

ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA: TRACING THE ROOT AND HEALING THE WOUNDS

Charles Kemboi

School of Human Resource Development
Moi University, Eldoret
KENYA

Ruth Murumba

School of Human Resource Development
Moi University, Eldoret
KENYA

ABSTRACT

Patterns of violence since 1992 have been triggered by bad governance. This leads to violence which indicates an obstacle to development. The main question then, is: why is it that whenever Kenya has an election there is an outbreak of violence? The researchers explore how bad governance contributes to violence in Kenya. Using evidence from the previous incidences of violence, they show that the conflict is characterized by deep – rooted intense animosity, fear and severe stereotyping (Lederach, 23:2000). Conflict leads to death, injury and destruction of property and internal displacement. Further relying on the historical evidence of the colonial settlement and displacement of people groups, this paper shows that the problems arising from election violence are a ‘new’ occurrence. They follow patterns of colonialism and the failure to decisively address land disputes all over the country. This paper also gives examples of the allocation and purchase of land in Kenya as part of the cause of violence during elections in this area. As the country prepares for another election season, the paper suggests various remedies to ensure that the country does not sink into the same situation. It is important to address election violence head on as the knock on effects can be felt for years. Politically, economically and socially, the effects are devastating.

Keywords: Kenya; Governance; Reconciliation; Election Violence.

INTRODUCTION

The first election violence period of 1992 in Kenya has many similarities in character to that of 2007 - 2008. There were many communities that have been living together since independence in 1963, but from 1992 there was an outbreak of violence instigated by the changing political landscape in Kenya. The second characteristic is that since independence Kenya had not addressed the land issue covered under the Swynnerton Plan of 1954. The plan was a reaction to the Mau Mau uprising in 1954. The main aim of the plan was to intensify African Agriculture.¹ Thirdly, due to lack of employment in rural areas there was movement to urban areas. Bad leadership forced some to sell their only family asset in form of land to rich land owners or were absorbed by rich land owners for non- payment of loans. With the poor political leadership of the time the people were silent. But they suffered from two injustices: disposal of land from innocent people and robbing those who bought land their rights of land ownership.

In what is known as Uasin Gishu County, land was acquired just after independence by various groups that were not native to this part of the country. Rurigi farm is located in Uasin Gishu County. It was bought from a white settler, Mr. Arnesens; through Rurigi Cooperative

¹ Roger 2005.

Society by two hundred and sixty –eight members in 1964 the total acreage was 1310 acres. They paid a total of two hundred and sixty - five Kenya shillings through installments, while others worked for the settler to raise money for payments. They completed the payments in 1978 and after survey each member was allocated 4.5 acres and received the titles in 1990 (44, 2009, Kenya Land Alliance).

Nyakinyua Farm is located in Uasin Gishu County. The farm is a settlement Scheme started in 1979. It is made of two blocks that is Usalama Nyakinyua (Block 0814) and Nyakinyua Jogoo (Block 0813). Usalama Nyakinyua (Block 0814) had its original beneficiaries as thirty five families but later two families sold their farms after 1992 land clashes. These families were former labour- tenants/ squatters in the farm which belonged to a white farmer. Each family was allocated an average of 5.0 acres.

Nyakinyua Jogoo (Block 0813) has its beneficiaries as 239 families, majority of who are women who belonged to Nyakinyua dancing group which danced during functions presided over by the first President of the Republic of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. They were allocated the land through a Settlement program. To date, they have allotment letters and are also pursuing a court case where some eighteen people were allegedly illegally made part of the original beneficiaries by the group committee. The total acreage for the two blocks was one thousand five hundred acres. The original total acreage for the whole farm is two thousand five hundred acres distributed as follows; Nyakinyua Usalama one thousand acres, Nyakinyua Jogoo (squatters/labour tenants) five hundred acres and Koiluget one thousand acres (KLA, 64:2009).

