communities.

The Commission also continued to generate empirical evidence that enabled policy and decision makers to clearly understand and reduce ethnic discrimination. As detailed in the later chapters of this report, the Commission has consistently promoted equity and equality within public institutions by undertaking regular Ethnic and Diversity Audits of public institutions such as parastatals, independent commissions, public universities, and county administrations. The Commission has not only released its findings publicly, but has gone further to discuss strategies for improvement with the policy makers of the audited institutions. In addition, the Commission's Cohesion Index tools have been vital in tracking the state of cohesion in the nation.

With a view towards the development of future generations of peace agents, the Commission worked towards inculcating a national culture and value system that inspires a Kenyan identity. It has contributed immensely towards shaping the perceptions of Kenyans to embracing tolerance and respect for diversity through research, education, law enforcement, and Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) programmes that were rolled out across the 47 counties. Further, targeted sensitization, awareness and capacity building programmes were implemented. These included Amani Club initiatives targeting learning institutions; peacebuilding and mediation training programmes for women, youth and grassroot communities; police training on hate speech; and sensitization of the media and the general public on the Commission's mandate.

The Commission also took the initiative to explore long-term peacebuilding approaches that can be used to create local capacities for conflict transformation and non-violent resolution of differences. Beginning with the conflict prone county of Mandera, the Commission has piloted the use of Participatory Action Research (PAR) that seeks to understand the root causes of recurrent conflicts from the grassroots perspectives, as well as creating functional linkages between grassroots communities and decision makers at both the county and local levels. The ultimate goal is to transform grassroots communities into agents of peace, capable of managing their conflicts non-violently, and carrying out advocacy with their leadership to ensure the enactment of policies that address the root causes of their conflicts.

As the Commission takes stock of its progress over the past four years, it is the hope of all the Commissioners and staff that these efforts will galvanize momentum towards the achievement of one united Kenyan nation that values cohesion and abhors discrimination of any kind.

## CHAPTER ONE BACKGROUND

### 1.1 History of the Commission

**T**he National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is a statutory body established by the National Cohesion Integration (NCI) Act, No. 12 of 2008. The Commission draws its existence from the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Agreement, signed in Nairobi on February 1, 2008, to end the post-election violence that was occasioned by the disputed results of the December 2007 presidential election. The Agreement formed the basis of the National Peace Accord that His Excellency President Mwai Kibaki of the ruling Party of National Unity (PNU) signed with his challenger, the Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga of the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), on February 28, 2008.



*President Mwai Kibaki (centre) and Opposition leader Raila Odinga (left) shake hands after signing the KNDR, mediated by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan (right).*



The Agreement had four main agenda items:

**Agenda 1:** Immediate action to stop violence and restore fundamental rights and liberties.

**Agenda 2:** Immediate measures to address the humanitarian crisis, promote reconciliation, healing and restoration.

**Agenda 3:** How to overcome the immediate political crisis.

**Agenda 4:** Long term measures and solutions (such as constitutional, institutional and legal reforms; land reform; poverty and inequity; unemployment, particularly among the youth; consolidating national cohesion and unity; and transparency, accountability and addressing impunity).

The NCIC was formed under Agenda 4 of the Agreement, which recognized the long-term issues of poverty, inequitable distribution of resources, grievances of historical injustices and the exclusion of some segments of the Kenyan society from the country's socio-economic and political processes, leading to recurrent violence during electoral periods. The Commission was envisioned as a national institution with the mandate to rally Kenyans towards attaining a national identity and values; to mitigate ethno-political competition; to preclude ethnically motivated violence; to eliminate discrimination on ethnic, racial and religious basis; and to promote national healing and reconciliation. The NCIC formally took office in September 2009. Its inaugural Commissioners were Dr. Mzalendo Kibunjia as Chairperson, the late Ms. Mary Onyango as Vice Chairperson, Dr. Ahmed Yassin, Ms. Fatuma Mohamed, Ms. Alice Nderitu, Ms. Milly Lwanga Odongo, Mr. Halakhe Waqo, Mrs. Jane Kiano, and Mr. Lawrence Bomett as Commissioners, as well as Mr. Hassan Sheikh Mohamed as Commission Secretary and Chief Executive Officer (CEO).

This report covers the work of the second Commission, which was in office between 2014 and 2018. The Commission was composed of Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo as Chairperson, Ms Irene Wanyoike as Vice Chairperson, Mr. Hassan Sheikh Mohammed as Secretary and CEO, Prof. Gitile Naituli, Ms. Belinda Ochiel, Dr. Roba Sharamo, Dr. Joseph Nasongo, Hon. Morris Dzoro, and Mr. Adan Mohamed as Commissioners. Upon taking office, the Commission launched a five-year strategic plan to guide its work between 2015 and 2020, putting into important consideration the new dynamics brought about by devolution. The Commission also forged important partnerships that increased the impact of its work and complemented the funding allocated by the National Treasury.

## 1.1 Mandate and Scope

The constitutional object and purpose of the Commission, as espoused in the NCI Act, is “To facilitate and promote equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different ethnic and racial communities of Kenya, and to advise the Government on all aspects thereof.”

In order to actualize this, the Commission facilitates processes and policies that encourage elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination irrespective of background, social circle, race and ideological belief(s), and by so doing, enhances the capacity for Kenyans to appreciate diversity.



The following are the specific functions of the Commission as stipulated in the NCI Act.

- 1) Promote the elimination of all forms of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or race;
- 2) Discourage persons, institutions, political parties and associations from advocating or promoting discrimination or discriminatory practices on the ground of ethnicity or race;
- 3) Promote tolerance, understanding and acceptance of diversity in all aspects of national life;
4. Plan, supervise, co-ordinate and promote educational and training programmes to create public awareness, support and advancement of peace and harmony;
- 5) Promote respect for religious, cultural, linguistic and other forms of diversity in a plural society;
- 6) Promote equal access and enjoyment by persons of all ethnic communities and racial groups to public or other services and facilities provided by the Government;
- 7) Investigate on its own accord or on request from any institution, office, or person any issue affecting ethnic and racial relations;
- 8) Promote arbitration, conciliation, mediation and similar forms of dispute resolution mechanisms in order to secure and enhance ethnic and racial harmony and peace;
- 9) Investigate complaints of ethnic or racial discrimination and make recommendations to the Attorney-General, the Human Rights Commission or any other relevant authority on the remedial measures to be taken where such complaints are valid;
- 10) Monitor and report to the National Assembly the status and success of implementation of its recommendations;
- 11) Identify and analyse factors inhibiting the attainment of harmonious relations between ethnic communities, particularly barriers to the participation of any ethnic community in social, economic, commercial, financial, cultural and political endeavours, and make recommendations to the Government and any other relevant public or private body;
- 12) Determine strategic priorities in all the socio-economic, political and development policies of the Government impacting on ethnic relations and advise on their implementation;
- 13) Recommend to the Government criteria for deciding whether any public office or officer has committed acts of discrimination on the ground of ethnicity or race;
- 14) Monitor and review all legislation and all administrative acts relating to or having implications for ethnic or race relations and equal opportunities and, from time to time, prepare and submit to the Government proposals for revision.
- 15) Initiate, lobby for and advocate for policy, legal or administrative reforms on issues affecting

ethnic relations;

- 16) Monitor and make recommendations to the Government and other relevant public and private sector bodies on factors inhibiting the development of harmonious relations between ethnic groups and on barriers to the participation of all ethnic groups in the social, economic, commercial, financial, cultural and political life of the people;
- 17) Undertake research and studies and make recommendations to the Government on any issue relating to ethnic affairs including whether ethnic relations are improving;
- 18) Make recommendations on penalties to be imposed on any person for any breach of the provisions of the Constitution or of any law dealing with ethnicity;
- 19) Issue notices directing persons or institutions involved in actions or conduct amounting to violations of human rights on the basis of ethnicity or race to stop such actions or conduct within a given period.

### 1.3 Main Obstacles to National Cohesion in Kenya

Although Kenya has been an independent state for 55 years, the achievement of national cohesion has remained elusive. The country, patched together by the British colonial administration from diverse and disparate ethnic nations into one Westphalian State, continues to grapple with the challenge of social unification into one truly cohesive nation.

The 2007-2008 post-election crisis, which took Kenya to the brink of civil war, laid bare the historical animosities among the various ethnic groups in Kenya and created the need for the formation of the NCIC to spearhead the cause of national cohesion as one of the pathways towards lasting peace and coexistence.

Over the life of the Commission since its establishment in 2009, the following factors have persisted as the main drivers of conflict in Kenya:

**a) *Struggle over resources:*** Competition for scarce resources is a key driver of conflict in Kenya. On the one hand, this has historically been perceived in terms of skewed distribution of resources across the country, especially in the era before devolved government, when pro-government regions were seen to access national resources more than pro-opposition regions. There is also competition for scarce resources, which predominates conflicts among pastoral communities, such as the cyclical conflicts that pit the Turkana against the Pokot, or the Rendille and the Borana over grazing land, water, as well as the cultural practice of cattle rustling.

**b) *Land conflict:*** Land is an emotive issue in various parts of the country. Although the constitution allows Kenyans to acquire land and settle in any part of the Republic, there are persistent ancestral claims by majority ethnic communities in parts of the country such as the vast Rift Valley and Coastal regions, fomenting the binary classification of residents as “natives” and “outsiders,” a

factor that is often instrumentalized by political and economic actors, leading to conflicts of various scales. Land is also emerging as a growing conflict driver in areas with commercially valuable natural resources. An example is the oil in Turkana County.

**c) *Ethnocentric perceptions of identity*:** It is a common practice in Kenya for people to identify and align themselves in line with their ethnic groups. Most ethnic groups describe themselves as “tribes” , and insularly project their identity, communal issues and political affiliations along these lines. The result is mutual suspicion and inter-ethnic divisions that pose a critical challenge for the quest for national cohesion and the achievement of a unifying Kenyan identity.

**d) *Political organization along ethnic lines*:** The country has a culture of political organization along ethnic rather than ideological standpoints. Political parties in Kenya remain largely vehicles for voter mobilization into ethnic alliances for elections. This makes elections highly contested and often violent, partly due to the exploitation of ethnicity by political actors and the manipulation of youth into militias. This approach to electoral competition threatens national cohesion because it is political and business elites, rather than ordinary voters, who drive the campaign issues, with the aim of attaining their own vested interests.

The absence of an outright ethnic majority has made elections a fierce contest between the five largest ethnic groups, the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin and Kamba, who together constitute about 65% of the Kenyan population. It is the ethnic rivalries and the intense electioneering competition among these larger ethnic groups and smaller, allied communities, that precipitated the 2008 post-election violence.

**e) *Historical grievances*:** Kenya's cohesion as one nation is additionally impeded by longstanding structural issues, most notably political exclusion, historical grievances over land, grand corruption, economic shocks, as well as widespread poverty and unemployment. While the 2010 Constitution sought to provide a skeletal framework for the amelioration of the country's structural problems, many of these issues are yet to be fully addressed and still constitute a significant conflict driver.

**f) *Access to Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)*:** It is estimated that there are about 650,000 illicit SALWs in Kenya. Security experts have drawn a strong correlation between the proliferation of these arms and conflict among pastoralist communities fighting over resources such as water and pasture, as well as cattle rustling. It has also been established that cattle rustling has been commercialized by business cartels, who provide arms and orchestrate cattle theft for profitable ends.

**g) *Emerging disputes over County borders*:** The Commission's attention has been drawn to the recent boundary controversies pitting different County Governments. The controversies have taken two perspectives: while some disputes concern the actual boundaries of the Counties, other disputes are based on historical claims on lands outside the constitutionally gazetted county

borders. These border disputes have created tension and, in some instance, violent conflict between residents of adjacent counties, leading to the loss of lives, destruction of property and displacement of people. The border disputes risk undermining the objects of devolution and national security. Some of the counties with boundary disputes are Isiolo and Meru Counties; West Pokot, Turkana and Baringo Counties; Garissa and Wajir Counties; Kisumu and Kericho Counties; and Kisumu and Nandi Counties.

It is on the premises of these obstacles to national cohesion, as well as the explicit mandate spelt out in the NCI Act, that the Commission has focused its work. This report documents the Commission's work and achievements between August 2014 and August 2018, detailed out in the subsequent chapters of the report. The following section focuses on the Commission's Strategic Plan 2015 – 2020, which guided its programmes and operation over the period covered by this report.

#### **1.4 The NCIC's Strategic Focus for 2015 – 2020**

In July 2015, the Commission launched a five-year strategic plan that set out priorities for the period 2015 - 2020. The Strategic Plan consolidates the gains made by the inaugural Commission and accommodates the new dynamics prompted by the advent of devolved governance in 2013. The Plan was developed using a participatory approach that involved wide consultations with internal and external stakeholders, namely NCIC staff, government departments and agencies, non-state actors, development partners, the media and the private sector. The development process involved an in-depth literature review of the Commission's inaugural Strategic Plan 2010-2013 and its Strategic Direction Paper 2014-2015; a variety of relevant policy and legal documents, as well as several reports and programme documents; stakeholder consultations through interviews and focus group discussions; an external and internal analysis of the Commission through the Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT), and Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Environmental and Legal (PESTEL) techniques.

The outcome was a strategic plan that concretized the mission, vision, core values and strategic pillars for the Commission as follows.

