

Taifa Lango, Jukumu Langu

— My Country, My Responsibility! —



CEWARN

**Utilizing Early Warning,
Preparedness and Regional
Solidarity for Peaceful Elections in Kenya**



CEWARN

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
BKB	Brand Kenya Board
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWERU	Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
CNN	Cable News Network
DIPAD	Daima Initiatives for Peace and Development
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
EU	European Union
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPF	Global Peace Foundation
GPS	Global Positioning System
GPYC	Global Peace Youth Corp
ICC	International Criminal Court
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KTN	Kenya Television Network
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSC	National Steering Committee
PSV(s)	Public Service Vehicle(s)
TCH	The Consulting House
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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Statement by the
**IGAD
EXECUTIVE
SECRETARY**

As millions of people pursue their many needs and desires in millions of ways in this big, complex world, conflicts are inevitable. They, however, do not have to lead to violence. Peace therefore is the designing of mechanisms of dialogue, awareness and negotiation that prevent conflicts from becoming violent.

IGAD through CEWARN partnered with various stakeholders to provide political, technical and financial support to ensure a peaceful election in Kenya. Key among the activities undertaken included:

- Organization of regional goodwill and observer missions,
- Enhancement of national conflict early warning and response mechanisms,
- Development of conflict scenarios,
- Mobilizing the private sector and the business community, and
- Engagement of young leaders as well as artists in conversations and dialogue.

These tasks could not have been accomplished with one entity alone, requiring immense cooperation, dedicated commitment, massive resource mobilization and unimaginable sacrifices. On behalf of IGAD, I take this opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation to particular individuals and organizations for their contributions and valuable inputs that were committed to the actualization of the project, despite numerous challenges. I will mention just a few.

- EU for funding the programme through the AU African Peace Facility and its manager at IGAD Secretariat, Ms. Legawork Assefa
- The CEWARN Director, Dr. Martin Kimani, for providing the required leadership and guidance to ensure the implementation of the project;
- The private sector and the business community in Kenya for their steadfast support and valuable contribution; and last but not the least
- The media for allowing us the space to publicize the campaigns and the array of events, as well as the many volunteers led by Emmanuel Dennis and June Arunga who gave their time to the cause.
- The staff at the IGAD Secretariat, CEWARN and the Liaison Office in Nairobi, particularly Mr. Ali Daher, Mr. Aemiro Yiheyis, Mr. Tibebu Kifle, Ms. Tigist Hailu, Mr. Kizito Sabala, Ms. Karen Mwangi and Ms. Christine Norah for their dedication to duty;
- The partner organizations such as the Ministries of Education, Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, UNICEF and the National Steering Committee for Peace Building and Conflict Management, the Kwani Trust, Brand Kenya Board, the Global Peace Foundation, the National Youth Sector Alliance, the Daima Initiatives for Peace and Development (DIPAD) and many others for their support and cooperation; and last but not the least
- The media for allowing us the space to publicize the campaigns and the array of events, as well as the many volunteers who gave their time to the cause.

It is my sincere hope that learnt and experience gained in this project will be utilized in future engagements in the region and beyond. We have proven to the world that a combination of local knowledge and social practices, as well as cooperation of governmental institutions and people-led collective efforts can bring about regional peace, security and stability.

Amb. (Eng.) Mahboub Maalim
IGAD Executive Secretary

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Background to the Report

This report summarizes the process and key events and activities that IGAD engaged in calling for peaceful elections in Kenya with a view to providing lessons for similar situations in the region. The violence that followed the 2007 elections threatened Kenya's relative stability and the political and socio-economic structures upon which it was built. Although a major crisis was averted through the Kofi Annan-led African Union mediation team and the signing of the National Peace Accord (2008), some of the factors that bred and inflamed violence are still present. The next elections in 2013 presented a more complex and politically challenging situation for four reasons—the first being Kenya is a country undergoing a constitutional transition.

The new Constitution promulgated on the 27th of August, 2010 re-engineered Kenya's political architecture. Significant changes included the creation of 47 counties as a focus of the new decentralized governance structure. The 2013 elections consequently featured a large number of candidates vying for a new and expanded set of political offices. The Kenyan voters cast six different ballots to elect a new President and Deputy President running mate, members of Parliament, Senators and Governors for the new counties, County Assembly representatives, and Women County representatives. This increase in the number of

competitive public offices raised the risk of conflict among candidates and their supporters. Under these conditions the demand for pre-emptive measures and effective mediation and conflict resolution mechanisms could not be overemphasized.

The second factor underscored the strict timelines and varied scenarios for the election's outcome. The simplest scenario was where the President is declared an outright winner within seven days, and there is no petition. But given the prevailing political and electoral environment, it was predicted that a single round outright victory in the election was unlikely. Other scenarios would obtain in the event of no outright presidential winner in the first round.

These included a presidential run-off within 30 days of the first round, followed by the declaration of its results within seven days, or a petition being filed in the Supreme Court within seven days of the declaration of the results challenging the election of the President-elect. In this case the Supreme Court has 14 days to hear and make a final determination of the petition. These timelines come to an end when the court determines the election to be valid. In a fourth possible outcome, the Supreme Court determines the election of the President to be invalid.

A fresh election is then held within 60 days following the court's determination. This possibility meant that the country could potentially be in a state of anxiety and uncertainty for five or more months, a situation latent with potential for conflict and other attendant risks.

The third reason for concern relates to the proliferation of militia and use of illicit firearms. A study by The Consulting House (TCH) documented an exponential growth in the number of militia groups in Kenya since the 2007/8 post-election violence, a situation highlighted by the increased demand for small arms and light weapons. The Small Arms Survey Special Report (June 2012) estimated that there may be between 530,000 and 680,000 firearms in the hands of Kenyan civilians. The increase in militarized youth groups further amplified the potential for violence in the 2013 election.