Sadly violence has been part of Kenya electoral process since the restoration of multiparty politics in 1991. That year there was a serious land clashes in Rift valley and the target people were the kikuyu who were attacked by the Kalenjin community. In the same year the government yielded to national and international pressure and amended the constitution again to repeal section (2A) of the Kenyan Constitution. This was during a wave of democratization that swept the globe following the end of the cold war in 1989. The country held its first multi party election in 1992, and since then cross- ethnic violence has characterized every national election exercise. The election violence of period 2007 - 2008 was one of the most violent periods of the nation's history in which more than one thousand people were killed, three thousand five hundred injured and six hundred and fifty thousand were evicted from their homes(KAS, 2009).

These incidences led the researchers to ponder on what triggers violence every election period. Violence that occurs every election period causes immense suffering, economic and ecological destruction. The situation in Burnt Forest Division has been a painful experience for the people. The pattern of violence in Kenya since 1992 has been triggered by bad leadership during general elections. Why is it that when there is election there is violence? Conflicts are characterized by deep rooted, intense animosity; fear and severe stereotyping (Lederach, 2000).

Violence led to incidents of death, injuries, destruction of property and internal displacement, exact figures remain unknown but between 1991 and 2002 it is estimated that one thousand five hundred people died in Rift valley (KLA, 2009). In Uasin Gishu alone the number of people who have died due to election violence since 1992 has been as follows: in 1992, ten , in 1997, one hundred fifty – nine , in 2002, sixty – two people died and in 2007 – 2008, two hundred seventy –two lost their lives giving a percentage of 12.3%. The population of Uasin

Gishu according to the 2009 population census is 894,179 rising from 744,083 during the period under discussion. This means that every election period 10% of the populations are affected by violence (CIPEV, 2009).

Any Government that has the welfare of its people at heart must fulfill the principles of good leadership which are participation, consensus oriented policy making, gender equity. If these principles are not applied, political violence can easily happen. Very few countries have leaders who are willing to simply confess that they have done a bad job at governing. Although it may be true that there are circumstances beyond the control of the leader, the statement would then be followed with a list of valid reasons mixed together with rationalizations about their failures. Just as with any individual, the leaders and their associates are capable of repressing awareness of available observations, facts and trends of leadership. Unfortunately, when this occurs in the leadership coupled with the desire perpetuation of control, openness in leadership is curtailed and the pathways to political violence become more visible (Waithaka, 2009). Many forms of intimidation are also used to remain in power.

Causes of Conflicts

i. Community Co-existence

Family is important in socializing, and instilling social values to make know what is right and what is wrong. Among the paths, the family is the first and the most crucial. It is path common to all, yet one which is particular, unique and unrepeatable just as an individual is unrepeatable (Pope John Paul II, 1994). The colonial borders, drawn during the scramble for Africa, are perceived as underlying causes of conflicts since they transected existing communities. Some communities cut across into countries, although they belonged to the same nation. For instance, the Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya, the Pokot in Kenya and Uganda and the Somali in Somalia and Kenya have been separated. This was the cause of conflict and banditry in the early 1970s. This is also the cause of disputes that existed between Somalia and Ethiopia over Ogaden, the Shifta disputes that existed between Kenya and Somalia and the dispute between Kenya and Sudan over Elemi triangle. (Ogot, 2009: 13).

Traditional African communities were able to co-exist peacefully because their activities complimented each other's lifestyles. The Luhya were farmers while the most immediate Kalenjin communities were pastoralists. They practiced barter trade; the Kalenjin women would take milk and animal skins to the market and the Luhya on their part would bring farm products like cassava, sorghum, millet in exchange of milk and skin. Wanga ancestors were part of the migration that settled in the Kampala area and formed the Buganda Kingdom. The Wanga kingdom was the most powerful centralized kingdom in Kenya's entire history before the advent of British colonialism in the early 1900s. Both Mumia and Wanga were Kings (Ogot, 2009).

Kingdoms developed from a clan or a confederation of clans. The clan was the basis of political, social and economic organization in pre colonial Africa. The clan co existed because of blood relationship (i.e. kinship) or what was called blood brotherhood through intermarriage, trade, diplomatic relationship and the need for security and peace. The clans were equal and sovereign. The formation of The Wanga Kingdom led to territorial and political expansion in the last of the 18 century, during the reign of Nabongo Wamukoya Netia. Nabongo Netia used the Uasin Gishu Maasai to raid neighbors for cattle and his successors did the same. The Maasai became a factor in the history of Abashitsetse, and they

controlled the events at court.² The Kamba, Meru and the people from the Coast coexisted particularly in business and caravan trade. Kivoi Mwendwa, a well known trader, played the role of a big man. His authority as such was not a matter of the village or kinship based structures but rather was a product of the trade network he had developed. One thing comes out clearly that the African people co-existed so well until the partitioning of Africa was done in Berlin Conference (1884 – 1885).