**VISION:** A Peaceful, Cohesive, United and Integrated Kenyan Society.

**MISSION:** To facilitate the elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination and proactively promote tolerance, understanding and acceptance of diversity, peaceful coexistence and unity.

**CORE VALUES:** Professionalism, Integrity, Affirmative Action for the Marginalized and the Minorities, Inclusivity, and Respect for Diversity.



**STRATEGIC PILLARS:** The Plan identified the following strategic pillars to guide its work:

- (i) National Identity and Values;
- (ii) Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Integration
- (iii) Policy and Legal Frameworks;
- (iv) Research and Knowledge Management; and
- (v) Organizational Development

The table below summarizes the five strategic pillars of the NCIC's 2015-2020 Strategic Plan:

**Table 1: Summary of NCIC's Strategic Priorities (2015-2020)**

<b>Strategic Pillar</b>	<b>KRA</b>	<b>Objective</b>
<b>National Identity and values</b>	A national culture and value system that upholds and inspires a Kenyan Identity	Build and strengthen the capacity of institutions and the public in fostering national identity and values in accordance to Article 10, Article 232 and relevant sections of Article 73 of the Constitution
<b>Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Integration</b>	Transformative communities and structures that effectively employ peace building, reconciliation and integration mechanisms towards national cohesion	Promote national peace building, reconciliation, cohesion and integration among the different ethnic, racial and religious groups of Kenya
<b>Policy and Legal Frameworks</b>	Practices and structures that provide equal opportunity for all Kenyans irrespective of their political, ethnic, religious, national and racial orientation.	To develop enforcement mechanisms to ensure compliance with constitutional provisions, and other legislations relating to cohesion and integration
<b>Research and Knowledge Management</b>	Research programmes, studies and audits that address conflicts and inequality using empirical, scientific and verifiable methods and disseminate the same.	Undertake research and studies on any issue that threatens national cohesion and integration and make recommendations to the Government and relevant parties as mandated by Section 25 of the NCI Act, 2008.
<b>Organizational Development</b>	A Commission that is visible, responsive, active, functional and effective in constantly delivering its mandate.	Enhance the competence of NCIC to effectively discharge its mandate as espoused in the National Cohesion and Integration Act (2008) in pursuance to the Constitution of Kenya (2010) particularly Article 10, 232 and relevant sections of Article 73.

## CHAPTER TWO

### DEVELOPING A SHARED KENYAN IDENTITY AND NATIONAL VALUES



*NCIC Chairman Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo (centre), leads fellow Commissioners in the public release of three Ethnic Audits in 2016.*

One of the most important roles that the NCIC has attained in the past four years is that of a national barometer for ethnic inclusivity in public institutions. Through the Ethnic and Diversity Audits, the Commission interrogated the level of inclusivity and adherence to the Constitutionally enshrined rights to equitable representation of ethnic groups within public institutions. The aim of the ethnic audits is to measure the state of implementation of Article 7(2) of the NCI Act which applies to national institutions and Section 65 of the County Governments Act (CGA) that applies to County Governments. Section 7(2) of the NCI Act provides that one public establishment shall not have more than one third of its staff from one ethnic community. On the other hand, Section 65 of the CGA requires the county to afford at least 30% of its vacant positions at entry level to persons from non-dominant communities. The mandate is reinforced by Article 232 of the Constitution which states the need for representation of Kenya's diverse communities as one of the values and principles of the public service.

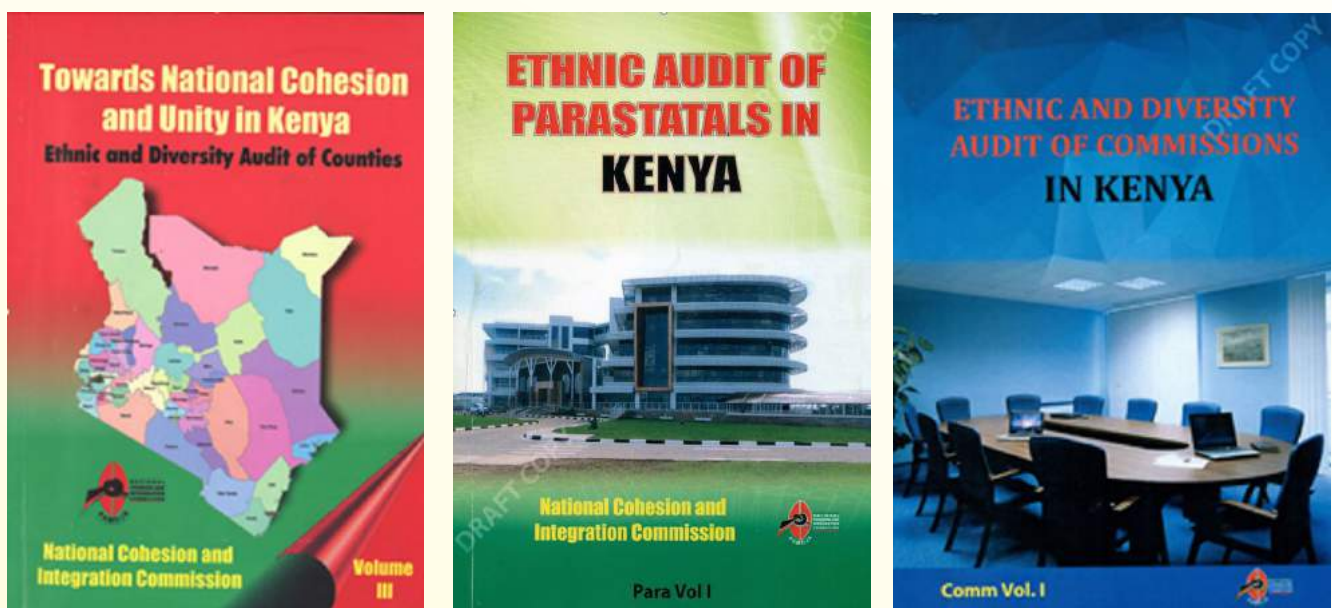
The NCIC's ethnic and diversity audits have covered state parastatals, commissions, public universities, and all the 47 County Governments of Kenya. The findings of the audits have always been made public, alongside



policy recommendations aimed at ensuring ethnic equality and equitable distribution of opportunities in public institutions. This information and the open debates have raised the bar of accountability in public employment.

In some of the most profound findings, the ethnic audits have established that there is skewed dominance of the public service by Kenya's largest communities, stimulating public debates and provoking demands for accountability by state institutions on recruitment of staff into public service. Some of the key findings during the period 2014-2018 pointed to the fact that over 83.9% of the country's public universities contravened section 7(2) of the NCI Act by allocating more than one third of their vacancies to persons belonging to the same ethnic group. Public parastatals have been slightly more equitable, with only 30% employing more than one third of their staff from a single ethnic group.

On devolution, 68.1% of the counties hired more than 70% of their staff from one ethnic group. This implies that despite the explicit laws on diversity in public staffing, new recruitments continue to contravene the provisions of the law, especially regarding the proportional inclusion of minority ethnic communities in public employment.



*Various Ethnic Audit reports published by the Commission.*

Although the Commission has experienced high levels of defensiveness and sceptical acceptance of the findings of the ethnic diversity audits, the audits have made a significant contribution towards reduced ethnic, religious, and racial discrimination in the national and county bureaucracies. The ethnic audit reports have notably compelled national and county government institutions to comply with the constitutional requirement for the representative inclusion of ethnic minorities in the public service.

For instance, the public universities have registered improved compliance with the NCI Act following the audits. They have introduced diversity in the appointment of the members of Public University Councils and in the top leadership of public universities, adopting the Commission's recommendation that the Council Chair and Vice Chancellor of any public university ought not be drawn from the same ethnic group.



On its part, the National Police Service has developed recruitment guidelines with a strong parameter for inclusion to comply with the Constitution 2010 and the NCI Act on inclusion, particularly increasing its recruitment of minority and under-represented ethnic groups within its ranks. The representation of ethnic diversity in employment has been adapted as one of the performance targets of public sector chief executives in government performance contracting following a recommendation by the NCIC, and members of the public are increasingly using the NCIC ethnic audits to hold the leaderships of public institutions accountable on appointments. On the basis of the ethnic audits, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have on some occasions instituted litigation to hold public officials accountable on public appointments.

## 2.2 Measuring the Social Cohesion Index (SCI)

Beginning in 2014, the NCIC has evaluated the state of social cohesion in Kenya to establish the perceptions and realities of the sharing of national resources as a way of pre-empting conflicts and other threats to peace and national cohesion. Although social cohesion is a complex concept which incorporates different elements, it is a major component in the relationships among individuals and groups, which, if well managed, can bring about a sense of belonging, acceptance, recognition and peaceful coexistence. Effective social cohesion not only makes the society a better place to live in, but also enables it to resolve differences non-violently. The defining attributes for the NCIC's evaluation of social cohesion in Kenya include the following:

- **Prosperity:** The capacity of a society to ensure well being of its members, minimising on disparities and avoiding marginalization.
- **Equity:** Equality of opportunities, access in fundamental rights, participation in decision making & solidarity.
- **Peace:** Peaceful coexistence of individuals and/or communities.
- **Diversity:** Bonds that glue people together in the context of ethnic diversity such as values and culture.
- **Identity:** Respect and tolerance to diversity and unity with both group and national identities valued.
- **Trust:** The capacity of individuals to trust others, especially those from other ethnic groups and institutions.

## 2.3 Shaping National Values among the Youth

Since inception, the NCIC has implemented robust education awareness and advocacy programmes toward the promotion of national values and a Kenyan identity to accelerate the unity of the diverse communities. In this effort, the Commission has targeted the children and the youth, in an effort to nurture a new generation that will become agents and guardians of peace and national cohesion going into the future.

In partnership with institutions of learning from primary and secondary schools to universities and colleges, the Commission has implemented peace sensitization and training programmes. The programmes are delivered in

### Mainstreaming National Cohesion and Integration in Kenya's Educational Curriculum



a curriculum developed together with the Ministry of Education (MoE), which enshrines national values, cohesion and integration into the new educational curriculum. Over the last four years, the curriculum has been rolled out in 1,200 schools across the 47 counties, reaching 500,000 students and pupils and 1,000 teachers and giving them the capacity to understand the import of ethnic diversity and ways of resolving conflicts and disputes using non-violent approaches. The capacity building sessions conducted annually to the teachers and students have enhanced their capacities in conflict resolution among their peers and communities.

The NCIC has also partnered with the Ministry of Education to facilitate the establishment of Amani Clubs in both primary and secondary schools, as well as in tertiary institutions.

The Amani Clubs provide an avenue through which young people are nurtured to see ethnic diversity as a positive phenomenon, not a basis for division, and to deepen their adoption of strength in diversity through open and candid

discussions. Such candid and structured discussions by young people on ethnicity did not exist prior to the establishment of the Amani Clubs.

In order to increase outreach beyond the Amani Clubs, the NCIC has partnered with the Ministry of Education, Twaweza Communications and Google Kenya to establish a virtual and human network model named “Amani Google Bridges.” This online platform has enabled the Commission to bridge the cleavages between people, communities and cultures using technology. At present, the model programme is running in ten schools spread across the five counties of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Kwale and Migori.



## 2.4 Engaging Boy and Girl Scouts in Promoting Peace and Cohesion



*Boy and Girl Scouts from across the country participate in the August 2015 Marsabit Peace Caravan.*

The Commission's efforts to develop a shared culture and national identity among young people goes beyond youth in schools and other educational institutions. The Commission partnered with the Kenya Scouts Association (KSA), which has a nationwide membership of 1.4 million Scouts in Kenya. The KSA is the largest scouting association in Africa and the sixth largest in the world, which makes it a large pool of potential ambassadors for the NCIC's efforts to nurture peace, cohesion and integration among the youth.

The Commission signed an MoU with the KSA on 9 July 2015, committing the two organizations to undertake a joint programme themed “Scouts for Peace in Kenya: Promoting National Cohesion, Coexistence and Celebrating Ethnic Diversity.”

This partnership between the Commission and the KSA is mutually beneficial. It furthers the KSA's vision of creating a better world by empowering young people to play a constructive role in the society, and supports the NCIC's focus on progress towards a Kenyan society defined by the values of peaceful co-existence, cohesion and integration.

The programme has seen girl and boy Scouts advocate and sensitize students, teachers, parents and other stakeholders on the importance of peaceful coexistence in the country through various activities, including peace walks, peer education, and championing the establishment of Amani clubs in learning institutions. Below are some of the peace initiatives that the Commission has carried out with the Scouts.

## **a) Peace Walks and Caravans**

The Commission has partnered with the KSA to conduct peace walks in an initiative aimed at increasing public awareness and participation on matters of peacebuilding. For instance, in November 2014, the members of the Scout Movement held the Embu – Nairobi peace walk, in which 100 Rover Scouts walked for 145 kilometres for five days, advocating for peace as the Association celebrated 104 years of Scouting in the country.

The Commission also supported the one-week Marsabit Peace Caravan on 17-23 August 2015, in which young people from various counties in the country traversed the vast county of Marsabit, advocating for peaceful coexistence among the 14 ethnic communities living in this region.