The last issue problematizing the polls reflected the country's resurgent tribalism and ethnic polarity. The 2008 post-election violence was to a large extent caused by polarization of the Kenyan political terrain along ethnic lines. This largely explains partly why Agenda item 4 of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Process¹ focused on addressing long-term issues and the root causes of political, ethnic and gender-based violence. The root causes of the 2007 conflict are yet to be resolved and the levels of communal animosity on the ground pointed to a possibility of another violent election.

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 1 Wachira, G. Arendshorst, T. and Charles, S.M. (2008), *Citizens in Action: Making Peace in the Post-Election Crisis in Kenya – 2008* (Nairobi: Nairobi Peace Initiative–Africa (NPI-Africa) and Litscher, J'Kenya: The National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008'; in *Unpacking the Mystery of Mediation in African Peace Processes*, Mediation Support Project (MSP) CSS and Swiss peace, 2008.



1.1 Rationale

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) joined the African Union (AU) in emphasizing the need for locally-bred solutions to political conflict in Africa. Kenya's elections in 2013 provided an opportunity for the organization's Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) to test its expanded operational mandate beyond its previous focus on cross-border pastoral conflicts. This is in line with CEWARN's 2012-2019 Strategy Plan that entails building on the mechanism's strength and extending its operations to address wider conflict and security threats in the region.

The 2008 post-election violence in Kenya and its impact to the region was unprecedented. The country's 2007/8 post-election violence disrupted the main transit route to the land-locked economies of Rwanda, Burundi, Eastern Congo, South Sudan and Uganda. Rioting youths uprooted the railway and blocked major highways impeding transport of essential goods to the hinterland, exposing the vulnerability of the East African region to internal instability in Kenya.

Kenya constitutes part of the East and Horn of Africa ecological and security zone as evidenced by the existence of cross-border communities along all of its frontiers. These communities have interacted with each other since time immemorial. This includes engaging in traditional resource-based conflicts and cattle rustling that have become fierce due to influx of illicit firearms and assumed political overtones. Kenya remains an important trading partner to the region and its geo-political positioning makes it strategic to global peace.

Peace and stability in Kenya cannot be taken for granted and the region did not want to be caught unawares during the run-up to the 2013 election. As the premier regional organization in the Horn of Africa, it became imperative for IGAD to support a peaceful election.

1.2 Methodology and Report Structure

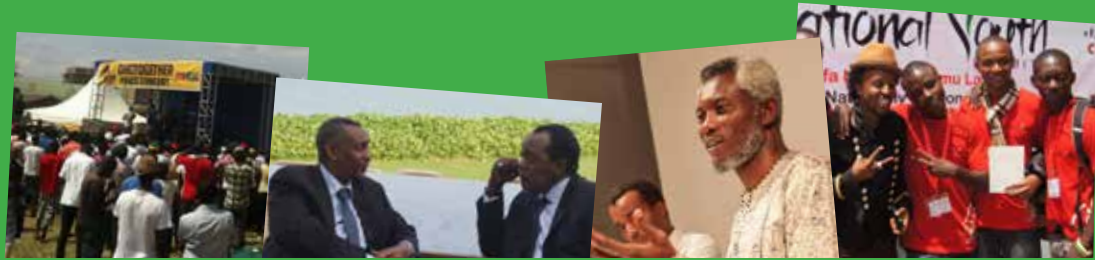
IGAD's previous engagements in election related activities were confined to observation and quiet diplomacy. Active participation in the Kenya elections was the first of its kind. Though CEWARN's 2012-2019 Strategy framework provides for the expansion of the thematic areas of engagement, the need for a phased operational expansion with gradual answers to the questions of 'how' and 'what' and 'where' are critical to the process. The Kenyan elections offered one immediate entry point.

In devising the election-support project in Kenya, IGAD's Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) began by engaging and partnering with a range of state, non-state, and other stakeholders in the country to advocate for a peaceful election. These included forging collaborative approaches with the Ministries of Education, Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) the Daima Initiatives for Peace and Development (DIPAD), the National Steering Committee (NSC) for Peace Building and Conflict Management, Consulting House (TCH), the Kwani Trust, and the Brand Kenya Board. IGAD-CEWARN also facilitated a Kenyan television crew to produce and transmit programs with regional solidarity and peace message, as well as conduct the Sambaza Amani Kenya, or Blow the Horn for Peace initiative that encouraged Kenyans to spread positive messages promoting peace.



“In devising the election support project in Kenya, IGAD's Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) began by engaging and partnering with a range of state, non-state and other stakeholders in the country to advocate for a peaceful election”

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Events and Activities to Promote Peaceful Elections in Kenya

IGAD-CEWARN supported and participated in a number of activities: the national conference on peaceful elections and peace education campaign torch, monitoring of violence in the 'hotspot' areas development of possible conflict scenarios, regional literature festival, and national youth summit.



1.3 The National Conference on Peaceful Elections and Peace Education Campaign Torch

Children need a safe and secure environment in which to learn, grow and play, but millions of children and youth experience violence during conflict. Many suffer the hardship and trauma of war, and are displaced from their homes, and are forced to leave school, disrupting their educational development and growth. In Kenya, the post-election violence of December 2007/ January 2008 left many children and youth at risk as schools were burnt and destroyed while hundreds of school-going children found themselves in camps without safety, protection, and provisions to continue their education. Schools are often used as polling centres during the election period in Kenya, and those in some parts of the country were turned into centres of violence and crime.

There was need to ensure that schools were free and safe from violence as Kenya prepared for the 2013 General Election. This also provided an opportunity for involving children and youth in positive alternatives to violence as suitable for productive members of society. This called for the development and implementation of the necessary frameworks to ensure that children and youth were engaged in promoting peaceful election campaigns before, during and after the elections.



The Former President of the Republic of Kenya Mwai Kibaki hands the national peace torch to children across the 47 counties of the country

To this end, a nationwide peace and non-violence campaign was initiated in which children and youth played an active role in establishing cross-county linkages for peace and non-violence activities in all the 47 counties, particularly during the run-up to 4th March elections. His Excellency the President, Mwai Kibaki, commissioned a 'Peace Torch' as a symbol of peace for a united Kenya. Children and youth hosted the torch in their respective counties.