Were (1967) writing about Western Kenya revealed that, for instance, between thirty and forty percent of Luhya clans were originally Kalenjin. The most prominent examples are the Abatachoni of Ndivisi and Kabras who, according to tradition, were originally related to the Bongomek and the Bukusu who had separated from their cousin, the Bakisu as a result of the Teso invasion of the 18th century. Today the Bukusu inhabit a considerable part of Bungoma County (a place of Bongomek) and Trans Nzoia County. Other Kalenjin groups settled in Marachi, Bunyala and Bukhayo in present day Busia district. An interesting highbred population was produced by the Kalenjin Terik who combined with Bantu speaking groups to produce the “Abatarichi” (the people of Tiriki) who are today part of the Luhya group. Prolonged contact between Bantu speakers and Kalenjin speakers produced new hybrid societies who today are culturally and linguistically Luhya. Even basic customs like circumcision was borrowed by the Luhya from the Kalenjin.³ It is true that people have been living together in harmony but the current situation in Kenya depicts the division of people along both tribal and political lines.

Scholars and commentators have explained that on a daily basis, communities scramble for resources, especially jobs and money; outside the rules of equality, justice and merit. Because resources are scarce and the struggle for them becomes cut –throat, the communities are not only divided, but also hostile to each other.

ii. The High Cost of Living

Another factor that triggers violence is the high cost of living. This means that the people cannot cope with the pressure of the cost of basic commodities. According to *Kenya's Debt*, a publication of Catholic Economic Justice Network (2006):

“...every newborn Kenyan inherits a debt burden of approximately KShs44, 220. More than half of that burden, about Kshs 25,000 is external/international debt, whose recovery is endless.”

The debt burden is an endless vicious cycle, this debt are normally paid through tax. This explains why most Kenyans pay 30% of their salaries as income tax and pay other additional taxes to run the government. This debt burden has denied Kenyans their social, economic and political rights, instead of solving the problem of poverty it has added more burdens to them. This shows that there is a gap that has to be filled all the time by constantly paying debts. Which were either misused or it benefited individuals.

It is recommended that if the country cannot sustain itself then it should not take any debt. It should first meet its needs. In early 2006, some government ministries complained that debt servicing is a hindrance to the country's effort to achieve MDGS(CEJN,2006) The

2 Ogot 2009

3 Moyo 2009

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), namely: eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality and empowering women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases; ensuring environmental sustainability; and developing a global partnership for development.⁴ The Millennium Development Goals are very important targets to deal with in the budget of any serious states since its through this eight strategies that a country can fight poverty and become stable and sustainable in making its citizens to live dignified lives.

Many times the government compromises social-economic development and large amounts of money are spent on loan repayment; reducing funds available to spend on education, health and other social amenities which mainly target the rural and urban infrastructure. These and other economic constraints have caused Kenyans to suffer and start creating tension where it should not be; like hating each other and becoming suspicious of each other. This leads to the beginning of violent displacement of the whole villages and families in many regions of the country hoping to enjoy the land and labour of other people. Besides generating violence during election year it also generates immense human suffering, economic and ecological destruction. This becomes a complex issue to solve since violence becomes a vicious cycle every election period.

iii. Economic and Social Factors

There are many challenges that have caused a lot of misunderstanding and conflicts in Kenya among these issues are personalized power, land and unemployment among the youth. Rogers (2005) argued that due to most of the land problems facing the country, the government of Kenya were forced to constitute the Ndung'u Commission (2005) was as follows: in 1955, as part of the Swynnerton Plan (1954) recommendations, the colonial government published the plan to intensify African Agriculture in Kenya. The overt aim of this plan was the creation of landed African gentry (elite with the right of intentions) that would participate in intensive and large scale agriculture to boost the colonial economy and solve the problems of political instability and unrest. The three demands by the Mau Mau were land allocation for agriculture and cash crop farming, taxation and representation in the legislative council (LEGCO which had 15 members only and no African in it).⁵

As a former Mau Mau adherent later recalled:

“I left my home in Nyeri for Nairobi to look for work. That was in 1943. I could no longer feed my family and pay my taxes from my small shamba. Later I should have gotten more land from my father, but it was taken from us. Everything was different for me and my bothers than from the time of our ancestors. Our grandfathers and their fathers never worried for their land and they could always feed their families”.