The Scouts held discussions on peace in public barazas with members of local communities and became couriers of peace messages exchanged from one community to the next as they crossed the county through Laisamis, Mt. Kulal, Loiyangalani, North Horr, Maikona, Sololo and Moyale. Several other peace caravans have been held in different parts of the country to promote peaceful coexistence among Kenyans in the richness of their diversity.

## **b) Trees for Peace**

The Commission has also engaged the KSA in a tree-planting campaign themed ‘Trees for Peace’, which was initially launched in 2006 by the late Kenyan Nobel Peace Prize winner, Professor Wangari Maathai. The initiative has seen Scouts plant 17 million trees in continuation of Professor Maathai's world-acclaimed commitment to environmental conservation, peace and human rights activism.

## **c) Peace Promotion during the Annual Scouting Founder's Day**

Every year on February 22, the Scouting fraternity marks Founder's Day by the graveside of Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the global Scouting Movement. The annual event is usually attended by over 40,000 Scouts from across the country and beyond at the founder's burial place in Nyeri.

Baden-Powell held a vision of a peaceful world of brotherhood, once writing that, “Our aim is to bring up the next generation as useful citizens with a wider outlook than before, and thereby to develop goodwill and peace in the world through comradeship and co-operation.” Inspired by Baden-Powell's ethos, the annual Founder's Day event provides an opportunity for the thousands of young Scouts from across Kenya to assemble, share their scouting experiences, and, through the Scouts for Peace in Kenya programme with the NCIC, to appreciate the diversity and propagation of ideas and values that enhance national cohesion and integration. The event has considerably contributed towards a better understanding of different cultures and increased tolerance to ethnic diversity, all in line with the ideals of the founder of the Scouting Movement.



## **d) National Inter-Patrols Scouts Competition**

The NCIC has supported the national Inter-Patrols Scouts competition, which are entwined with the promotion of peace and cohesion. For instance, the Commission was the official sponsor of the August 2016 National Inter-Patrols Scouts Competition, held at Rowallan Scouts Camp at Jamhuri Park in Nairobi County under the theme “Scouts for peace and co-existence.” The Commission also participated in the Inter-Universities and Colleges Rover Moot, also held at the Rowallan Scouts Camp in February 2017, under the theme “Promoting Peace and Cohesion, Enhancing Patriotism.” On 20 May 2017, the Commission participated at the Nairobi County Scouts Patrons Day celebration at Nairobi City Stadium under the theme “Nairobi ni Home, Tudumishe Amani” (Nairobi is our home, let's protect the peace). A year later on 8-12 May 2018, the Commission supported an Inter-Universities and Colleges Rover Moot held at Kilifi Scouts Centre, focusing on promoting understanding, tolerance and cooperation with Scouts from different backgrounds.

So far, NCIC and KSA have established a strong network, where the Scouts play an active role of promoting peace and cohesion among their fellow youth. The Commission's engagement with the KSA in peacebuilding was recognized in 2015 when NCIC Chairman, Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo, received the prestigious Africa Elephant Award, the highest Scout award in Africa. Hon. Kaparo, who is also the Chief Scout of the Kenya Scouts Association, was awarded the prize by the 16th Africa Scout Conference, and was designated a Messenger of Peace (MoP) Hero for Africa in recognition of his peace initiatives involving the Scouts.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PROMOTING PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND INTEGRATION

#### 3.1 Mediating Peace Pacts among Feuding Ethnic Groups



*Security officers on patrol in Kapedo, Turkana County. The Commission has successfully used dialogue, mediation and other alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to restore peace among feuding ethnic communities.*

Over the last four years, NCIC has invested substantial effort in helping communities to transform conflicts into situations of peace using their locally existing structures. The Commission has worked with peace actors to help resolve inter-ethnic conflicts through mediation and facilitation of dialogue. These efforts have successfully resolved inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts arising from competition for natural resources; county resources and opportunities; and politically motivated violence. The commission has in the process taken the opportunity to promote social cohesion and peaceful coexistence amongst the diverse ethnic groups involved.

The outcomes of NCIC's interventions have either led to cessation of hostilities, ceasefires or peace agreements, depending on the situation. These outcomes have made it possible for communities to restore their peaceful coexistence, return raided livestock, and share grazing lands and water points in arid and semi-arid areas. The dialogue has also helped restore trust between the communities and security agencies, making possible the sharing of actionable intelligence with security officers, and leading to the arrest of criminals and livestock raiders. The Commission privileges the use of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms such as dialogue, arbitration, negotiation, mediation and reconciliation to mitigate and resolve intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflicts. The Commission uses dialogue extensively as a tool for achieving peace and reconciliation between and amongst communities. Mediation often exists alongside dialogue efforts.



In terms of design and implementation, the Commission's peace, cohesion and reconciliation activities are inclusive, involving partnerships with local peace actors from within the communities (peace committees, elders, interfaith groups, youth and women leaders), County Governments, the Offices of County Commissioners, and in some cases Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other civil society actors.

Below are some of the conflicts that have been successfully resolved through the efforts of the NCIC.

### 3.1.1 The Marsabit Peace Initiative:

#### *‘The Boma Peace Agreement’:*

Marsabit County has experienced recurrent conflict since the 2005 Turbi massacre, in which an estimated 60 people were killed in armed clashes between the Borana and Gabbra communities. Since 2005, the conflict recurred almost annually, with the epicentre being Moyale Sub-County. On 5 February 2014, H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta appointed Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo (before his appointment as NCIC Chair) and Senator Yusuf Haji of Garissa as mediators in the Marsabit conflicts, tasking them with finding a lasting solution to the conflicts. The Kaparo/Haji Committee visited the conflict areas in Moyale, North Horr and Marsabit North sub-Counties and witnessed the grave human suffering and material devastation resulting from the repeated conflicts.



*NCIC Chair, Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo (right), Garissa Senator Yusuf Haji (centre) and Marsabit Governor Ukur Yatani (left) update the press on the progress of the Marsabit Peace Initiative in February 2014.*

The Committee presented a trenchant report detailing the root causes underlying the perennial conflict, namely (a) land and settlements; (b) politics; (c) unequal distribution of resources, including skewed employment in the County Government and the award of contracts based on ethnic identity. It also came out that Moyale was the worst affected and thus most conflict-prone part of the County. The Kaparo/Haji Committee on the Marsabit Conflict concluded that the conflict was largely political, fuelled by perceptions of exclusion, marginalisation and inequality. The ten-point recommendations from the report were transformed into ‘The Boma Peace Agreement’ which was signed in February 2014.

The following were some of the main recommendations that led to the success of the Marsabit Peace Initiative.

### *Humanitarian Response:*

Considering the continuous loss of lives, displacements and destruction of property and livelihoods, the National and County Governments were encouraged to facilitate the reconstruction and resettlement of the displaced persons, particularly in Heilu and other affected areas.

### *Peace and Security:*

The National Government was asked to increase security in the affected areas by adequately resourcing the security agencies with the requisite funding, equipment and transport for quick response; to institute mechanisms to effectively police the porous borders, to control the proliferation of illicit SALW and the easy influx of non-local elements. The National Government was also asked to work with the local communities in identifying aliens, including alleged members of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) from Ethiopia, as well as to fast-track the implementation of the ‘Nyumba Kumi’ initiative across the county.

### *Equitable Resource Allocation:*

To ensure equitable and sustainable development of the County, the Committee recommended the equitable and transparent sharing of county resources, including hiring of senior County Government officials, budgetary allocations for Constituencies and Wards, and constant consultations among the County leadership. MPs were encouraged to embrace wider consultations in distributing and allocating Constituency Development Funds (CDF) and other resources in their control fairly and transparently to all communities with equitable representation in the CDF and other Committees.

### *Land and Settlement:*

Having identified land as one of the major drivers of conflict in Marsabit, the Committee recommended that the National Land Commission (NLC), in consultation with the locals, should determine boundaries and other related aspects in line with traditional land usage and the NLC's



constitutional mandate.

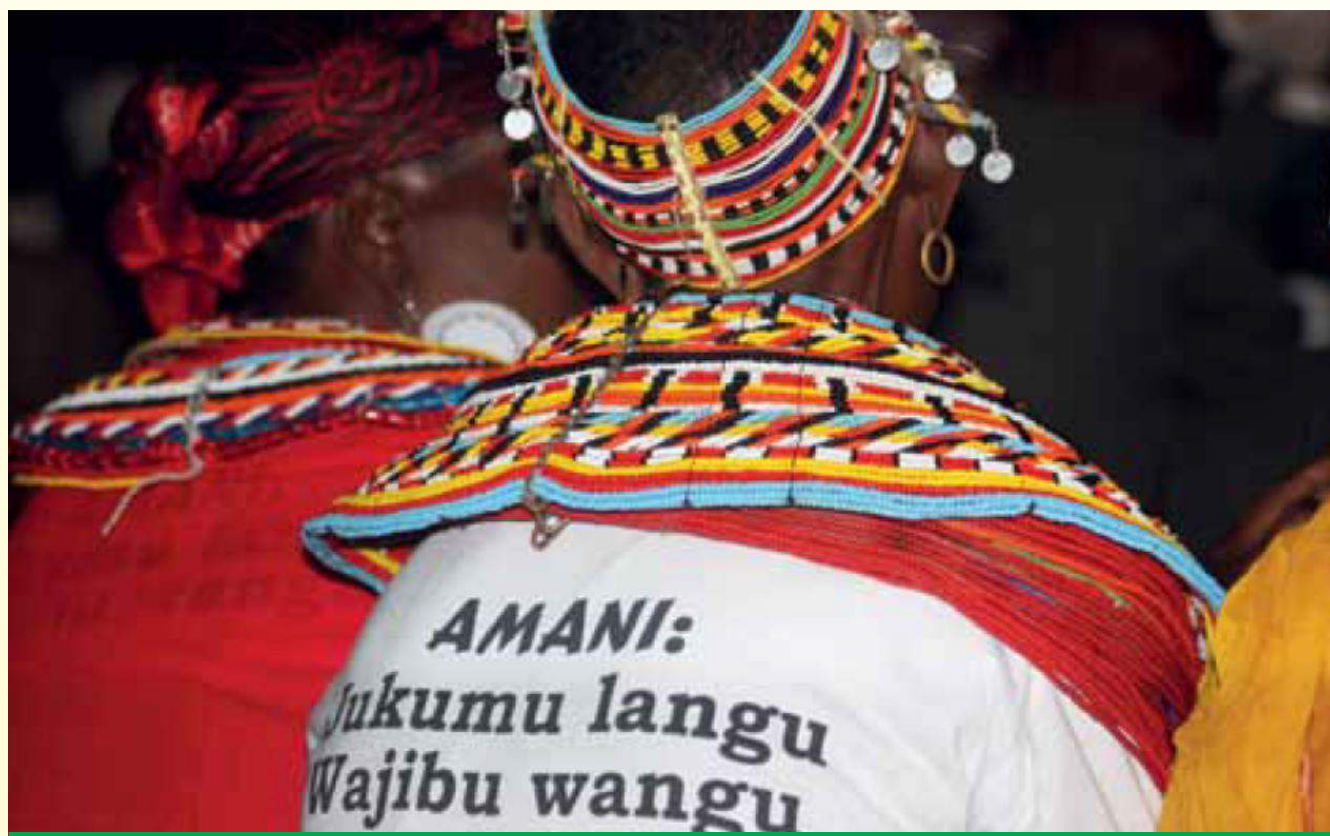
Upon the appointment of Hon. Kaparo as Chair of the NCIC in August 2014, he institutionalised the implementation of the ‘Boma Peace Agreement’ within the Commission to ensure lasting peace in Marsabit County. Moyale has been relatively calm since the signing and implementation of the Agreement.

### 3.1.2 Maasai and Samburu Clashes on the Laikipia-Isiolo County borders

#### *‘The Ngare Ndare Peace Pact’*

Violent inter-ethnic clashes have long destabilised the Samburu and Maasai communities living on the border of Laikipia and Isiolo Counties. In one episode of violent conflict, 20 lives were lost and thousands of livestock raided. The NCIC, working in partnership with the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, convened a high-level meeting at the Ngare Ndare Bridge to address the hostilities and restore law and order among the warring Samburu and Laikipia Maasai communities.

The meeting was co-chaired by Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo of the NCIC and the then Cabinet Secretary for Interior and Coordination of National Government, late Maj. Gen(Rtd) Hon. Joseph Nkaissey. Among the participants were influential elders from the Samburu and Maasai communities and the respective County Commissioners of Isiolo and Laikipia Counties. The meeting led to immediate cessation of hostilities between the two communities and the signing of the ‘Ngare Ndare Peace Pact.’



*Local communities at a dialogue meeting to discuss peace among the Maasai and Samburu communities living along the border of Laikipia and Isiolo Counties.*

### 3.1.3 Lamu County Peace Initiative

#### *‘The Boma Commitment on the Promotion of Peace and Cohesion in Lamu County’*



*H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta (left) witnesses the signing of the “The Boma Commitment” on peace and cohesion in Lamu County,” flanked by Governor Issa Timamy (centre) and Senator Abu Chiaba (right).*

Lamu is a cosmopolitan county in the Coastal Region whose population comprises both indigenous ethnic groups that have lived for centuries in the county, and communities that settled in Lamu from other parts of Kenya. The largest communities in Lamu County are the Bajuni, Kikuyu, Giriama, and Pokomo, and minority groups include the Aweer, Dahalo, and Orma.