IGAD-CEWARN supported the campaign that had been proposed by the Daima Initiatives for Peace and Development (DIPAD), a local NGO working with the Ministries of Education, Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, as well as UNICEF Kenya Country Office. President Mwai Kibaki launched the campaign by opening a two-day National Conference on Peaceful Elections with a strong message to Kenyans to uphold peace at all costs. He urged all Kenyans to be peaceful and respect the rule of law ahead of the historic general elections, saying ‘everyone had a role to play in ensuring peace in the country’. The President emphasized that a peaceful and just election would allow for a smooth transition, and send out a clear message that Kenya is still the democratic and economic beacon of the region. The Head of State exhorted politicians to conduct their campaigns in a peaceful manner and to ensure that the elections were held in an atmosphere of peace, mutual respect and co-operation. President Kibaki said peace should also be maintained at all times to accord children and the youth an enabling environment to continue with their studies without interference.



There was need to ensure that schools were free and safe from violence as Kenya prepared for the 2013 General Election

President Kibaki underscored that schools, colleges and universities are suitable fora where personal and national identities, values, ideas and ideologies are formed and nurtured. The Head of State pointed out that through the Ministry of Education his government had initiated the Peace Education Programme, which strived to enable people to take personal responsibility for promoting peace and for resolving conflicts through non-violent means. The President added that a peace campaign would use a Peace Torch to symbolize unity of all Kenyans, saying through the

relay from one county to the other, the Peace Torch would spread the message of peace, respect, friendship and unity. The theme of the campaign was Education for Peace: Making the voice of Young Kenyans Heard.

President Kibaki was also presented with ten copies of the Regional Peace Resolutions from across the country including the North Eastern, Western, Central, Coast, Nyanza, Upper Eastern, and Upper Rift Valley. He also appealed to the media to be responsible and impartial in their reporting, saying the country was looking up to them for information on important national issues regarding the election.

IGAD-CEWARN contributed to the initiative by financing the production of branded t-shirts, caps, and paper visors that were used throughout the campaign.


1.4 Early Warning and Early Response Related Activities

The Consulting House (TCH) currently serves as the National Research Institute (NRI) for the CEWARN in Kenya. Acting in conjunction with the National Steering Committee (NSC), TCH helped utilize data for effective early warning and early response by identifying and mapping potential areas for violence and major conflicts during the twelve months preceding the national election in early March of 2013. The NSC which serves as the national Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit (CEWERU)² in Kenya, with the support of TCH combined statistical research with field monitoring and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and modeling approaches to produce actionable early warning and response options for different actors. An observatory focusing on 'electoral violence' was established within the NSC Secretariat. In order to profile electoral violent risks, the observatory established:

- i levels of militia proliferation and presence in the traditional and new violent conflict hotspots, determining levels of organization, nature of grievances, membership, and sponsors of potential violence;
- ii the degree of gun proliferation in the violence hotspots, including the availability of ammunition, and other weapons, and;
- iii Proximity of security installations to the hotspots, including police stations, chiefs' camps, and nodes with a military presence.

Two methodologies were combined during the profiling: Global Positioning System (GPS) technology and quantitative extraction of data from the potential electoral violence hotspots. The observatory depicted four layers indicating the relative potential for violence. These layered GPS maps were used to simulate the nature of potential violence, its executors, the ratio of their firepower to that of the security organs, and capacity to contain them. The first layer showed militia proliferation in the hotspots; the second exposed a layering of gun/weapon availability in hotspots where the militias were present. The third and fourth layers indicated the security installations in

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 2 Kenya's National Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit (CEWERU) is CEWARN's in-state Unit in Kenya that oversees all national and cross-border early warning and response activities that concern the country.



the hotspots, the number of polling station in the same, and their proximity to militia bases. The layers were constantly revised to update the changing picture on the ground.

In addition, the observatory developed electoral violence predictors based on statistical modeling in the hotspots. After collecting the data, the observatory used regression analysis to enumerate the electoral violence triggers and critical drivers in each of the hotspots. These were then used to develop simulations for areas that were likely to experience electoral violence under certain given conditions. A violence barometer variously depicting areas as 'red hot', 'amber', and 'green' areas; the national CEWERU shared the information with security and intelligence agencies on a regular basis in order to defuse any imminent tensions and pre-empt conflict. The observatory was vigilant before the elections and remained so throughout the electoral process. By utilizing CEWARN's field monitors, the NSC was able to monitor the entire election chain including party nominations, the campaigns, and activities of the electoral commission.

“By utilizing CEWARN’s field monitors, the NSC was able to monitor the entire election chain including party nominations, the campaigns, and activities of the electoral commission.”



Discussions on peaceful devolution were also encouraged at the level of the new counties. These talks dovetailed well with the 100-day recommendations of the NSC. Participants included professionals, informal traders, local community leaders, women leaders, youth groups, and students. Efforts were made to ensure the discussions were reported by the media to reach as wide an audience as possible.

1.5 Electoral Conflict Scenarios

Following a study that TCH conducted on proliferation of militia and small arms in the country, the think tank developed possible conflict scenarios that were likely to unfold during the electoral process. These scenarios were divided into three broad categories: the green, the amber and the red outcomes. Each of the scenarios was again simulated to indicate the respective high or low probability of their occurring. The scenarios were also linked to a timed sequencing of events outlined in the Constitution of Kenya Articles 138-141.

Several elements of these Articles were critical to the timelines.