Times had changed. The land frontier had closed, and social order was collapsing under the weight of colonial authority. Being landless was anathema to Kikuyu notions of social being. Friction grew. Fingers were pointed at neighbors for profiting at the expense of others. Wealth had never been distributed equally, but access to resources had formerly been guaranteed by tenancy, fission, and migration when necessary. The politics of settler colonial

4 Lonsdale 2006.

rule undermined Kikuyu productive autonomy.⁶ The land issue brought a lot of disillusionment because of the greed of the post - independence political elites.

Kenya consists of 42 ethnic groups who live in forty – seven counties. Most of these counties outside the major cities and towns are relatively homogeneous (Peace Net Kenya, 2008: 6). The land problems are older than the former and present regimes, and will not end unless some very deliberate policy decisions are taken to settle the matter. Successive governments have glossed over the issue, paying lip service and simplistic attention to a deep- rooted historical issue, which has been kept alive by successive generations of politicians. The restlessness by the locals over land started very early in the colonial era, which led to the establishment of the Kenya Land Commission by the British Government in 1932 with the following principal mandate, among others(Peace Net,2008: 8) was :

“To determine the nature and extent of claims and assertions by natives over land alienated by non –natives; to make recommendations on the adequacy of such claims whether by legislation or otherwise.”

In the Rift Valley, communities that lodged claims for consideration by the commission included: the Uasin Gishu Maasai, the Pokot (East Suk), The Njemps, the Nandi, North and South Lumbwa (Present day Tugen community of Baringo and Eldama Ravine), and Ndorobo (Ogiek), all of whom claimed ancestral ownership of 127 square miles of Churo plains on the Eastern Side of the Laikipia Escarpment. To date Churo is among the hot spots and a battle zone between communities in the central Rift.⁷

In order to settle its people the Government through Settlement Fund Trustees (SFT) bought land and transferred the landless and people were also encouraged buying the settlers land through forming small groups and getting loan schemes and cooperative societies. Since most land was in Rift Valley majority of the people came to acquire land especially those from outside the area while the local population refused to buy what they said was theirs in the first place. The land was sold on willing buyer willing seller arrangement. The Kikuyu took advantage of the situation and formed many buying companies which facilitated the settlement of thousands of Kikuyu in the Rift valley. Because of this most of them found themselves owning land in the heart of Kalenjin land which they renamed after the villages and towns they had come from. Some of the examples of these villages and towns are, Rironi, Kiambaa, Munyaka, Ya Mumbi, Kimumu, Gatonye and many others found in Uasin Gishu. Land as a resource has a significant stake in the perennial state of violence and conflict in Kenya.

During the Moi regime the economy went down and major industries collapsed including the vibrant, Kenya Cooperative Creameries. The prices of wheat and maize went down due to cheap imports. Thus the majority resorted to selling land to take their children to schools hoping they would be able to buy when they get good jobs. It's actually due to that, the other communities including those from central Kisii that came to acquire land in Uasin Gishu.

According to the National Poverty Eradication Plan (1999 to 2015), after independence in 1963, Kenya's economic growth reached 6.6% per annum during 1964 – 73. Thereafter, it declined to an average of 5.2% per annum during 1974- 79, to 4.1% during 1980 – 85, and to

⁵Elkin & Lonsdale 2005

⁶Peace -Net, 2009, p. 9.

2.5% during 1990–95. The GDP growth in real terms declined from 4.3% in 1990/91 to 2.3% in 1991/92, and reached all time lows of 0.5% and 0.2% in 1992/93 and 1993/94. Following the introduction of major structural reforms in 1993, GDP growth recovered to 3.0% in 1994, and settled at around 4.6% to 4.8% in 1995 and 1996. However, the rate of growth slowed down considerably in 1997 and 1998 because of drought followed by the El Nino weather patterns. The macroeconomic setting is important because, sound economic management, economic growth and higher level of employment create greater room for planning against poverty.