In June 2014, over 60 people were killed following attacks in and around the town of Mpeketoni in Lamu County. Although Al Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attacks, there was speculation that the attacks could have been masterminded by local politicians motivated by ethnic or religious hate, or land grievances. The Commission, in partnership with other stakeholders, facilitated several dialogue and mediation forums targeting communities in Mpeketoni, Witu, Hindi, Faza, and Amu. These partners included the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC), and the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS), working with representatives of community, political, religious and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).

These dialogues culminated in ‘The Boma Commitment on the Promotion of Peace and Cohesion in Lamu County,’ whose signing was witnessed by H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta and other influential political and religious leaders. The NCIC further facilitated a series of grassroots workshops for youth, women, community and religious leaders to disseminate “The Boma Commitment,” and established local peace committees in Mpeketoni, Lamu and Hindi to sustain the peace initiative.



### 3.1.4 Turkana-Samburu Conflicts in Samburu County

#### *‘The Sportsman's Arms Ceasefire and Peace Agreement’*

Samburu County has experienced protracted ethnic conflict between the Turkana and the Samburu communities, caused by competition for grazing land, cattle rustling and general insecurity. The Commission facilitated a series of dialogue forums bringing together Turkana and Samburu political leaders, community leaders, religious leaders, women leaders, youth and professionals. The result was the signing of ‘The Sportsman's Arms Ceasefire and Peace Agreement’ in Nanyuki on 21 June 2015 by representatives of the two communities. The signing of the Agreement was witnessed by the NCIC Chair, Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo; the then Chair of the Joint Committee on Cohesion and Equal Opportunity, Hon. Johnson Sakaja; and the then Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Administration and National Security, Hon. Asman Kamama.

### 3.1.5 Turkana-Pokot Peace Dialogue around Kapedo

#### *“The Sirikwa Declaration”*

The Kapedo area in Turkana County has been the hotbed of violence between the Turkana and Pokot communities over cattle rustling, a boundary dispute between the two Counties, and the disputed “ownership” of Kapedo itself. In November 2014, armed bandits massacred 21 police officers deployed to restore peace in Kapedo, drawing attention to the gravity of the conflict between the two ethnic groups.

The Commission facilitated a number of peace dialogues, culminating in a ceasefire and the signing of a peace agreement named “The Sirikwa Declaration.” The Commission also facilitated several peace caravans to promote peace at the local level.



*A reformed Turkana warrior voluntarily surrenders his gun to security forces. The Kapedo area in Turkana County is infamous for the high level of intolerance and brutal ethnic clashes between the Turkana and Pokot communities.*

### 3.1.6 Isiolo Peace Dialogues

#### *‘The Lewa Down Peace Agreement’ and ‘The Morans Peace Accord’*

The ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County are complex, pitting the Turkana against the Samburu/Borana/Meru; the Borana against the Meru/Samburu; and Meru against the Samburu. The causes of the conflict include competition over grazing land, cultural practices such as cattle rustling, illegal grazing in parks, and political incitement.

The Commission facilitated a series of peacebuilding forums in the County, targeting political leaders, elders and youth of the warring communities. The forums were exclusive peace dialogue meetings bringing together the Turkana and Samburu warriors in Oldonyiro, Longopito and Loruko areas. The peace dialogue forums saw an end to the incessant killings and resumption of normalcy in the affected areas. These meetings led to the cessation of hostilities and the signing in December 2015 of ‘The Lewa Down Peace Agreement’ and ‘The Morans Peace Accord’ in Loruko.



*NCIC Chair, Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo (left), chats with Isiolo Governor Godana Doyo at a peace dialogue forum in Isiolo town. Isiolo County has complex conflict dynamics, variously involving the Borana, Turkana, Samburu, and Meru communities.*



### 3.1.7 Nandi-Kisumu Inter-County Dialogue

#### *‘The Chemelil Declaration’*



*Kisumu Governor Jack Ranguma (with microphone) and Nandi Governor Cleophas Lagat (right) speak at a peace meeting organized by the Commission to reduce border tensions between their counties. Seated to Governor Ranguma's right is NCIC CEO Hassan Mohamed.*

Following violent conflicts between the Luo and Kalenjin communities living along the common border of Nandi and Kisumu Counties, the Commission, in partnership with the Offices of the County Commissioners and Sub-County Peace Committees from Nandi and Kisumu Counties, initiated an inter-ethnic peace meeting. NCIC Chair Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo chaired the forum that was attended by representatives from the Kisumu and Nandi County Governments and the elected Members of Parliament (MPs) for Tinderet and Muhoroni. The conflicts were provoked by incidences of cattle theft, a boundary dispute between the two counties, a squatter problem (land), and political incitement.

The communities unconditionally agreed to end hostilities and their leaders signed ‘The Chemelil Declaration,’ which was endorsed and witnessed by the Commission.

The Commission facilitated further follow-up meetings that resulted in the arrest of notorious cattle thieves along the border of the two counties; the return of stolen livestock to their owners; the re-opening of the common market along the border of the two counties due to improved security; the formation of a 30-member cross-border peace committee to further pacify the area and promote a positive inter-ethnic relationship; and measures put in place to discourage cattle theft, such as livestock branding, the closure of unlicensed slaughter houses, and the drawing of sale agreements between sellers and buyers of livestock. The cross-border peace committee that was formed is still active.

### 3.1.8 Meru-Isiolo Peace Dialogues

#### *‘The Murera Declaration’*

Retaliatory attacks due to incidences of cattle theft have been a common feature along the Meru-Isiolo border. Violent conflicts between the Borana and Meru communities claimed several lives and displaced scores others. The Commission initiated dialogue forums between the two communities, holding separate meetings with each of the feuding communities in order to understand their grievances as a foundation for a peace effort that would yield lasting solutions.

The Commission held a dialogue meeting with representatives of the Borana community, and another one with the leadership of the Meru Community. A joint dialogue forum was held in January 2016 at Murera Springs Eco Lodge in Meru County, bringing together over 200 participants from both sides. It resulted in a unanimous agreement to mutually end hostilities and to embrace peaceful coexistence, enshrined in a peace accord by the two communities named ‘The Murera Declaration.’

### 3.1.9 Pokot and Elgeyo-Marakwet Peace Dialogues

#### *‘The Nakuru Declaration’*

Conflicts in the Kerio Valley, situated between Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet Counties, have persisted since May 2016, leaving more than 30 people dead, hundreds displaced, and an unknown quantity of livestock stolen. The conflict drivers include competition over access and control of scarce resources, mainly pasture, water and grazing land along River Kerio; as well as ethnic animosity and political differences between the Pokot and Marakwet communities residing in the Kerio Valley. To help end the conflict, the Commission facilitated several reconciliatory meetings between the two communities, involving political and religious leaders, women, youth and community leaders from the two Counties to deliberate on strategies for lasting peace. The result was ‘The Nakuru Declaration,’ endorsed and signed by representatives of the two communities and the National Government. The Commission's peace process brought about a temporary cessation of violence in the Kerio Valley and provided a template for future conflict resolution.

### 3.1.10 Pokomo and Somali Dialogue in Tana River and Garissa Counties

#### *‘The Tana Delta Peace Agreement’*

The Pokomo and Somali ethnic communities living in Tana River and Garissa Counties, respectively, both rely on water from the River Tana for their livelihoods. Consequently, there are periodic conflicts around the scarce water resources, and invasions of the agricultural lands of the farming Pokomo community by the pastoralist Somali communities. Political incitement also plays a part in the conflicts. In March 2016, livestock belonging to the Somali community in Garissa County strayed into Pokomo farms in Tana River County. This resulted in the damage of crops and livestock theft, igniting a conflict between the Somali and Pokomo communities. Three people were killed, many farms and five water pumps destroyed, and livestock stolen in retaliatory attacks.

The Commission intervened, cooperating with elders and security agencies in the two counties to organise a three-day dialogue forum bringing together elders and leaders from the two communities. Resource sharing stood out as a key conflict driver in the two counties, aggravated by land tenure/adjudication issues, poor healthcare facilities, poor infrastructure, water scarcity, a culture of cattle theft, the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and rising insecurity. The forums resulted in improved understanding and a cessation of hostilities between the Somali and Pokomo communities, which signed the ‘Tana Delta Peace Agreement’ to restore peaceful coexistence and inter-ethnic harmony. The Commission additionally trained grassroots women leaders on peacebuilding, mediation and conflict resolution, as well as the concepts of cohesion and integration, with a view of creating a pool of women peace actors.

### 3.1.11 Nandi – Kakamega Peace Dialogues

#### *‘The Tom Mboya Labour College Accord’*

The Commission mediated a conflict between the Luhya and Nandi ethnic groups living along the borders of the two counties caused by cattle theft, land disputes and political incitement. The Commission facilitated peace meetings, first separately and then jointly, with elders and political leaders from the Luhya and Nandi communities in partnership with the Offices of the respective County Commissioners.

These meetings led to a cessation of hostilities between the two communities and the signing of ‘The Tom Mboya Labour College Accord’ in February 2015, followed by the arrest of identified cattle rustlers; the return of displaced people; compensation for destroyed homes; the establishment of the “Amani” market along the border of the two counties; the improvement of the road linking the two counties; and the formation of a 30-member cross-County border peace committee, who were bestowed the “Cohesion Award” for their commendable commitment to the peace process.

The Commission regularly holds meetings with the standing peace committee and the border area has since remained calm.

### 3.1.12 Maasai-Kipsigis Dialogues in Narok County

#### *‘The Trans-Mara Peace Agreement’*

There are two strands of conflict in Narok: one intra-ethnic (among Maasai clans), and the other inter-ethnic (between the majority Maasai and the Kipsigis minority). The conflicts are largely centred around land disputes, especially within group ranches; political rivalry among top politicians in the county; political incitement along ethnic or clan lines; discrimination in the sharing of resources (county jobs and tenders); and disagreements regarding settlement in the Mau forest. The Commission facilitated peace meetings with political leaders, elders, interfaith leaders, women and youth representatives leading to a cessation of hostilities. At the request of the Commission, the National Land Commission (NLC) intervened to help resolve the group ranch disputes. The main result of the Commission's intervention was ‘The Trans-Mara Peace Agreement,’ signed between the Kipsigis and the Maasai.



### 3.1.13 Sabaot Peace Dialogues in Mt Elgon

#### *‘The Abbey Resort Resolution’*



*Former Mt. Elgon MP, Hon. Fred Kapondi (right), appends his signature to the ‘Abbey Resort Resolution.’*

The Commission facilitated the resolution of ethnic conflict in Mt. Elgon Sub-County of Bungoma County, which has long experienced intra-ethnic conflicts involving the Sabaot community who predominantly reside in Mt. Elgon Sub-County. Conflict factors in Mt Elgon include historical injustices over land, unequal distribution of resources (particularly jobs and tenders at the County), insecurity, and a perception of political exclusion and domination by the Luhya within Bungoma county. These factors have occasionally led to conflict.

The NCIC conducted several peace dialogues that brought Sabaot community representatives from Mt Elgon Sub-County to discuss the root causes of the perennial conflicts. The dialogues resulted in ‘The Abbey Resort Resolution,’ a peace agreement signed in Nakuru on 31 March 2015 and endorsed by various leaders, including Bungoma Deputy Governor Hon. Hillary Changwony; Mt. Elgon MP, Hon. John Serut and his predecessor Hon. Fred Kapondi; Bungoma County Commissioner Maalim Mohamed; several Members of the County Assembly (MCAs); former councillors; as well as representatives of the County and Sub-County Security Intelligence Committee; religious leaders; women; CSOs; and the youth.

The Resolution led to the cessation of hostilities as well as the training and facilitation of the Sabaot Council of Elders to promote peaceful coexistence of communities. Other results for the entrenchment of peace included increased inclusion of members of the Sabaot community in County employment; increased allocation of development funds for Mt. Elgon Sub-County; and the arrests of remnants of the outlawed Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF).

### 3.1.14 Samburu vs. Ranchers in Laikipia County



The Commission facilitated community meetings aimed at discussing cross border and inter-ethnic conflicts affecting the Samburu community in Laikipia County. These meetings were necessitated by the invasion in 2015 of the Il Ngwesi Conservancy, owned by the Il Ngwesi Community Group Ranch by Samburu warriors in search of pasture for their livestock. It was established that the tensions were ignited by the progressive encroachment of ranches by Samburu pastoralists searching for pasture. As a result, a draft ceasefire resolution was adopted, and a joint peace committee established to continue to enhance the promotion of peaceful coexistence between the two sides.

### 3.1.15 Kisumu-Vihiga Boundary Dispute

The Commission convened two meetings in Kisumu and Maseno towns aimed at promoting peaceful coexistence among the communities residing in the region. There were rising tensions between residents of Kisumu and Vihiga Counties over the ownership of the Maseno area and the sharing of resources along the borders of the two counties. Among the issues raised during the forums were discrimination in employment opportunities at Maseno University, leading to tensions between the locals and the students; power struggles between churches in the area; and the alleged marginalisation of the Luhya community residing in Maseno. The Commission has continued to engage the County Governments of Kisumu and Vihiga, the National Government, the local communities, and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) towards finding a lasting solution.