1.5.1 The Constitutional Assumptions

- a. Declaration of Election Results.** A limit of 7 days is provided for the declaration of the election results. According to the constitutional sequencing, within seven days of the presidential election, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) will declare the result of the election³.
- b. Filing a Petition challenging the Presidential Election.** A petition challenging the election of the President-elect is to be filed within 7 days of the declaration of the results of the election⁴.
- c. Determination of Petition.** The Supreme Court is accorded 14 days to hear and determine a petition challenging the election of the President-elect.⁵ Should the court determine that the election was invalid; a fresh election is to be held within 60 days of the determination.⁶
- d. Time Limit for Run-off.** If no candidate wins in the first round, a fresh election (run-off) is held within 30 days of the previous election⁷. This date holds true in a situation where there is no petition on the first round of the election. In the event of such a petition, the date of the decision by the Supreme Court becomes the effective date of the 'previous election.'⁸

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³ Article 138 (10) (a), Constitution of Kenya


⁴ Article 140 (1), Constitution of Kenya

⁵ Article 140 (2), Constitution of Kenya

⁶ Article 140 (3), Constitution of Kenya

⁷ Article 138 (5), Constitution of Kenya

⁸ This is informed by the Advisory Opinion of the Supreme Court, December, 2012)

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- e. Assumption of Office.** There are two possible timelines for the swearing-in of the President-elect. These timelines are based on whether or not a petition has been filed
- f. No Petition Filed.** If no petition has been filed, the President-elect will be sworn in on the first Tuesday following the fourteenth day after the declaration of the result of the presidential election.
- g. Petition Filed.** If a petition had been filed, the President-elect will be sworn in on the first Tuesday following the seventh day after the date on which the court declares the election valid.



In developing the timeline for the election, nine political assumptions were made based on political practice, historical patterns, and references to political sociology perspectives.

1.5.2 The Political Assumptions

In developing the timeline for the election, nine political assumptions were made based on political practice, historical patterns, and references to political sociology perspectives.

- a. That there will be a petition against the presidential election results at all stages and the petition does not have to come from the three main political coalitions. It could be part of 'nuisance litigation' from non-affiliated or independent voters. Similarly, the number of the petitions is a known unknown.
- b. The constitution has strict timelines for the election. It is therefore reasonable to assume that all the timelines will be met on the very last day because of the contested nature of this election. The only timeline that might change is that of announcing the results. IEBC could do it earlier than the stipulated 7 days after the 4th of March.
- c. The timelines are based on the presidential elections. The assumption is that the elections for other offices and lower levels representatives will not influence the presidential election. At least not during the first round of the election. The reverse is most likely if there is a run-off.
- d. The conduct of the election will play out within the formal regulatory framework. It will be assumed that the courts will be the "temples of last resort," and not the streets. This should keep the scenarios predictable.

- e. That at least 70 per cent of the voting results will follow ethnic criteria. This is based on historical patterns and there is no new evidence to suggest otherwise.
- f. Whether or not a scenario is high or low, or green, amber or red is subject to the assumption that the sooner the president is sworn in, the better. The date of the transition from President Kibaki to the new president is, therefore, the benchmark here.
- g. Extreme events such as assassinations, death of candidates, or natural disasters were not factored into the scenarios, as based on the TCH assumption that they are unlikely to occur.
- h. There will be no external or judicial interference. This refers to the assumption that the Judiciary will not make a ruling that destabilizes the election and that the ICC and Western powers will act in a predictable manner.
- i. The election date is March 4, 2013, and while the IEBC has the constitutional mandate to change that date to any other before 17th March, this will not happen.

TCH provided an elaborate matrix outlining the three scenarios. In the first set, green, the president-elect is to be sworn in April or May. In the amber scenarios, this is pushed further into May and even June due to complications caused by petitions in the Supreme Court. In the red scenarios, the election is fatally flawed. A president-elect is sworn in through legal fiat, but without political legitimacy. In the alternative, the election of the president is nullified and a repeat of the polls is ordered. What is totally unpredictable (the unknown and unknown) is how the political en-

vironment will respond to such an extended state of political suspense. Each scenario is accompanied by indications on probability estimations.

The actual explanation for each of them is outlined in the full report the TCH submitted to CEWARN. In the report, TCH took the known-knowns, the known-unknowns, and the unknown-unknowns, and then project them onto the timelines. The intention being to determine where the fracture points in the time lines will be, and how the assumptions they make could cause them.

An excerpt of the full report was transformed into a Briefing Note depicting the likely extremes in the March 4th 2013 election. It served as a canvas on which likely 'pictures' were drawn as the election drew near. This was presented and discussed at a meeting held in Entebbe that brought together more than 40 participants from the security and intelligence sector, the judiciary, the military, the civil society and the academia in Kenya. The Briefing Note was also shared with members of the joint AU/COMESA pre-election assessment mission when they visited Nairobi.



1.6 Televised Regional Messages

IGAD partnered with one of the leading television stations in Kenya, K24, to record and broadcast a series of programs from the region under the banner of the Common Future Campaign prior to Kenya's general elections in March 2013. The programs carried messages of regional solidarity and peace to the country's leadership and people. IGAD also cooperated with the Capital Talk, also known as 'The Bench', a 30-minute TV program transmitted every day on K24 through DSTV Multi-choice Channel 413 and received across the African continent.

Each program was pre-recorded in an open garden on a bench, hence the name 'The Bench'. The producer of the show, Jeff Koinange, who doubles up as the host/interviewer, is a renowned broadcast journalist who worked for the Kenya Television Network (KTN), Thompson Reuters' the Africa Journal, and the Cable News Network (CNN), before joining K24 at its inception. Mr. Koinange conducts his interviews in a relaxed atmosphere, exploring both private and public lives of his guests, and bringing out their human side—while seeking to inform the viewers about what makes these individuals do what they do, sometimes under very difficult circumstances.

A three-member crew traveled to Djibouti on first week of December 2012 and stayed at Djibouti's Kempinski Palace, where two recordings were done. Based on the good rapport between the IGAD Secretariat and the hotel management, the latter accommodated the crew and provided the setting for the recordings, free of charge. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Djibouti, Hon. Mahamoud Ali Youssef was the first to be interviewed. He commended the initiative of

bringing the TV crew to his country, and talked frankly on the importance of regional integration through improved infrastructure, ITC interconnectivity, and peaceful co-existence.