Poverty is one of the thorny issues that make people to struggle to meet their daily needs. As the struggle continues due to scarce resources people start to fight in the lines of nations and thus the indigenous people start displacing the new comers. According to Chambers (1997:162) poverty is one of the elements that cause violence. Participation, empowerment and mutual respect enable lowers, and poor people in general, to express and analyze their individual and shared realities. The principles and practices of participatory appraisal facilitate this analysis and expression. The realities which are expressed differ, as do the environment, resources, experiences, values, cultures and livelihood strategies of individuals and groups.

We can talk, then, empirically, as post modernists do, of multiple realities; and we can talk normatively of privileging the multiple realities of lowers. This fact is affirmed by Mulwa (2008: 94) who argued that the deprivation trap theory holds that the poor are powerless and vulnerable to all kind of abuse. The poor are also often physically weak, and isolated, therefore they are poor. Development practitioners have the challenge to find innovative ways to help the poor break out of this trap. This theory further advocates that the quality of human life can only be assessed from two polarized platforms; the wellbeing and the ill being. The concept advances that to be poor is to suffer from ill being. The condition of ill being is not necessarily the same as lacking money, neither is the condition of well being synonymous to being materially rich.⁸

Weak Institutions and Poll Fiascos

Kenya has been hit by election violence on several occasions and successive governments have attempted numerous interventions to prevent the violence such as the formation of commissions of inquiries. The Ndung'u report that dealt with land allocations, the Akiwumi report that dealt with multi party politics that resulted in land clashes in most parts of Rift valley and the Waki report that investigated in the recent post election violence of the year 2007 – 2008 and its recommendations. While it is unfair to entirely apportion blame for post election violence on any one institution or group of persons, the role of the defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya features prominently. The Independent Review Commission, which investigated the conduct of the 2007 General Election, detailed a catalogue of ills that led to the violent aftermath of the ECK announcements on December 30th of President Kibaki's victory. According to the Justice Johann Kriegler- led commission, during the preparation and conduct of the 2007 election, the ECK 'lacked' the necessary independence, capacity and functionality because of weakness in its organizational structure, composition, and management systems" (IREC, 2009).

⁷Akiwumi report 19th August, 1999

Ending the 2007 – 2008 Election Violence: Recommendations the Panel of Eminent Persons

At the end of the post election violence in 2008, a document was signed that not only ended the deadly violence and provided for a power sharing agreement but also recommended the long term resolution of underlying factors that fuelled the violence. In light of the magnitude of the violence, the National Dialogue and Reconciliation Accord noted that the attacks and counter attacks were sparked by issues deeper than the disputed outcome of an electoral contest and recommended swift but in depth resolutions. Termed as Agenda Four items, they dealt with long term issues that are thought to have progressively sowed seeds of hatred, fanned inequality undetermined, bred intolerance and generally undetermined national unity. These issues include land ownership, impunity, poverty, and youth unemployment, need for constitutional and legal reform, regional imbalances, and lack of national unity and cohesion. It has not been easy implementing the agendas. But some crucial steps have been taken in the right direction. A new constitution was promulgated in August 2010, drastically altering the management of political, economic and social affairs in the country. The constitution has addressed several Agenda four issues, the most significant one being judicial reforms, with other reforms also taking root. It is expected that once these reforms are in place, impunity in the management of public affairs will be greatly reduced.

Local Models for Reconciliation

Many countries in Africa have experienced serious crimes against humanity especially during election time due to struggle for power, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Congo, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan and Kenya during election period 2007 – 2008. In Kenya for example the issue of impunity has been the order of the day in maintaining power and security among the rulers. The ruled are intimidated and scared by the militia groups. By the time Moi exited in 2002, Kenya had become a cesspit of myriad bands of “tribal” bandits and cattle rustlers in the northern and coastal parts of the country and more than a dozen well known private militia found operating in rural and urban areas.