### 3.1.16 Baringo Peace Dialogues

Baringo County has experienced perennial conflicts involving ethnic groups from within the County and from the neighbouring West Pokot and Turkana Counties. The conflicts have variously involved the Tugen, Pokot, Turkana, Njemps, Ilchamus, Sengwer and Ogiek, around issues of cattle rustling, access to resources such as water and pasture, and political contestation. The Commission facilitated several grassroot peace meetings using local facilitators in Loruk, Kipnai, Kositei and Kaindiding/Paka. The result has been a significant reduction in hostilities after these peace meetings, the return of locals who had fled their homes, and the reopening of schools that had closed due to the constant conflicts.

### 3.1.17 Mandera Peace Initiative

Mandera County has for many decades been the theatre of internecine clashes between the various Somali clans living in the county. Various attempts to resolve these clan conflicts have hardly been enforced beyond the ceasefire phase, allowing a recurrence of the conflicts due to failure to address the root causes. One of the most prolonged conflicts has been between the Garre and Degodia clans, peaking in 2011-2015. As of November 2015, the Garre-Degodia conflict had led to the loss of at least 77 lives, the displacement of over 18,000 households and massive destruction of property.





*Community elders vote on their priorities for peace at a December 2016 stakeholders' forum in Mandera town. Through the Mandera Peacebuilding Programme, the Commission is piloting the use of Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a way of resolving local level conflicts in Kenya.*

In September 2014, H.E. President Kenyatta appointed the NCIC Chair, Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo and Senator Mohamed Yusuf Haji of Garissa to help resolve the conflict following their successful mediation of the Marsabit County ethnic conflict. The Kaparo/Haji team met professionals from Mandera County based in Nairobi to get their views on the causes of the conflict and possible solutions. The NCIC facilitated a joint meeting of interfaith and political leaders in Nairobi on 16-17 February 2015 that contributed to a reduction of violence and recommended a retreat of political leaders from Mandera and Wajir Counties to come up with a comprehensive peace accord.

The Kaparo/Haji team also made a fact-finding mission to the conflict-affected areas in Mandera County, jointly with political and religious leaders. From the proceedings of various peace meetings held, the root causes of the conflict were identified as the perceived disposition of the Garre and Degodia clans to marginalise each other politically and economically; competition for grazing land and other natural resources; and boundary disputes between Wajir and Mandera Counties, both of which have substantial Garre and Degodia populations.

The Mandera peace mediation initiatives resulted in the cessation of hostilities between the Garre and Degodia clans; the return of IDPs to their homes; and a long-term peacebuilding programme by the NCIC and Interpeace to create a locally driven conflict resolution structure at the grassroots level. In addition, the Commission is using the Mandera Peacebuilding Programme as an opportunity to pilot the use of Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a way of resolving local level conflicts in Kenya.



## 3.2 Women Peace and Dialogue Initiatives

In many conflict situations, women are deemed the most vulnerable constituency, facing additional physical, sexual and emotional abuse. However, they are instrumental pillars of peace, especially considering their nurturing nature and their greater likelihood to participate in peace initiatives as compared to men. They therefore play a significant role in building peace right from the family level, to the community and national levels. The following are some of NCIC's initiatives targeting women between 2014 and 2018.

### 3.2.1 Training on UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

The Commission has conducted several Training of Trainers (ToT) workshops for women leaders on UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The Security Council Resolution, passed unanimously in the year 2000, acknowledges the disproportionate and unique impact of conflict on women and girls and calls for the adoption of a gender perspective that considers the special needs of women and girls during conflict, repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration, and post-conflict reconstruction. The Resolution 1325 also reaffirms the unique and important role that women play in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding, emphasizing the importance of the equal involvement of women in issues of peace and security, as well as the increased participation of women in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The Commission has carried out TOT workshops on UNSCR 1325 involving women in all the 47 counties of Kenya.



*Women leaders attend a training on peacebuilding, mediation and conflict resolution in Nyeri County.*

### 3.2.2 Sensitization Forums on Peace, Cohesion and Integration

In an initiative to harness the power of women in promoting peace and cohesion, the Commission rolled out a series of dialogue forums and cohesion clinics for local women leaders in different counties, reaching over 5,000 women and enhancing their knowledge on peacebuilding, mediation, conflict resolution, national cohesion and integration.

The Commission used these platforms to enhance the role of women in peacebuilding, mediation and conflict resolution from family, community to national level, with the ultimate aim of developing a critical mass of women peace actors.

### 3.2.3 Sensitization of Women on Radicalization and Violent Extremism

The NCIC partnered with UN Women to conduct trainings on advancing the contribution of women towards Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) in Wajir, Mandera, Garissa, Lamu, Kilifi, Kwale and Mombasa Counties in Kenya's Coastal and North Eastern regions. Participants in the trainings were sensitized on the dangers of radicalization and violent extremism, and how to address these matters within their family and community. The Commission acknowledged the value of involving women in the “soft” (non-securitized) side of the fight against radicalization caused by the high levels of youth unemployment, poverty and violence within families.



*NCIC Vice Chairperson, Irene Wanyoike, leads a training workshop in Kilifi to sensitize women leaders on radicalization and violent extremism.*

### 3.2.4 Training Workshops for Women Mediators

In order to improve the capacity of women leaders to mitigate and resolve local conflicts, the Commission, under the Uwiano Platform for Peace has trained over 2,000 women mediators from different counties. These trainings were conducted in Nakuru, Nyeri, and Kirinyaga, Meru, Kiambu and Murang'a counties, and participants were trained on peace, conflict resolution, mediation and reconciliation in line with UN Resolution 1325. The choice of these counties was based on the realization that resource allocation and distribution was a major conflict driver in the above counties, alongside the challenges of land tenure and adjudication issues, poor healthcare facilities, poor infrastructure, lack of water and general insecurity. In Nyeri County, the Commission offered training for county women leaders in partnership with the office of the Nyeri County Woman Representative, reaching over 1,400 women leaders from all the six sub counties of Nyeri County (Tetu, Nyeri Town, Othaya, Mukurwe-ini, Mathira and Kieni).



The focus of the training was “Promoting Peaceful Co-existence and National Cohesion.” The cohesion clinics enabled the participants to open up on the challenges they experience in integrating with each other and seeking solutions to address those challenges.

### 3.2.4 National Women Interdenominational Prayer Day



*SEATED, FRONT ROW: First Lady Margaret Kenyatta (centre) presides over the Women's Interdenominational Prayer Day in the company of Second Lady Rachel Ruto (left) and NCIC Vice Chairperson, Irene Wanyoike (right).*

In July 2017, the NCIC partnered with Trans World Radio to organize a National Women Interdenominational Prayer Day at Uhuru Park in Nairobi. The prayer rally was led by Kenya's First Lady, H.E. Margaret Kenyatta, the Second Lady H.E. Rachel Ruto, and NCIC Vice Chairperson Irene Wanyoike. It brought together thousands of women from different ethnic and religious backgrounds across the country to pray for the nation's peace during the electioneering period. The prayer rally was preceded by a women's peace walk through eight different city routes leading to Uhuru Park.



### 3.3 Building Community Capacities for Peaceful Coexistence



To help communities in various parts of Kenya to develop their own sustainable, locally-driven owned architectures for conflict resolution and cohesion, the NCIC has invested in building local capacities for dialogue, mediation and reconciliation. This endeavour has been pursued through skills training of local

community and CSO actors, as well as the establishment and training of cohesion committees in key public institutions. The overarching goal of these efforts is to entrench a conflict transformation approach to ethnic coexistence, steering communities away from violent approaches towards shared solutions that are beneficial for the socio-economic and political wellbeing of both the local communities and the Kenyan nation.

Community elders consist one of the most important entry points through which the Commission has been able to anchor its local infrastructures for peace. Many communities in Kenya today still revere their elders, making them important players in the reconciliatory and mediatory activities taken to promote peaceful coexistence among ethnic communities. The NCIC recognizes this crucial role of elders to create harmonious relationships among communities.

At various times, the Commission has used elders as an entry point in facilitating sustained dialogue between the communities in the Counties of Marsabit, West Pokot, Tharaka Nithi, Tana River, Lamu, Garissa, Bungoma, Marakwet, Kakamega, Nandi, Isiolo, Meru, Samburu and Laikipia. The platform has provided safe spaces to discuss issues affecting the communities. The alternative dispute resolution mechanisms were successful in reducing conflict between communities leading to harmonious living.

The Commission has gone ahead to train over 500 Council of Elders and Sub-County Peace Committees (DPCs) in conflict transformation and facilitation of community dialogue, networking and early warning systems. In places where the Commission has brokered peace, it has created platforms where Council of Elders and government officials regularly meet to discuss the successful implementation of community peace agreements for sustainability.

### 3.4 Strengthening Community Resilience against Radicalization and Violent Extremism

Kenya has experienced sporadic attacks by the militant group Al Shabaab since the military incursion into Somalia in 2011. Between 2011 and 2015 there have been over 200 violent incidents involving explosives or automatic weapons linked to Al Shabaab. Attacks targeting government and security installations, shopping centres, public transport, universities and places of worship have left innocent people dead and hundreds of others injured thereby instilling fear and a sense of insecurity and exacerbating interreligious tensions. The impact and cost of insecurity resulting from extremist violence and terrorism is a risk to Kenya's social cohesion, security and development agenda. The radicalization and violent extremist phenomena are disproportionately impacting youth and women.

Al Shabaab and other organized radicalized groups have capitalized on drivers of fragility to radicalise and recruit the bulging youth population into violent extremist and terrorist acts. To mitigate the risk posed by violent extremism and radicalization, the Commission, in partnership with various agencies conducted several Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) initiatives that targeted women and youth in counties based in the coastal and North-Eastern regions. The Commission employed the soft approach which complimented other existing CVE strategies. The focus of preventive measures against violent religious extremists has largely been on violent mitigation, with reliance on the military and law enforcement which has been counterproductive in some instances.

The Commission's CVE strategy and programmes is anchored on the Kenya National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism, launched by President Uhuru Kenyatta in September 2016. The NCIC has placed emphasis on prevention using soft approaches to address the drivers of violent extremism, through training and capacity building for women, youths, religious leaders and government officers. This has been carried out in the counties of Mombasa, Kilifi, Kwale, Tana River, Lamu, Taita Taveta, Wajir, Mandera and Garissa. Further, the Commission advised the Government of Kenya (GOK) to give an unconditional amnesty to Kenyans who have joined Al Shabaab. This led to the surrender of over 800 youths, who denounced their membership of the outlawed group and handed themselves to the authorities for de-radicalization.

In another initiative with the support of UN Women through the Embassy of Japan, the Commission implemented a one-year project that sought to establish a network of Women, Civil Society and Practitioners on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism in Kenya. The project targeted five Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi, Mandera and Wajir Counties., resulting in the production of a directory comprising the names and contact details of 177 organization working in peace, security and CVE in Mombasa, Kilifi, Kwale, Mandera and Wajir Counties was established. A total of 175 women, CSOs and other practitioners were trained on preventing and countering radicalization and violent extremism.

The project was also able to establish four functional CVE networks in Mombasa, Kilifi, Mandera and Wajir counties who conduct community interventions that counter radicalization, as well as to promote cross fertilization, sharing of experiences and new knowledge in tackling drivers of radicalisation and violent extremism. Over 100 recipients of the trainings are practising the skills gained from the trainings. Some of the

activities conducted by these alumni include community sensitization programmes, establishment of projects e.g. the 'Watoto base project' in Mombasa and the training of Nyumba Kumi committee members and chiefs on CVE.

**Community Outreach:** In partnership with the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), the Commission conducted women, youth and public community sensitization forums to strengthen the community resilience against radicalization and violent extremism. The forums were held in Mombasa, Kilifi, Kwale, Lamu and Nairobi Counties.

This partnership saw over 200 women and 350 youth, based in the five counties, engaged and their awareness on radicalization enhanced. Over 3,000 members of the public were reached through community public barazas organized by local administrators. The participants were able to understand radicalization and its dynamics, and additionally, relations between the community and security agencies were enhanced.

**Working with Interfaith Leaders:** The Commission facilitated training and dialogue forums with interfaith leaders as they are best suited to act as counter-narrative messengers and campaigners against violent extremism and radicalization. The training enhanced technical and communications skills and strategic know-how of religious leaders to do this work effectively.

The religious leaders were sensitized on how internet and social media platforms were being used to radicalize the youths. The forums addressed ways in which violent extremists have been using the Internet and social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube to take their messages to a wide youth audience.

### 3.5 Preventing Hate Speech

The Commission has consistently sensitized the public on hate speech and ethnic contempt both of which are new offences under the Kenyan laws. The Commission has further trained over 3,000 police officers on the detection and investigation of these offences leading to successful investigations and prosecution efforts.

The introduction of the Integrated Public Complaints Referral Mechanism (IPCRM) has increased the Commission's accessibility and the number of complaints lodged with the Commission. The Mechanism enables Kenyans to lodge complaints to the Commission through online transmission via the by partners in the referral system. Additionally, members of the public have progressively been acting as watchdogs, demanding accountability from the NCIC and other relevant institutions. Consequently, they have been reporting inflammatory statements, hate speech and issues likely to spark conflict following an intensive media campaign.

The Commission established a multi-agency working group to deal with hate speech, ethnic contempt, incitement to violence and related offences ahead of the 2017 General elections.