On the subject of the Kenyan elections, the Minister pointed out that the country is pivotal and its stability is critical to the whole region. Recalling the post-election violence of 2008, he praised the people and the political leadership of Kenya for rescuing the situation and returning the country to normalcy. He added that the stability of Kenya is essential because the country is the region's biggest economy with a population of over 40 million and shared borders with five countries, as well as being a key player in the East African Community. "We cannot afford an unstable Kenya," stated the Minister, bearing in mind the role the country has continued to play under the IGAD framework to foster peace, security and stability of the region.

The Minister concluded by expressing his hope and confidence that the Kenyan people and their leaders will conduct a peaceful and credible election in 2013.

The second person on 'The Bench' was the IGAD Executive Secretary, Ambassador Eng. Mahboub Maalim. He appealed to Kenyan citizens and the politicians seeking electoral positions to conduct themselves with respect for each other and the decor-

um that will ensure the country remains the regional powerhouse. Reflecting on the elections that had recently taken place in the US and China, the Executive Secretary noted that though the two were different in many ways and style, they both were conducted smoothly and ended peacefully. He expressed his displeasure with the elevated sense of anxiety and fear surrounding Kenya's General Elections as well as anticipation of violence based on what happened in 2008. He reiterated the position of IGAD and the AU regarding support to countries for finding local solutions to their various challenges. "The regional and continental decision is to support our member states to deliver their development agenda and to discourage any interference that would undermine peace, stability, and prosperity of our people," declared the Executive Secretary, stressing the need for mutual respect.

Ambassador Mahboub conveyed his strong hope that the Kenyan people would prove the world wrong and conduct a democratic, peaceful election.

After Djibouti, the crew moved to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia where they conducted more interviews. The Kenyan Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Republic of Djibouti, Dr. Monica Juma, was the first official to be hosted in Addis Ababa. She is also Kenya's Permanent Representative to the AU, the UN Economic Commission (UNECA) and to IGAD. The multi-hated Ambassador pointed out that the continental body promotes democracy and good governance through a Charter that urges member states to run and manage free, fair, credible and peaceful elections.

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LEFT: *The IGAD Executive Secretary Ambassador (Eng.) Mahboub Maalim joins Jeff Koinange on 'the Bench'*





Kenya is a signee to the Charter, and is therefore expected to adhere to the principles of good governance and prove to the world that it is capable of conducting a credible election befitting its role as an anchor state in the region. She praised the country for making tremendous strides since the last election, giving the examples of a new constitution and a reformed judiciary with far-reaching articles for improved political and socio-economic development, as well as enhanced security and justice systems.

“This is a historic election, not only for us, but the region and the world is watching to see Kenyans make that final take-off,” stated Dr. Juma, exuding confidence that the voters will “give the clearance for the Kenyan political plane to lift off” come March 2013. She added that the region and the continent as a whole were both anxious and excited about the Kenyan election because of the strategic position the country occupies. The Ambassador shed light on Kenya’s efforts to secure either a deferral or the suspension of the International Criminal Court’s (ICC) pending cases in order to insulate the elections

from external interference and otherwise reduce the potential of any related mishaps.

Two more personalities were interviewed in Addis Ababa before the crew left for Nairobi to produce and transmit the final programs. They were the CEWARN Director, Dr. Martin Kimani, and the EU Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa, Ambassador Alex Rondos. Dr. Kimani said that though the signs were there before the post-election violence that erupted in 2008, no one could have predicted the extent of the chaos that occurred in Kenya. He added that when that part of history is finally written, the initial sense of shock and surprise was immediately met by robust efforts from Kenyans of goodwill, peace-building experience and consciousness. These included Generals Daniel Opande and Lazarus Sumbeiywo, and Ambassador Bethwel Kiplagat, individuals with deep international networks who have brokered peace worldwide.



TOP: *The EU Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa Ambassador Alex Rondos on 'the Bench'*

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The Director pointed out that the country displayed an incredible resilience and many people who love Kenya worked very hard to bring an end to the violence. He affirmed that IGAD would continue to stand with people of Kenya and support the country with early warning information and capacity building while reaching out for other resources as a regional body. “We are not an actor in Kenya, but an actor with Kenya,” stated Dr. Kimani, highlighting the development of scenarios that would be used to prevent any possible conflict and to mobilize Kenyan youth to support the peace agenda.

Ambassador Rondos described the Horn of Africa as a region in transition in many ways and experiencing a lot of positive change occurring on many fronts. The Special Envoy urged the nations to do politics ‘smartly’, and to conduct more business amongst each other while exploiting the wealth of resources in the region. He further appealed to the people and the governments in the wider East Africa and across the long ‘Swahili’ coast to engage each other by developing infrastructure interconnectivity to tap the region’s abundant natural resources including its gas and oil deposits. In total, five 30-minute programs were produced and transmitted over a period of one week. The programs were repeated several times for both day and late night audiences, and were also uploaded on YouTube for viewing by the wider global audience.

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1.7 Pre-Election Assessment Mission

In mid-January 2013, a five-member delegation drawn from the AU Panel of the Wise and the Committee of Elders of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) embarked on a pre-election assessment mission to Kenya ahead of the 4th March national elections. The delegation, which worked with IGAD and the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, brought a wide range of experience on electoral matters from various countries. The delegation included two members of the AU Panel of the Wise (Dr. Brigalia Bam and Mme. Marie-Madeleine Kalala-Ngoy), and three members of the COMESA Committee of Elders (Ambassadors Simbi Mubako, Soad Shalaby, and Priyay Newoor), and the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Ms. Aisha Abdullahi.

During the mission, the delegation expressed the continued support of AU and COMESA to supplement the efforts of the Government of Kenya, civil society, the private sector, and other stakeholders to create a conducive environment for the holding of free, transparent, and peaceful

elections. Before starting their mission, the delegates received a briefing on the situation in the country from the IGAD National Research Institute in Kenya, TCH. The briefing included a review of the electoral conflict scenarios. IGAD-CEWARN also facilitated the delegation to meet various stakeholders including the media.

The delegation held a wide range of consultations with senior government officials, the electoral commission, several presidential candidates, political parties, civil society, the private sector, development partners, the media and other stakeholders in order to better understand the challenges, the efforts already made, and what remained to be done to ensure successful general elections.