It is true the damage has been done, then where do we begin from. We need to forget the past and forge ahead; this is only possible in the spirit of reconciliation. There is no simple definition of reconciliation. It is both a process or journey and an objective or destination. It involves changing negative attitudes, beliefs, feelings and actions, and building relationships between opposing sides. Traditional justice provides the opportunity for encouraging reconciliation such as:- finding out the truth about what happened; ensuring justice is done; accepting the truth about the past; offering apologies and forgiveness and reparation. These can increase the possibility of reconciliation at a personal level, between two people, between communities or at the national level. There are also those who believe that reconciliation happens when justice has been done. Others believe that when a victim and offender meet at a truth commission, talking about their experience helps them to heal and reconcile. Some people believe that talking openly, accepting the truth, willingly asking to be forgiven and being able to forgive somebody who has hurt you can repair broken relationships.

Rwanda used its traditional courts, the Gacaca, in addition to the national prosecutions and the international Criminal Court for Rwanda. Example: In Rwanda, thousands of people were arrested and put in jail for involvement in the 1994 genocide. Others were never arrested. The international Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda based in Arusha can only prosecute a few of the top leaders. Fifteen years later in 2009, ICTR had only concluded 19

cases and convicted 25 people. The national courts inside Rwanda were overwhelmed and the suspects spent many years in jail without much hope of going through a trial. Their numbers were just too high and there were only few judges, prosecutors and lawyers. The choice appeared to be between keeping the suspects in jail indefinitely, and letting them go. Finally, Rwanda decided to revive traditional justice and reconciliation method, known as Gacaca. Some people believe the Gacaca has created an opportunity for suspects to be questioned by their victims in order to obtain apologies, restoration and hopefully, reconciliation.

The slaughter was massive and rapid. The victims were outnumbered and defenseless. Intervention would likely have been successful in mitigating the scope of the genocide, and the success would have been made later humanitarian interventions politically more palatable. Instead, the world balked, still smarting from the failed intervention just months earlier in Somalia and unwilling to commit even minimal resource. The ignorance about the genocide was mostly willful, as governments and other institutions ignored reports by the media, UN peacekeepers on the ground and Tutsi who escaped, all of which detailed the scale and nature of the unfolding atrocities (Clark and Kaufman, 2008).

Peace is very important for any community to develop their economy. The root cause of violence in Kenya has been due to poor leadership and historical injustices which have never been resolved due to presidency judiciary that encourages impunity.

Eight Actors for a Good Analysis in Reconciliation

1. The Victims and Survivors –Here we have to speak the truth about the past and bring to light what the authorities tried to hide. In this case the victims must assured of justice and a guarantee that such terrible things will not be visited upon the victims again.
2. The wrongdoer who has perpetrated the crimes: They will be interested in issues of amnesty and pardon. They will try to block reconciliation process or subvert the processes
3. The bystanders: These are tacitly complicit because they looked the other way when the abuses were carried out. They too want the process to be over. Guilt for not having done better will be inside them.
4. Both the victims and wrongdoers: These have the most difficult agenda in reconciliation process.
5. The dead: These exercise powerful presence in its proceedings. Finding out what happened to the dead, and where their bodies now are, often takes central stage in the reconciliation process. No one among the living can forgive wrongdoers on behalf of the dead. What can be done is to honour them properly
6. The future Generation: Their lives will be touched by what has gone before. How do they relate with that history? Growing up after violence is not easy.
7. The neighbor: Neighbours may have sided with victims or wrongdoers
8. God: God is a point of reference in the process of reconciliation. How do the groups – and how does the process itself – stand before God? (Hay, 1998)

Way Forward to Peace and Reconciliation and Remedies for the Coming Elections

i. Advocacy for Transformation

Social transformation is crucial for a healthy community and a nation. The concept of transformation basically entails a transformation in both social reality and peoples and

collective consciousness. Social reality is transformed when there is a significant change in social systems, in the structure of relationships among people, institutions, and society at large. Also, social reality is transformed in relation to significant changes in power relation, economic systems, major ecological and environmental changes, and so forth; all elements that are in various degrees interconnected.