The working group is comprised of NCIC, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), National Intelligence Service (NIS), Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), Office of the Director



of Public Prosecutions (ODPP), Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), Office of the Attorney General, National Police Service (NPS), Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI), Media Council of Kenya (MCK), Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK), Ministry of Information, Communications and Technology and National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NSC). This multi-agency forum was able to crack on hate mongers thus reducing levels of hate spewing in public spaces including social media.

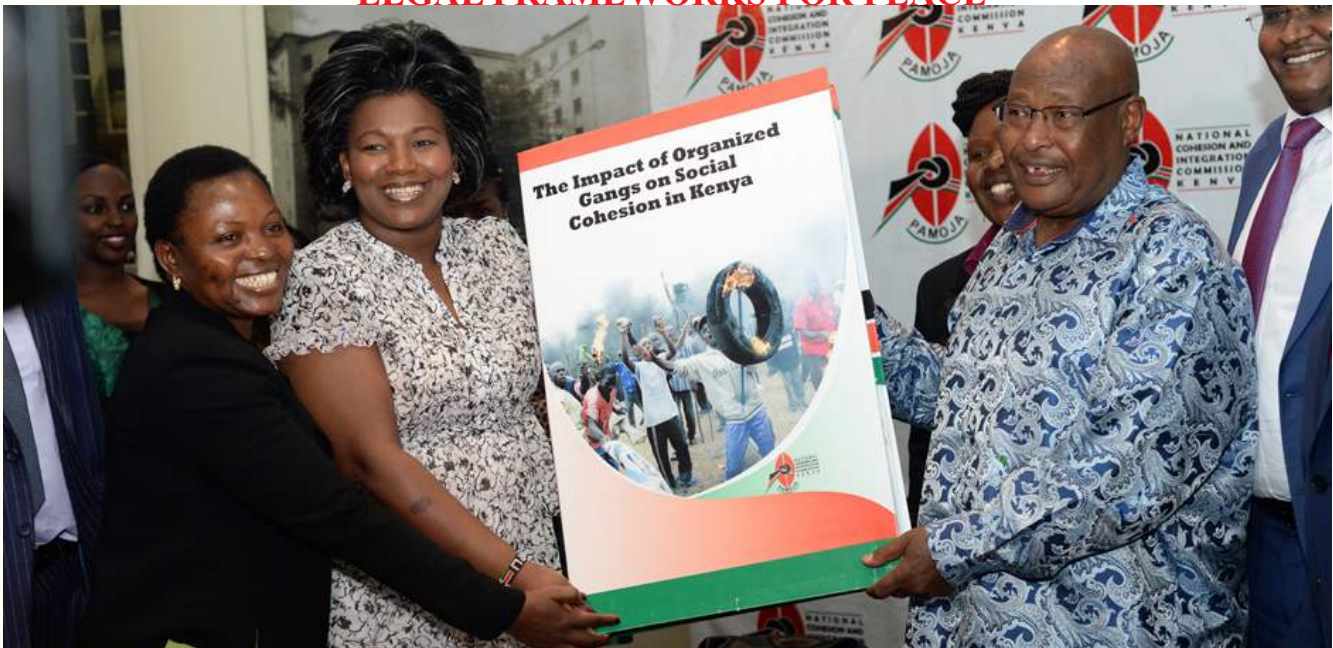
In order to minimize online hate, the Commission forged partnerships with Social media players through the Kenya Information Communication Association Network (KICTANeT) to engage stakeholders on possible ways to tame the increasing cases of fake news and hate speech on the social spaces. KICTANeT is a multi-stakeholder platform involved in ICT policy and regulation. The partnership influenced positive conversations in the social media spaces, hence enhancing creation of positive conversations surrounding cohesion and inclusivity.

Successful investigations of complaints on hate speech and ethnic contempt have enabled the Commission to secure prosecution of high-level personalities. The Commission successfully investigated and recommended to the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP) the prosecution of over 3000 individuals for the offences of hate speech and ethnic contempt. While only three (3) convictions have been secured, the investigations in themselves serve as a deterrence to hate speech related offences. Those who faced charges include Cabinet Secretaries as well as Members of Parliament. The monitoring of hate speech in public spaces and the prosecution of these high-level individuals has led to the reduction of ethnic incitement in political rallies.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUPPORTING POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS FOR PEACE



*NCIC Chair Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo (right) and Hon. Rachel Shebesh, Chief Administrative Secretary of the Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs launch the Commission's research study on "The Impact of Organized Gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya."*

#### 4.1 Influencing Government Policy Influence through Research

The NCIC offers empirical information geared towards informing interventions and policy direction. The translation of research findings into sustainable peaceful co-existence among the different ethnic communities in Kenya remains a key component of the overall NCIC strategy. In the period under review, the Commission developed tools, models and carried out high quality research to enhance understanding of cohesion building. The Commission launched four reports namely the Ethnic and Diversity Audit of Parastatals, the Ethnic and Diversity Audit of *Commissions*, the *Ethnic and Diversity Audit of County Governments* and the Ethnic and Diversity Audit of Public Universities. The impact of these publicly available reports is that the institutions seem to be moving towards compliance. However, the Commission reckons that more still needs to be done to ensure inclusivity of minority and marginalized groups within employment. As such, the ethnic audits recommended that a strict measure should be adopted to ensure that public institutions comply with the laid down rules and regulations and particular measures or affirmative action embraced. These Audits influenced the development of the Public Service Commission's 2016 Diversity Policy.

Kenya's young democracy has been plagued by decades of organised political violence before, during, and after elections. The ethnicization of politics has further exacerbated the problem, with existing organised gangs forming along ethnic lines and claiming to safeguard the interests of their specific communities. The study, conducted between November 2016 and June 2017, found that organised gangs are proliferating, are almost 90% mobilised, financed and deployed by politicians; and are a key factor to social disintegration. This policy brief argues that essentially, if politicians withheld their support, the activities of organised gangs would be crippled. The policy brief makes a number of recommendations to key actors in Kenya, including the Government of Kenya, relevant Statutory Bodies and State Corporations, the civil society and the Private sector. The study resulted in the widened sensitization on the existence of gangs and the use of gang violence in politics as well as in social life through sustained discussions on gang violence and extensive coverage by mainstream and alternative media

During the same period, the NCIC initialized the development of the 'Kenya Cohesion Online map' with a view of graphically representing issues of conflict in the country. The aim of the online map is to give a “bird's eye view” of the problem and show everyone's perspectives on it, at the same time get sufficient evidence to see issues and ideas which may otherwise go unnoticed. It is envisaged that the ongoing project will enhance conflict mapping and make it easy to identify hotspots at a glance while enabling on spot feedback or input from the public.

The Commission also recruited 120 cohesion monitors, with at least two Cohesion monitors based in each of the 47 Counties. The Counties themselves were clustered geographically and placed under a County Cluster Monitor based at the Commission's office in Nairobi for ease of coordination, monitoring and sharing of information with key peace and security stakeholders. The cohesion monitors, including some from partner institutions within the UWIANO platform (such as the IRCK, ORPP, MCK, NSC and PeaceNet), were trained on conflict analysis and monitoring of hate speech on social media and political rallies. Specifically, the NCIC monitors were provided with audio recorders to be used in capturing incidences of hate speech during the electioneering period. The training also provided a networking platform to promote a coordinated approach to prevention of election-related violence.

The Cohesion Monitors relayed information gathered in real-time through SMS and WhatsApp platforms, which was entered into the Early Warning Systems for timely and appropriate action by the Commission and other relevant state agencies. As a result, the Commission and its partners were able to prevent escalation of election-related conflict in various counties. In addition, the Commission trained and sensitized over 800 police officers on the different offences under NCI Act 2008 such as investigation of hate speech and ethnic contempt within their various jurisdictions. In addition, some of the trained police officers were issued with monitoring gadgets for monitoring of political rallies during the 2017 general election campaigns. Consequently, an increased the number of hate speech cases were identified and investigated by police officers at the county levels.

## 4.2 Integrating National Cohesion into Legislative Processes

The Commission has made significant contributions towards the infusion of cohesion and integration principles into the review and formulation of bills and policies. It developed and published a 'Checklist for infusion of Cohesion and Integration Principles into Legislation and Policy' that has served as a tool for Parliamentarians both at the National and County level assemblies.

Further, the Commission published the 'Minimum Standards and Principles for Recruitment to Ensure Inclusiveness and Diversity at the County Level', which has provided tangible rules for county governments to follow during their recruitment processes. To-date the Commission has reviewed 16 pieces of legislation from three key laws i.e. Education, Registration of Persons, and Elections.

The Commission has lobbied for 'soft' approaches to addressing the challenge of terrorism in Kenya. These approaches were included in the new national counter terrorism strategy. Such approaches has deployed dialogue and reconciliation dissuading individuals or groups from mobilizing towards violence and mitigates recruitment, support, facilitation or engagement in ideologically motivated terrorism as part of preventive and long term measures.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS PEACEFUL ELECTIONS IN 2017



*The NCIC Chair, Hon. Kaparo, addresses the press alongside the Chairman of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Mr. Wafula Chebukati (left).*

**E**lectoral processes in democratic Kenya (from 1992 to date) have been marred by some level of political violence, implicating both the state and political elites from the dominant ethnic groups. Considering that since the 1990s, intra-state conflicts have accounted for up to 94% of all conflicts around the world, reducing the impact of identity politics has increasingly become critical to peacebuilding in Kenya as well. Consequently, the NCIC prioritized initiatives that would deliver peaceful General Elections in 2017. This section provides an overview of the actions taken by the Commission, leading to the relative peacefulness of the elections.

#### 5.1 Early Warning and Hotspot Mapping

The Commission contributed to the attainment of largely peaceful General Elections in 2017 through its robust Early Warning and Early Response System (EWERS), existing local community peace structures, and collaboration with the state's electoral, peace and security institutions.

The relative stability witnessed in 2017 General Elections, despite the intense political campaigning, legal battles and petitions arising from elections, can substantially be attributed to the immense investments and peace programmes implemented by Commission. The Commission further helped socialize Kenyans towards embracing tolerance and respect for diversity in a number of research, educative, law enforcement and alternative dispute resolution programmes.

Ahead of the 2017 elections, the Commission identified the proliferation of ethnic-based gangs as a key threat to the upcoming general elections. While the objectives of such groups and their links to political elites were difficult to uncover, the Commission developed three interventions towards reduction of the above-mentioned threats to national cohesion. The first one was a research study on The Impact of Organized Gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya, published ahead of the 2017 elections. The study sought to assess the effect of organized group activities on inter-communal relations and to identify the actors that aggravate this impact.

The second intervention was to develop a barometer for conflict hotspot mapping in Kenya. While various agencies had previously made attempts to establish a database of conflict zones and to design early warning systems that would help pre-empt violence, no scientific mapping of conflict hotspots had been undertaken for the country. The Commission used digital cartography to produce maps that provide accurate representations of conflict incidences in the various counties of Kenya. These efforts helped to ensure that politicians funding and mobilizing gangs were documented, state preparedness for electoral violence was enhanced, violent conflict quickly identifiable and forestalled, in addition to the increased coordination of peace interventions and communication among peace actors.

## 5.2 Synergy with Security Actors

The Commission contributed significantly to the Election Security Arrangement Programme through partnership with the IEBC, NPS, DCI, ODPP and Civil Society Organizations. It contributed to development of a handbook on election security that provided a comprehensive guide to election security, through identification of the linkages between elections and security; the role of security agencies and their interaction with other actors; laws and institutions governing electoral security; election offences and consequences of violating electoral laws. Moreover, the Commission's early warning portal was synchronized with other state offices, particularly the NPS and DCI, providing them with access to the Commission's early warning and reporting systems and the digital hotspot map.

## 5.3 Public Advocacy for Peaceful Elections

The NCIC continued to promote tolerance, peace and respect for diversity through the use of traditional and new media platforms, mainly using print, radio, television and social media platforms. The Commission continued to promote tolerance, peace and respect for diversity through the use of mass media engagements mainly print, radio, television and social media platforms. These activities were intensified in the build-up to the elections to combat incitement to hate, ethicized campaigning, and intolerance to diversity. The following are some of the outlets that were used:.

**Print Media:** Strip advertisements were placed in the front page of the key leading publications such



as the Daily Nation, The Standard, The People Daily and The Star. In a campaign themed “Stop Hate Speech,” the Commission reached an estimated 10 million readers. Strip advertisement was published in the leading newspapers calling on the political class to desist from hate speech before, during and after the General elections.

**Television:** The Commission sponsored prime time news for nationwide television broadcast networks such as KTN, and aired a 40-second NCIC-branded infomercial on leading TV networks (NTV, KTN, Citizen, KBC and K24). The key messages centred mainly on peace, hate speech and incitement to violence. In addition to the infomercials, NCIC Commissioners actively participated in political debates and interviews in the leading stations.



*A screen grab of NCIC Vice Chair Ms. Irene Wanyoike (centre) participating in a live television discussion on the state of national cohesion.*

**Popular Entertainment Programmes** speaking to issues on hate speech and complaints procedures. The Commission sponsored the popular *Inspekta Mwala* comedy drama that airs on Citizen TV.

**Radio:** Radio was extensively used to sensitize the public on the provisions of the NCI Act and the need for peaceful existence. In its advocacy efforts, the Commission mainly targeted vernacular radio stations such as: Egessa FM, Ramogi FM, Pokot service, Muusyi FM, Kass FM, Muuga FM, Inooro FM, Mulembe FM and Radio Citizen to disseminate messages on need to shun hate speech and embrace peaceful coexistence.