The mission also launched the AU Long-term Elections Observation Mission in line with the call of the AU Peace and Security Council for more thorough and comprehensive observation missions on the continent. This is in conformity with the requirements of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.

“ In a show of high-level regional goodwill and in solidarity with the government and people of Kenya, IGAD Council of Ministers arrived in the country a few days before the elections.

1.8 IGAD Pre-Election Goodwill Mission

In a show of high-level regional goodwill and in solidarity with the government and people of Kenya, IGAD Council of Ministers arrived in the country a few days before the elections.

The mission that was led by the Chairman of the IGAD Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, H.E Dr. Tedros Adhanom, met with the Kenyan Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, political parties, other regional and international observer teams, as well as civil society organizations, the private sector, and the media. The mission also met with a 20-member IGAD Observer Team already present in the country.

Seizing the occasion of the goodwill mission, the IGAD Executive Secretary, Ambassador Mahboub Maalim, hosted a press conference and took the opportunity to thank the leaders of the political parties and their candidates for accepting to meet the delegation at a short notice during the busy campaign period.

The Ministers from the region recalled their mission to Kenya during the trying moments of early 2008, and took note of the changes in the country including the promulgation of a new constitution, the creation of a new electoral body, and the reforms in the judiciary. They also took note of other ongoing reforms and the extensive preparations for holding the coming elections.

The Ministers stated that they have closely been following the events in Kenya leading to the 4th March 2013 general elections with



a lot of interest. This is because, unlike previous elections, these particular polls would be different due to the number of elections to be carried out on the voting day. Secondly, it is also the first election to be held under the new constitutional dispensation. The Ministers committed themselves to the successful process and the democratization reforms so far undertaken by the country, and joined the Kenyan public in calling for a peaceful campaign and elections.

IGAD's observer team had joined forces with others from COMESA and the East African Community (EAC) to cover more ground in the country. In regard to this intervention, the ministers promised that the combined observer mission would issue a timely joint statement on the outcome of the process and the results.

1.9 Conversations with Writers and Artists from the Horn

IGAD-CEWARN entered into partnership with the Kwani Trust, a non-profit organization based in Kenya to organize the 5th Edition of a biannual literary festival between 9th and 16th December 2012. This was the first time that Kwani Litfest had invited a combination of different writers from the Horn to be part of a celebration of literature and its role in the lives of the region's inhabitants. The events were held at the National Museum, the University of Nairobi, Kifaru Gardens, and Eastleigh. The festival engaged large audience including communities from around the region that live in Nairobi as well as literary and non-literary communities from far and wide around the continent.

Titled Conversations with the Horn: Writers, Artists in Exchange, the December 2012 festival hosted a number of African writers. The participants included the renowned Somali poet Ibrahim Hadraawi, London-based Somali novelist Nadifa Mohamed, the Sudanese English novelist Jamal Mahjoub, the Eritrean writer and historian Alemseged Tefsai, Ethiopian playwright Meaza Worku, Egyptian writer and activist Dr. Nawal El Sadaawi, and the novelists Helon Habila from Nigeria and Ghana's and Kojo Laing. These authors shared their work with writers from other parts of the continent including writers from Mozambique, Namibia, Cameroon, Rwanda, South Africa, South Sudan and Nigeria.

IGAD-CEWARN identified this edition of the Litfest as a platform to engage in constructive conversations focusing on peace and conflict narratives in the Horn, as well as addressing wider topics



concerning the region through lectures, panel discussions, and readings. These conversations engaged writers, academics and literary enthusiasts on how literature, art and culture are related to the historically layered realities in the countries of the Horn.

CEWARN Director Dr. Martin Kimani delivered the festival's opening address on behalf of the IGAD Executive Secretary, Ambassador Eng. Mahboub Maalim. The meeting attracted a lot of media attention and present-



ed an opportunity to pass the message of peace to the largely youthful audience. Besides being involved in the concept development of the non-literary platforms within the Kwani Litfest, IGAD-CEWARN moderated a panel discussion with the writers and non-literary experts on the issues of conflict and peace and the narratives that inform it. Subsequent panels were held with moderators drawn from writers, academics, media personalities and other partner organizations – each selected for their knowledge of the subject. A few key performers were requested to present their own work or a piece from one of the other writers to enrich and add variety to the presentations. All the evening programmes featured a music component complementing the literary program. Participants here included Just-A-Band's Blinky Bill, DJ Zelalem, Electricque Afrique and DJs Waayaha Cubub and Naban Doon.

At the end of the eight days, the festival had created an alternative narrative to the prevailing political narrative about Horn of Africa, while expanding the space for alternative media to showcase literary work from the region and its diaspora. Litfest also increased the catchment of audiences resident in Kenya to include the larger Horn of Africa community with its similar contemporary histories. More importantly, the 2012 Kwani Litfest provided a platform for established and emerging writers for reflections on their writing about the situation in their respective countries.



Top Left: Panel discussion on narratives of peace and conflict in the Horn region hosted by IGAD-CEWARN

1.10 The National Youth Summit

The Brand Kenya Board (BKB) collaborated with IGAD, the Global Peace Youth Corp (GPYC), and several other partners to convene the 2013 National Youth Summit on the 31st of January and the 1st of February 2013 at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre, (KICC) in Nairobi. The National Summit provided a forum on peace and leadership development for young leaders. The meeting was preceded by ten regional forums bringing together youth leaders from all the counties in Kenya. Its overall objective was to remind the youth that they are the agents of change, that Kenya belongs to them, and that each one of them is personally responsible for building the nation.

The two-day summit brought together 2000 young leaders from the 47 counties in the Republic of Kenya. It provided an opportunity for young leaders to stimulate new insights, intuitions, and fresh ideas for the future of Kenya, to renew their quest to make the country better, and to inspire pride, patriotism, and social cohesion among the young people. The forum was informed by the need to inspire young people to be change-makers, and to take responsibility for making a difference in their communities. The meeting helped address the need to empower the youth of Kenya to play a leading role in ensuring peaceful elections in 2013 as part of their civic duty.