ii. Social Education, Ethics should be taught in Schools

Institutions are very important in instilling good moral values to young people, it is therefore very crucial that in preparing a syllabus in any institutions to make sure that some subjects like Christian religious education and moral ethics are not left out, they should be made compulsory in any serious institution of learning for a proper formation of young people who are learning in primary education and higher institutes of learning to avoid the culture of violence. Upholding human right should be taught in our schools in subjects like Christian Religious Education, and in Pastoral Programmes. This will help the young people to respect life at all times. These teachings will make the young people to have good ethics that will help them to be responsible in life and to respect other people despite of their difference in culture, colour, thus removing negative ethnicity which is becoming cancer in our country

iii. Political lobbying

The social agent who is a social minister tries to engage with persons and institutions of political power (e.g., Members of Parliament, Civil society, Local Members of County Assemblies, International agencies) to introduce, change or top policies and practices, with an aim of creating greater social justice for all. This is political but a social minister should not be partisan. One case of reducing the case of political violence is the outlawing of all offensive weapons. Another method is by forming pressure groups that will conscientize the people on the evils of violence. Peaceful demonstration is a sign of reaction to a problem in society. These demonstrations can be very educative especially for those people who think that violence is the only way out of conflict and misunderstandings.

iv. Pedagogy of the People

It's important for people to be taught that human beings can solve their problems without resorting to violence. This can be done through dialogue and negotiation, communication and information. This method is better and mature than confrontation since confrontation always lead to violence. At this level the people who fight are engaged in dialogue and made to express their bond of contention freely until they see the sense of coexistence from their own world view of beliefs.

CONCLUSION

As noted in this paper, issues of poor governance, tribalism and historical injustices all contribute to the problems faced in Kenya during elections. However, it should not be taken as the default cyclical state in which the country operates. The events of last election in 2013 showed that Kenyans are capable of remarkable restraint even on the face of contested elections. It is hoped that in 2017, with the application of the recommendations made in this paper, the various stakeholders can ensure that the cycle of violence is broken. The new constitutional dispensation has also played a great role in reducing the marked tension in various parts of the country. In the spirit and the letter of the new Constitution, Kenya stands to gain rather than lose from the electoral process.

REFERENCES

- Catholic Economic Justice Network (2006) *Kenya's public debt: A trainer's manual*, Nairobi
- Clark and Kaufman, Z.D. (eds.) (2008) *After Genocide: Transitional justice, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation in Rwanda and beyond*, London: Hurst & Company.
- Hay, M. (1998) *Reconciliation in South Africa*.
- Kenya Land Alliance (2009) *Land data survey report on internal displacement*, Nairobi
- Kriegler, J. (2008) *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence*, Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) (2009) *Kriegler and Waki Report on 2007 Election*, Nairobi <http://www.kas.de/kenia/en/publications/16094/>
- Korir, C. (2009), *Amani mashinani, (Peace at the Grassroots)*, Nairobi: Seed Studio
- Lederach, J.P. (2000) *Mennonite contributions to international peace building*, Pennsylvania: Good Books.
- Let's Talk (2010) *Guide to transitional justice and truth commission: Book Two*, Nairobi: NPI - Africa and Wanep.
- Moyo, D. (2009) *Dead aid*, England: Penguin.
- Mulwa, W.F. (2008) *Demystifying participatory community development: Beginning from the people, ending at the People*, Nairobi: Pauline Publications.
- Ogot, B. (2009) *Ethnicity, nationalism and democracy*, Maseno: Maseno University Press
- PeaceNet Kenya (2008) *Post 2007 Elections Update*, Nairobi.
- Pope Paul II (1994) *Letter to families: Year of families*, Rome: Pauline Publications.
- Republic of Kenya (1999) *National Poverty Eradication Plan*, Office of the President, Department of Development Coordination, Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Waithaka, N, T. (2009) *A voice unstilled: Archbishop Ndingi Mwana-a-Nzeki*, Nairobi; Sema Publications.
- Waki, P. (2009) *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence (2007 – 2008)*, Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Wamwere, K. (2008) *Toward genocide in Kenya: the cause of negative ethnicity*, Nairobi: Mvule Publishers.
- Were, G.S. (1967) *A history of the Abaluhya of Western Kenya c. 1500 – 1930*, Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House.