**Social Media and Online Campaigns:** In order to counter negative narratives passed through social media platforms, the Commission prioritized awareness creation on the provisions of NCI Act 2008. The Commission has been on the frontline spearheading key hashtags that rally Kenyans to desist from hate speech. One of the hashtags promoted by the Commission was *#ResilientKenya* under the Uwiano platform, as well as *#KenyaIsOurs*. The aim of this strategy was to persuade the online users



to embrace peace as the nation prepares for elections in 2017. In addition, the Commission engaged the social media audience on Facebook. The Commission reached over 10 million Kenyans through this online campaign.

***Training of Bloggers and Reporters on Conflict Sensitive Journalism:*** The Commission partnered with the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) and sensitized 300 reporters and bloggers on conflict-sensitive journalism reporting around fiercely contested elections; the role and mandate of NCIC; how to decipher hate speech and incitement to violence; and the limits of Freedom of Speech. These initiatives were among numerous other mooted towards the 2017 General Elections under the UWIANO umbrella. This resulted in increased knowledge for the reporters and bloggers yielding to largely informed and balanced reporting.

***Bulk SMS:*** The Commission sent out bulk messages to reach out to Kenyans' in different parts of the country. Hence over two million Kenyans were reached with tolerance messages on 7 August 2017, the eve of the elections.

***Press Conferences, Talk-shows and Interviews:*** The Commission continually negotiated free talk-shows in different media houses to enlighten the public on its mandate and on any other topical issues touching on its core functions. Some of the key stations constantly used were KTN TV, Citizen TV, Star Radio, Citizen Radio, K24, Kameme, NTV, and KBC, Radio Taifa. Several NCIC Commissioners and staff members regularly featured in these talk shows.

***Outdoor Advertising on Billboards:*** During the 2017 General Election period, the Commission increased its peaceful election campaign by erecting billboards at strategic points in selected cities. Billboards were erected in the cities of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret and Nakuru, displaying peace messages aimed at creating awareness on the importance of tolerance during the 2017 General Election. An estimated five million Kenyans were reached by this initiative.

***Information, Education and Communication (IEC) Materials:*** This is one key strategy that has continuously been used by the Commission to disseminate information on its mandate and other relevant initiatives. In the 2017 General Elections, Posters, Flyers, car stickers, branded T-shirts, trophies for sporting activities, branded wristbands, plaques, and biker reflectors, among other key branded IEC materials, were produced and disseminated to various target public audiences across the country.



## CHAPTER SIX

### PILOTING LONGTERM PEACEBUILDING APPROACHES

#### 6.1 The Mandera Peacebuilding Programme



*Former President John Kufuor of Ghana speaks at the launch of the Mandera Pilot Programme, flanked by NCIC Chair Francis ole Kaparo to the right.*

**T**he NCIC is piloting new models for building lasting peace and cohesion that can be used to secure long-term peace in all the 47 counties of Kenya. In November 2014, the Commission entered a partnership with Interpeace to implement a joint pilot peacebuilding programme in Mandera County using the Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach to peacebuilding.

The choice of Mandera was informed by the fact that the dynamics in the County represent a microcosm of all the impediments to peace and national cohesion in Kenya. These include ethnic rivalries, violent ethnic conflict, political mobilization along ethnic lines, poverty, terrorism, insecurity due to porous international borders, youth unemployment and radicalization, corruption, historical injustices, the negative use of social media, longterm marginalization and the promise of development through devolution. Mandera County was also an ideal choice because in 2015, NCIC Chairman, Hon Francis ole Kaparo, and Senator Yusuf Haji of Garissa County brokered a ceasefire in a recurring conflict between the Mandera's Garre and Degodia clans upon the request of H.E. President Kenyatta, based on their joint successful mediation of peace in Marsabit County.



The NCIC and Interpeace signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in November 2014, at an event presided over by Interpeace's Chairman, former President John Kufuor of Ghana, and NCIC Chairperson Kaparo. The goal of the Mandera pilot programme is to integrate grassroots aspirations for peace, building on local capacities and providing a strategic link with decision and policy makers at the national level.

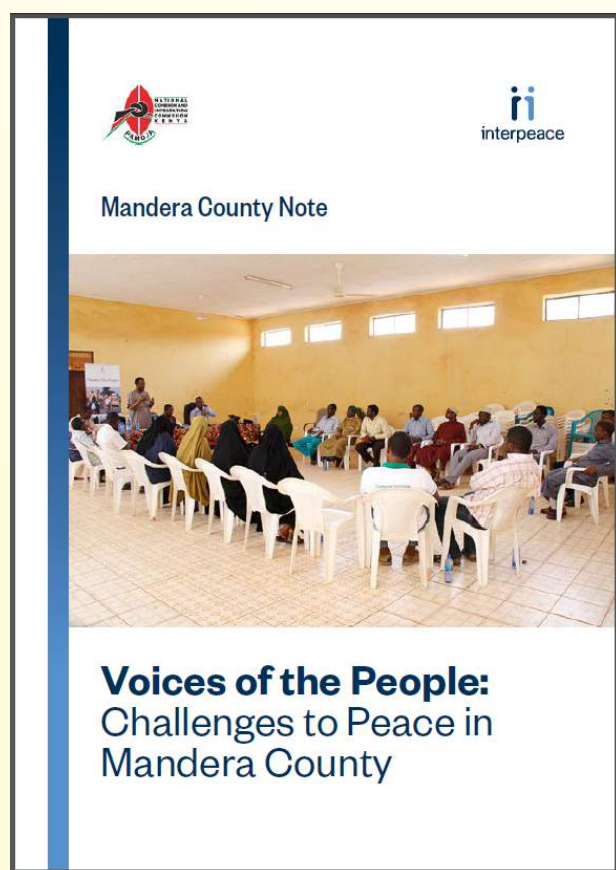
The programme marks a departure from past peace initiatives, which were largely top-down interventions mobilized to contain situations that had already escalated into violence. The programme takes a bottom-up approach, progressively building peace by placing local populations in the driving seat, particularly in the identification of both the impediments to peace and possible solutions. The NCIC provides the crucial channel through which the government will better understand the underlying causes of these clan conflicts.

One of the ways in which local voices are being captured is through the audio-visual means and mobile cinema, which is used to trigger trust, understanding and dialogue for peace among communities cleaved by conflict. The audio-visual approach is additionally used to bring the voices of local populations to the attention of policy and decision makers.

The programme's aim is to facilitate the achievement of an effective, locally owned peacebuilding architecture for sustainable peace among the communities of Mandera. It marks a departure from past interventions, which focused on ending conflicts that had already turned violent—often using the security agencies without subsequently addressing the underlying trigger factors for purposes of building long term peace. In December 2016, a cross-section of stakeholders from Mandera County

held a peacebuilding forum in Mandera town, where they validated the findings of a year-long consultation process to establish the challenges to peace in Mandera County, as perceived by the local communities of the County. In 2017, the NCIC and Interpeace published the findings of the research in a report titled *Voices of the People: Challenges to Peace in Mandera County*. The publication provided the basis for the ongoing second phase of the pilot programme, aimed at the responsive implementation of the priorities for peace as identified by the people of Mandera.

It is envisioned that the Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach, if successful in the Mandera programme, could become a model for locally owned and locally driven peacebuilding architectures in the other counties of Kenya.



## 6.2 The Nairobi Peace Talks

In November 2015, the NCIC partnered with Interpeace and the UN Office at Nairobi (UNON) to organize the first ever edition of the “Peace Talks” to be held in Africa. The Peace Talks are an event series where speakers from different sectors share their personal stories, ideas and practical solutions to build peace. Held under the theme “I Contribute to Peace”, the focus of the forum was to expand space for dialogue around peacebuilding and conflict-resolution. The event, hosted on November 12, 2015 at the UN Complex in Gigiri, attracted a diverse range of individuals who brought new and constructive perspectives on peace.



*Peace and environment activist Ikal Ang'elei (top left); musician Juliani (bottom left) and Kenya Red Cross Society Secretary General Abbas Gullet (bottom right) narrate how they contribute to peace at the 2015 Nairobi Peace Talks.*



The two-hour event allowed 11 prominent and ordinary Kenyans to provide insights on how they contribute to peace in a 10-minute Ted-Style talk. Among the 11 speakers were Hon. Yusuf Hassan, the Member of Parliament for Kamukunji who survived a terror attack in 2012 and was re-elected by his constituents while recuperating in hospital; H.E. Ms. Nardos Bekele-Thomas, UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative in Kenya; Dr. Abbas Gullet, Secretary General of the Kenya Red Cross Society; Musician Juliani; Mr. Francis Kariuki, the “Tweeting Chief” from Lanet Umoja; Dr. Josephine Kulea of the Samburu Girls Foundation (SGF); Peace Artist “Solo 7” from Kibera; Grassroots Peacebuilder Selline Korir; Environmental activist Ikal Ang'elei; writer and historian Zarina Patel; and Godfrey Odongo, the Deputy President of the National Children's Government.

The Nairobi Peace Talks were officiated by the Director-General of the United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON), H.E. Ms. Sahle-Work Zewde and speakers included government officials, parliamentarians, musicians, diplomats, civil society leaders and ordinary Kenyans. Prominent attendees at the event included Chief Justice Willy Mutunga; NCIC Chair Francis ole Kaparo; H.E. Dr. Ralf Heckner, Ambassador of Switzerland to Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi; alongside 200 audience members and millions more watching via a live webcast. The Nairobi Peace Talks provided a platform for Kenyans to learn that peace is a collective responsibility.

Quite instructively, the event hashtag #NairobiPeaceTalks was the number one trending topic on Twitter in Kenya during the two hour period of the Peace Talks. Considering that the Kenyan social media scene is often always dominated by issues related to competitive politics, this was a clear signal that the Kenyan people endorse peace.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CHALLENGES, LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**W**hile the NCIC has made significant achievements between 2014 and 2018, it has experienced some key challenges that minimized its impact. These challenges need to be addressed to enable greater impact. The Commission equally learnt a few lessons and best practices that will inform future overall programme design and implementation.

#### 7.1 Challenges Encountered

- a) The misconception by the public on what exactly constitutes hate speech remains a major concern. Despite the increased public awareness campaigns by the Commission to define hate speech, the identification of the concept still appears fuzzy to most Kenyans.
- b) The slow judicial process in the prosecution of ethnic hate cases and contempt by some political leaders has reduced public trust on the ability of the Commission to deliver its mandate. The Commission has also been faced with the challenge of unwillingness of some witnesses to testify or to provide the requisite evidence that would enable prosecution.
- c) The Commission has experienced heightened polarization arising from boundary disputes, between several counties, leading which spurred a number of ethnic tensions and conflicts, increasingly witnessed since the advent of devolution.
- d) The NCI Act that is long overdue for review, and is yet to be passed by the Parliament despite lobbying efforts carried out by the Commission
- e) The Commission receives limited funding, which inhibits the attainment of its full potential for programme implementation and necessary interventions towards national cohesion.
- f) There is still an immense demand for sensitization, training and outreach programme on cohesion and integration from institutions and the public. The Commission's current resources and staffing do not suffice to match the demand.
- g) The offences of hate speech and ethnic incitement are now being propagated in cyberspace and especially on social media platforms. Some individuals use pseudonyms as well as propagate the offense outside Kenya's sovereign jurisdiction, rendering the investigation and prosecution of such offenses complicated.

#### 7.2 Lessons Learnt

- a) The Commission has learnt the importance of establishing strategic partnerships and networks whose synergies help generate technical and financial resources.

- b) There is urgent need to revise the NCI Act 2008 for conformity with the 2010 Constitution in general and the Policy on National Cohesion in particular. It is envisaged that this will strengthen the legal mechanisms that support the making of national cohesion and integration into the day-to-day practice of the public service.
- c) Following the devolution of government in 2013, it is necessary to build sustainable linkages and synergies between the National and County level actors in the peacebuilding sector to facilitate a coordinated approach in reaching out to institutions and the public.
- d) Peace and reconciliation processes are not isolated events but rather continuous processes requiring persistent engagement with stakeholders that call for adequate human and financial resources.

### 7.3 Recommendations

- a) In preparation for future elections, the Commission needs to develop prevention, intervention and mitigation strategies and action plans that cover all the 47 counties, as well as to proactively reduce the levels of polarization across the country.
- b) The Commission requires increased funding from Government to facilitate the execution of its mandate and to support elections-related activities. Besides Government, additional funding streams from other sources like development partners and donors also need to be explored.
- c) There is need for parliament to pass the NCI Bill that has been pending for over four years. This will enhance the effectiveness of the Commission.
- d) It is necessary to strengthen the Commission's human resource capacity, to devolve its services to the county and local levels, to upgrade its physical facilities, and to strengthen its communication and knowledge management capacities.
- e) There is need to work more closely with the Judiciary in implementing the use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.
- f) Representation of the diverse Kenyan communities in employment within the public service is an obligation enshrined in several sections of the Constitution; the Commission needs to continue to advocate for the counties and other public institutions to ensure full compliance with these diversity provisions.