IGAD through CEWARN decided to be part of this partnership to enhance preparedness for any eventuality through its early warning systems. The Summit encouraged the youth of Kenya to take personal responsibility for their country's branding and image building, and to promote realization of the Kenyan Dream.

In his statement at the opening ceremony, Dr. Martin Kimani of IGAD-CEWARN conveyed the appreciation and gratitude of the IGAD Secretariat to the Government of Kenya for its role as a leading peace mediator in the region. He observed that the youth have an opportunity to freely choose their leaders in the forthcoming elections, and indeed can look towards the horizon for a better Kenya.

The CEWARN Director urged the young participants to aspire to live in a prosperous and peaceful Kenya in order to overcome the social and economic challenges facing the country at the moment. He also advised the young people to sustain and champion peace initiatives by partnering with the world peace forum and other organizations.

The summit proper was conducted through workshops (with 10 different groups) on various topics, inspirational plenary sessions, and formal presentations from various speakers. During breakaway workshops, the participants were reminded that they belong to one Kenyan family irrespective of their ethnicity; when one Kenyan is hurt the whole nation hurts. The workshops were aimed at encouraging the youth to put the interest of the country first, thus ensuring a peaceful electoral process for the 2013 polls. There were also interludes of entertainment and question and answer sessions. These sessions took a three-pillar approach focusing on:



The National Summit provided a forum on peace and leadership development for young leaders. The meeting was preceded by ten regional forums bringing together youth leaders from all the counties in Kenya.



- i' **Peace and Reconciliation** where youth were urged to be the peace ambassadors ahead of 2013 general elections and at the same time to be the drivers of peace.
- ii' **Leadership and Governance** where the youth discussed their rights to hold their leaders accountable by acquiring the right tools to help them document their track records and performance. They were also told that they should make themselves competitive for the available leadership positions, and to understand their roles in shaping the destiny of the country.
- iii' **Entrepreneurship and Empowerment.** It was observed that unemployment remain a challenge in the country and the summit hosted creative workshops on existing entrepreneurship and employment opportunities. This enabled the youth to explore options available in volunteerism as a means of developing skills for livelihood empowerment.

Opening the summit, the Chief Executive Officer of BKB, Ms. Mary Kamonye, said that the forum was a journey of encouragement and motivation for young people eager to take their rightful role in the development of their country. She urged the youth to embrace value-based leadership through the Swahili language slogan of the summit, 'Taifa Langu... Jukumu Langu (My Nation...my Responsibility)', further emphasizing that the country cannot progress forward without them.




Ms. Kamonye affirmed that with behavioral and attitude change, this rallying call could act as a building block for the country's development and that it could help young people overcome challenges facing them. In conclusion, she reiterated that building of a national character begins with every Kenyan making peace wherever they are.

The Assistant Secretary-General of COMESA, Dr. Kipyego Cheluget informed the participants that his organization together with EAC and SADC is working on a tripartite arrangement geared towards a framework on free trade across the member countries of the IGAD region. He stressed the need for peace, and that young people should never take it for granted as poor leadership has greatly contributed to the backwardness of the African continent although it is endowed with many natural resources.

In a speech read on behalf of the Prime Minister of Kenya, Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga, by the Assistant Minister for Youth Affairs and Sports, Hon. Wavinya Ndeti thanked the organizers and sponsors of the summit for organizing the forum that would enable youth deliberate about peace and stability in the country. He noted that the summit was taking place at a defining moment in the country's history, and that the presence of regional partners was a unique testimony of trans-national unity.

The Prime Minister said that Kenya is a gateway to several landlocked neighbouring countries and therefore the holding of the youth summit conveys a strong and clear message on peaceful Kenya to all the neighbours, especially during the electioneering period.

Other speakers at the opening ceremony were the Permanent Secretary, Dr. Bitange Ndemo; the Vice President of Global Peace Foundation(GPF), Mr. Patrick Caprara who spoke on behalf of Dr. Moon, the founding President of GPF; and the first President of the Republic of Seychelles, Sir James Manchem.



To ensure that the impact of summit was not confined to the 2000 delegates who converged in Nairobi, a digital multi-media platform was developed to register online participants and extend the summit proceedings to those who could not make it to the venue.

The platform that was Internet based had a short message service (SMS) capability and it continued to serve as an online resource to address the following challenges:

- High number of qualified unemployed youth in Kenya,
- High poverty level in the country,
- Socio-economic needs and aspirations of the youth,
- Localized solutions for the youth to gain meaningful employment, and
- Encouraging a rural - urban conversation.

The target groups for the platform included poor rural youth, urban informed and well-to-do youth, as well as unemployed and school/college going youth.

In the long term and beyond the summit, the platform aims to:

1. Tap into the raw energy of the youth to fuel messages of peace, encourage patriotism and keep them away from negative politics and ethnicity;
2. Incorporate all social media, chat rooms, live streaming, and other citizen engagement platform like *Ushahidi*; (witness)
3. Address the needs of the different target groups, mapping employment, entrepreneurship, skills building & mentorship resources and provide a marketplace portal; and
4. Draw companies into the portal to offer volunteer positions, internship and mentorship opportunities for the youth, as well as use of role models and celebrities that inspire the youth positively.

The platform deployed a web portal that is accessible on www.nationalyouthsummit.co.ke, a suite of mobile applications with a short code (8848) and social media tools to achieve the short term and long term objectives. The web portal contains information on the following, delivered in the three phases:

- The National Youth Summit 2013;
- Interactivity between registered members and administration; and
- Tool for fundraising capability and revenue generating activities.

1.11 Public Awareness Campaign

Sambaza Amani Kenya-Blow your Horn for Peace was a public awareness campaign of IGAD-CEWARN as part of the broader political, technical and financial support that the regional organization provided towards the peaceful election in Kenya.