## ANNEXES

### ANNEX 1: Profiles of NCIC Commissioners

#### Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo, EGH, SS., Chair



Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo was appointed Chairman of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) by H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta on 11 September 2014, alongside seven other commissioners. Hon. Kaparo is a lawyer with vast experience in Kenya's political and development scene. He holds a Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of Nairobi and a Postgraduate Diploma in Laws from the Kenya School of Law. Hon. Kaparo was admitted to the Roll of Advocates as an Advocate of the High Court of Kenya in 1977. Hon. Kaparo is the longest ever serving Speaker of the National Assembly of Kenya, having served from 1993-2008. Before then, he previously served as Minister for Labour (1990 -1991), Minister for Industry (1991-1993), Assistant Minister for National Guidance and Political Affairs (1988-1989), Assistant Minister for Supplies and Marketing (1989-1990). He was also a Member of Parliament for Laikipia East between 1988-1992. Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo has served in various capacities as well in the Government of Kenya and in Africa as a whole. These include stints as Chairman of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (1995-1997); Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Speakers' Conference - Africa Region (1997-1999); Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Speakers' Conference of CPA International (2004-2006); Member of the African Union Observer Mission to the Zimbabwe Elections; and President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union General Assembly in 2006. Hon. Kaparo is the former Chief Scout of the Kenya Scouts Association. Before joining the Commission, Hon. Francis Ole Kaparo was the immediate Chairman to the National Environmental Management Authority and the United Republican Party (URP).

#### Mrs. Irene Njeri Wanyoike, Vice Chair



Mrs. Irene Njeri Wanyoike is the current Chairman of the Association of Professional Societies in East Africa (APSEA), she is the 25th Chairman and first female Chairman in APSEA's 57-year history. Irene holds a Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of Nairobi, a post graduate Diploma in Laws from Kenya School of Law and has just completed a Masters in Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. She is an advocate of the High Court, a mediator and is member of the Mediation Accreditation Committee (MAC) of the Judiciary. She is also in the panel of mediators at Strathmore Dispute Resolution Centre. Irene is an ADR Practitioner, a former Council Member of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators (CIArb) where she served as the Honorary Treasurer. Irene has also been a private Consultant, working closely with the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) in Family Mediation. Mrs. Wanyoike currently serves as a Commissioner and the Vice-Chairman of the NCIC, where she specializes in building the capacity of women in Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution. She has wide knowledge in the field of Public Sector Reforms, Governance, Human Rights, and is very passionate on issues of Women and Youth Empowerment. Irene is a Civic Educator and served in the National Steering Committee of the Kenya National Integrated Civic Education (K-NICE) which was under the then Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs.



## Hon. Morris M. Dzoro, EGH., Commissioner



Hon. Morris M. Dzoro has over 15 years, working experience and exposure in leadership and development at both the local and international levels. He has been keen in empowering communities to determine their own future, and realize their full potential, through helping them demonstrate their relationship and live at peace with each other and their environment, in order to meet their own long-term needs and livelihoods with the main aim of transforming their lives. Hon. Dzoro served as Cabinet Minister for Tourism and Wildlife from 2003 to 2007; an Assistant Minister for Public Service between 2002 and 2003; and a Member of Parliament from 2002 to 2007. Prior to that, he worked as the Programme Manager for World Vision in different counties and regions. He has also worked as a part-time Lecturer at both the University of Nairobi and Daystar University. Hon. Dzoro is currently pursuing a PhD degree course on Tourism Management at the Moi University. He holds a Masters of Arts (MA) degree in Theology and Development from the University of Leeds, UK; a Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Community Development from Messiah College, USA; and a Diploma in Communication Arts from Daystar University, Kenya. Hon. Dzoro has attended training in different fields such as Strategic Planning and Management at CORAT; Proposal Writing and Health Management at AMREF; Cross Cultural and Peacekeeping at the London Institute, and the Advanced Leadership Course in Singapore. He has also attended several seminars and conferences, including the World Tourism Organization (WTO) in Malaysia; the Public Service Conference in South Africa, and International Urban Ministry in Chicago, USA. Hon. Dzoro brought to the Commission valuable knowledge and experience in leadership, peacebuilding and conflict resolution; as well as partnerships and relationships across sectors (networking and collaboration).

## Mr. Adan Abdi Mohammed, Commissioner



With a Master of Science in Project Planning and Management from the University of Bradford, Commissioner Adan Abdi Mohamed previously undertook County Coordination with regard to drought management and food security, through the operation of a County Drought Early Warning System, coordination and participation in County and National food security assessment and surveys, and regular community information feedback. He earlier managed the Arid Lands Resource Management Project as a Drought Management Coordinator. Commissioner Adan has 23 years' experience, both as an educationist and a development worker under various capacities. He also handled and coordinated drought mitigation response activities; handled and facilitated conflict dialogues and mitigations; coordinated development agencies, government departments, civil society, NGOs, INGOs and UN Agencies at County level. He has skills working in hardship, drought and conflict prone areas, has the capacity to respond to emergency situations in the areas of drought and conflict mitigation and relief operations, and has knowledge of working with communities in micro-development projects.

Commissioner Adan has adequate skills in the design, formulation and management of development projects, has knowledge of coordinating government, donors, NGOs, civil society and international agencies, coupled with abundant administrative and supervisory skills.

## Dr. Joseph Wamocha Nasongo, Commissioner



Commissioner Dr. Joseph Wamocha Nasongo holds a PhD in Conflict Resolution and Management from Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, a Master's degree in Diplomacy and Foreign Policy from Moi University, a Master's degree in Philosophy of Education and a Bachelor's degree in Education (Arts) of Kenyatta University. His PhD thesis was titled *An analysis of feminist epistemology: Logical pedagogical implications to education in Kenya*. The Masters' theses were titled *Terrorism and Counterterrorism Measures in Kenya Since 1998* and, *A Philosophical Examination of Views on Education for Africa*, respectively.

He joined the NCIC from the world of academia, with 24 years' experience as an educationist, seven of which he taught in secondary schools, six years at Maseno University and eleven years at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. He has vast experience in teaching, research consultancy and publications. His research interests include: peace studies, conflict resolution and management, Mediation, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Education, feminism, and philosophy. He has attended and presented papers at conferences in local as well as international conferences.

Commissioner Nasongo is also a member of professional associations namely: the Association of Disaster Management and Conflict Resolution of Kenya (ADMCRK), the Organization of Social Science Research in Eastern Africa (OSSREA) and the Association of Third World Studies. He has actively participated in community development through engagement in civic education, review of peace building training manual, research on impact of violent conflicts on education and member of boards of management of schools. As Commissioner, Dr. Nasongo has been on the forefront of Peacebuilding and Reconciliation initiatives and interventions, Research output was a member of the NCIC Audit Committee.

His worldview is guided by the philosophy that the human person has a rich endowment of potential that requires a conducive environment to nourish. Conducive environmental factors include: peace, access to basic needs, quality education, respect for human dignity and freedom to exercise talents in enhancing individual and societal development.

## Prof. Gitile Joseph Naituli, Commissioner



Commissioner Prof. Gitile Joseph Naituli holds a PhD in Business Management from Egerton University, a Master's in Business Administration (MBA) degree in Management and a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Business Administration and Government from MIU-IOWA, USA. His PhD thesis was entitled: Constraints on Growth of Micro and Small-Scale Women Enterprises in North and Central Meru, Kenya.

Prof. Naituli has over 20 years' experience in Business Management and Leadership, gained from extensive consulting, facilitation, teaching and research. Before his appointment as a Commissioner with the NCIC, Prof. Naituli served as the Acting Principal and Deputy Principal (Finance and Administration) and Associate Professor, Business Management and Leadership at the Multimedia University of Kenya. He is also a visiting Professor of Management at the University of Virginia, USA and sits on the Advisory Board of Environic Foundation International (EFI), USA, as well as the National Trustee Intervarsity Environmental Network (IVEN). Prof. Naituli has conducted research in several fields. These include Education for Sustainable Development and its application to Business Systems, Small to Medium Enterprises and the implication for sustainable development, Small Business Development and Management, Gender Issues in Small Business Management and Development and the Implication for Poverty Alleviation Efforts, Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation, Gender Issues in Organizational Development and Management, Strategic Management and its implications for Organizational Re-engineering, Transformational Leadership and its implication for development and Conflict Resolution and Mitigation.

Prof. Naituli is the author of more than 25 papers on Leadership and Management that have been published in professional journals or presented at various professional international conferences. He has also authored and co-authored more than eight books in business management. Prof. Naituli is a Technical Specialist with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Mainstreaming Environment for Sustainability in African Universities (MESA). He has also been helping African Universities to develop projects on adaptation to climate change, and also providing technical assistance to the concerned universities, besides organizing, planning and participating in strategic meetings and Seminars/workshops.

Prof. Naituli has been a Consultant for UNESCO Windhoek Cluster Office to Angola, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland. In 2008, Prof. Naituli was appointed Coordinator of the International Training Programme in Education for Sustainable Development in Higher Education in African Universities by Ramboll Natura AB and SIDA of Sweden. He chaired the University of Gondar (Ethiopia) Senate Committee that helped develop a curriculum based on the United Nations guidelines on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), which used ESD toolkit as a resource.



## Dr. Roba D. Sharamo, Commissioner



Commissioner Dr. Roba D. Sharamo has over 16 years of experience in international development, diplomacy and conflict analysis and resolution, where he worked in senior management positions with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Kenya, the Government of Kenya, non-governmental organizations and a leading think-tank, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Addis Ababa and Nairobi, among other international institutions. Most recently, he worked for UNDP as Team Leader of the Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention Unit. He received his Doctorate in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University, USA, in 2012. His doctoral dissertation is entitled *Predatory Politics and the Struggles of Peacemaking in Somalia*. Dr. Roba also has a Master's degree in

Sustainable International Development from Brandeis University, Boston, USA (2002) and a Bachelor of Science from Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya (1998). He has lectured and made presentations at numerous regional and international conferences and published key monographs and scholarly articles on peace and security in Africa. He also co-edited two monographs: one with Berouk Mesfin, titled *Regional Security in Post-Cold War Horn of Africa* (April 2011); and *The State of Human Security in Africa* (co-edited with C. Ayangafac) in April 2012, respectively. He is committed to the institutionalization of the inter-related agendas of peace, cohesion and integration in Kenya. His areas of specialization include conflict analysis and resolution, political economy, peacebuilding, cohesion, community security, mediation and negotiation. Dr. Roba Sharamo was appointed as a Commissioner of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) by H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta on 12 August 2014.

## Ms. Belinda Ochiel, Commissioner



Commissioner Belinda Ochiel holds an MA in Communication Studies and a Master of Diplomacy, both from the University of Nairobi. She is a Policy, Advocacy and Communications Specialist with over 15 years' experience in democracy, governance, health and human rights work. She has vast experience in research, policy analysis, evidence-based advocacy, documentation of human rights violations, civic education, reporting and outreach, complaints handling and redress, behaviour change communications and knowledge management, partnership building and resource mobilization. Ms. Ochiel is a seasoned policy, advocacy, and communications expert with regional and international experience in peace building, democracy, governance, and human rights. She was the Director of Policy, Advocacy,

and Communications at the Commission on Administrative Justice (Office of the Ombudsman) Kenya with responsibility for Designing, Implementing, Monitoring and Evaluating Advocacy and Communications Programmes to promote administrative justice, good governance and enhance realization of human Rights. Previously, she spearheaded national peace initiatives and was instrumental in the investigations and documentation of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence in Kenya.

**Mr. Hassan Mohamed, OGW., Commission Secretary & CEO**

Mr. Hassan Mohamed is the Commission Secretary of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) since June 2010. He holds a Master of Arts Degree in Economic and Social Studies (Development Administration and Management) from the University of Manchester, UK; a Postgraduate Diploma in Public Administration and Management from Glasgow Caledonian University, UK; and a Diploma in Range Management from Egerton University. Mr. Hassan is a career Civil Servant who has served in various Government Ministries, culminating in his promotion to the rank of Director of Administration 2015. He was awarded the Order of the Grand Warrior of Kenya (OGW) in 2009 for his peacebuilding efforts whilst serving as the Coordinator of the National Steering

Committee for Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) in the Office of the President. Mr. Hassan also received exposure in international peace efforts while on secondment as a Special Envoy of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to the Sudan Peace Process between 2009-2010. He has extensive knowledge in Government Financial Management, having served as a Budget Supply Officer in the Ministry of Finance from 1997 – 2006.

## ANNEX 2: KEY SECRETARIAT STAFF



**Ms. Millicent Okatch,**  
Director, Programmes and Technical  
Services



**Late Dr. Benjamin Kituku,**  
Director, Finance, Human Resource and  
Administration



**Mr. Kilian Nyambu,**  
Assistant Director, Civic Education and  
Advocacy.



**Dr. Sellah King'oro,**  
Assistant Director, Research, Policy and  
Planning



**Mr. Kyalo Mwengi,**  
Assistant Director, Complaints, Legal  
and Enforcement.



**Mr. Liban Guyo,**  
Assistant Director Peacebuilding and  
Reconciliation



**Ms. Olive C. Metet, MPRSK**  
Assistant Director Communication and  
Knowledge Management.



## Annex 3: KEY PARTNERS





**DIVERSITY**  
IS OUR  
**STRENGTH**

**One People One Nation One Destiny**



**NATIONAL  
COHESION AND  
INTEGRATION  
COMMISSION  
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