Peace is creating ways of dialogue, awareness and negotiation that stop conflict from becoming violent. In partnership with the media and youth-oriented institutions, IGAD-CEWARN designed and produced a number of communication products to engage the youth positively. These products included a short and captivating TV commercial, a supplementary pocket booklet, colorful branded wristbands, bumper stickers with catchy peace messages, roll up banners and vuvuzelas. The latter bearing the campaign slogans were very popular among young people. They were widely distributed alongside the other products at political rallies, sports and peace events throughout the country.

The 90-second TV commercial produced in classic black and white style was distributed to broadcast stations for transmission during prime time. DVD copies were also given out to public service vehicles (PSVs) countrywide for passenger viewing. The characters in the film represented gender, age groups, races, religions and social status in Kenya.





The pocket booklet supplemented the film and contained selected quotes with a peace message from the IGAD Executive Secretary and a background to the campaign. More than 1,500 of them were placed on lanyards and given out to PSV drivers, conductors, community opinion leaders and selected dignitaries.

Seven different stickers with messages in English and Kiswahili proved to be very popular. They were stuck on car bumpers, inside the PSVs, public spaces including schools, entertainment and polling centres, as well as offices and homes. During presentations and events where IGAD-CEWARN was invited, roll up banners with solidarity messages were displayed. These were also accompanied with teardrop banners at outdoor events such as concerts and rallies. The youth were also given wristbands branded with the campaign slogan and in different colors.

Branded with the campaign slogans, the vuvuzelas came in Kenya flag colors—black, green, red and white. They were first distributed to the participants of the national youth summit and later to public rallies and sporting events where young people blow them proudly.





3

Contribution of the Private Sector

Leading the elections, the private sector and the business community in Kenya individually and collectively under the auspices of the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KPSA) and the Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM) contributed a great deal to various campaigns and initiatives towards peaceful electioneering that was witnessed throughout the country.

IGAD-CEWARN mobilized the support of business leaders, like Dr. Manu Chandaria and Dr. Chris Kirubi to participate in planned activities such as the National Youth Summit, radio and TV talk shows, as well as expert panel discussions and community conversation forums. These respected corporate leaders and many others also blogged and posted messages of solidarity on various social media platforms, and even sponsored numerous peace rallies and roadshows. They encouraged their audiences, especially the youth to stay calm and shun violence throughout the electioneering period.

Key among the business entities that supported this effort include Comcraft Limited, Capital FM, CISCO, Google, Ghetto Radio, Kempinski Hotels, 88 MPH and Jamii Telecom– Faiba.




4

Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward

In such a multi-faceted support program with diverse stakeholders and partners, there are always many lessons to be learnt, incredible experiences to be gained and useful recommendations to be made for similar future endeavors. Some of these recommendations and proposals on the way forward include the following:

- Member states should be supported to find local solutions to their various challenges, including political expression.
 - International, continental and regional bodies should continue to promote democracy and good governance through their respective charters that urge member states to run and manage free, fair, credible and peaceful elections.
 - The private sector and the business community should participate in the democratic and governance processes to safeguard the enabling socio-economic environment that ensures growth and prosperity.
 - The media should be encouraged and supported to be responsible and impartial in their reporting, as they are heavily relied on for information on important national, regional and international issues including electoral processes.
 - Institutions of learning, such as schools, colleges and universities being suitable forums where personal and national identities, values, ideas and ideologies are formed, should be involved in national and regional programs.
 - Symbolic events such as Peace Torches can be far-reaching in national and regional campaigns to spread messages of peace, respect, friendship and unity.
- In addition
- The AU Peace and Security Council should continue collaborating with regional organizations in conducting more in-depth, thorough and comprehensive observation missions on the continent, as part and parcel of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.
 - Regional organizations should encourage regular a goodwill mission to demonstrate the region's solidarity with the government and people where election processes are taking place. Furthermore, regional organizations should continue to embrace joint Election Observer Missions and ensure issuance of a timely statement on the outcome of the process and the results.
 - IGAD- CEWARN's region-wide structures with both local and policy level access can be effectively used to pre-empt threats to peace and security beyond pastoral conflicts, and thereby make significant contribution to peace and stability in the region
 - Specifically for young leaders and the youth, it is recommended that:
 - Peace and leadership forums should be organized to stimulate new insights, intuitions, and fresh ideas for the future of the member states and the region as a whole.
 - Young people should be mobilized around the peace agenda and inspired to be change agents and take responsibility to make a difference in their community including playing a leading role to ensure peaceful elections.
 - The youth should be equipped and encouraged to be peace ambassadors in their communities, hold their leaders accountable but



also document track records and performance for lessons. The youth should explore opportunities available in volunteerism as a means of developing skills for livelihood empowerment and addressing the challenges of unemployment.

On the use of modern technology and advanced data analysis for conflict early warning and response, this experience has confirmed that:

- GIS and modeling approaches should be utilized more to produce actionable early warning and response options for different actors.
- Hotspot areas that are likely to experience violence, given certain conditions should be simulated, violence barometer generated on a regular basis and scenarios developed to prevent any possible conflicts.
- Conflict Early Warning and Response hubs should be developed and deployed in a few selected counties in Kenya on a pilot basis.
- Peace grants and dividends should be provided to selected communities that sustained peace during tense times, including electoral process. It is further recommended that:

- Member states should be encouraged and supported to continue playing their respective roles under the IGAD framework to foster peace, security and stability of the region.
- The wealth in the IGAD region in terms of social technologies and immense experience in peace building that includes individuals with strength of character and deep international networks, having brokered peace worldwide should be commended and further developed. The governments of the East Africa should develop infrastructure interconnectivity to enable populations along the 'Swahili' coast to engage with the rest and exploit the abundant natural resources in the region for development.

In conclusion, it is imperative that:

- Member states and regional organizations should develop points of convergence that provide platforms for intra-continental literary, artistic and intellectual conversations.
- Literary festivals should be tailored to realize their potential as creative spaces for debate and discussion by writers, academics and literary enthusiasts.
- Forums like the Kwani Litfest should be supported to continue to provide a platform for established and emerging writers for reflections on the situation of writing in their countries and in their lives.

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