

FACULTY OF ARTS, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

MA PROJECT

**WOMEN WAGING PEACE IN A POST-ELECTION CONFLICT: THE CASE OF
NAIVASHA, NAKURU COUNTY, 2007-2017.**

BY

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**RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF MASTER OF
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DECLARATION

This is my own original work, which has not been submitted to a university or other academic organization for the purpose of awarding a degree.

Signed  _____

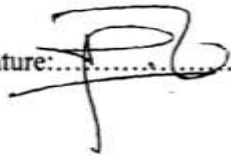
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This project has been submitted for an examination with my approval as University supervisors.

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ABSTRACT

This project sought to examine women waging peace in Naivasha. Women are the most affected by post-election violence. However, Women are not visible in the management of these conflicts; they are sidelined from the peace-building processes in the Country. This is despite the crucial role that women play in day-to-day life as peacekeepers both in the family and in society at large. The study's goals were to analyse the relationship between women and electoral conflict in Kenya, to look into the roles performed by women in promoting peace in Naivasha, and to evaluate the success and obstacles faced by these efforts. The study used both primary and secondary data in a qualitative manner. Albrecht Schnabel and Amara Tabyshalieva's Defying Victimhood Theory, which was published in their book *Women in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, was employed in this study. The theory has the idea that to achieve peace, mechanisms must be in place under which inequalities and injustices experienced before, during, and after the conflict are dealt with. The findings of the study were that women groups in Naivasha addressed the psycho-social wants of female survivors of the ensuing electoral skirmishes of 2008 in conjunction with international organizations, they were instrumental in managing the ensuing conflict by playing a moderating role in the conflict, they organized critical canvassing for structural measures to address the conflict and women were able to organize themselves into community-based organizations where they would undertake mediation and training activities, shared their experiences about mediation in very direct and physical ways such as telling the men to stop fighting and committing cross-ethnic arsonist attacks. Women organizations were also instrumental in managing the ensuing conflict by playing a moderating role in conflict. This entailed the provision of spiritual support and counselling to those affected by the conflict as well as providing humanitarian relief to the worst-hit areas. Hence women in Naivasha played a critical role in post-election conflict management, however, these roles continue to be overlooked.

DEDICATION

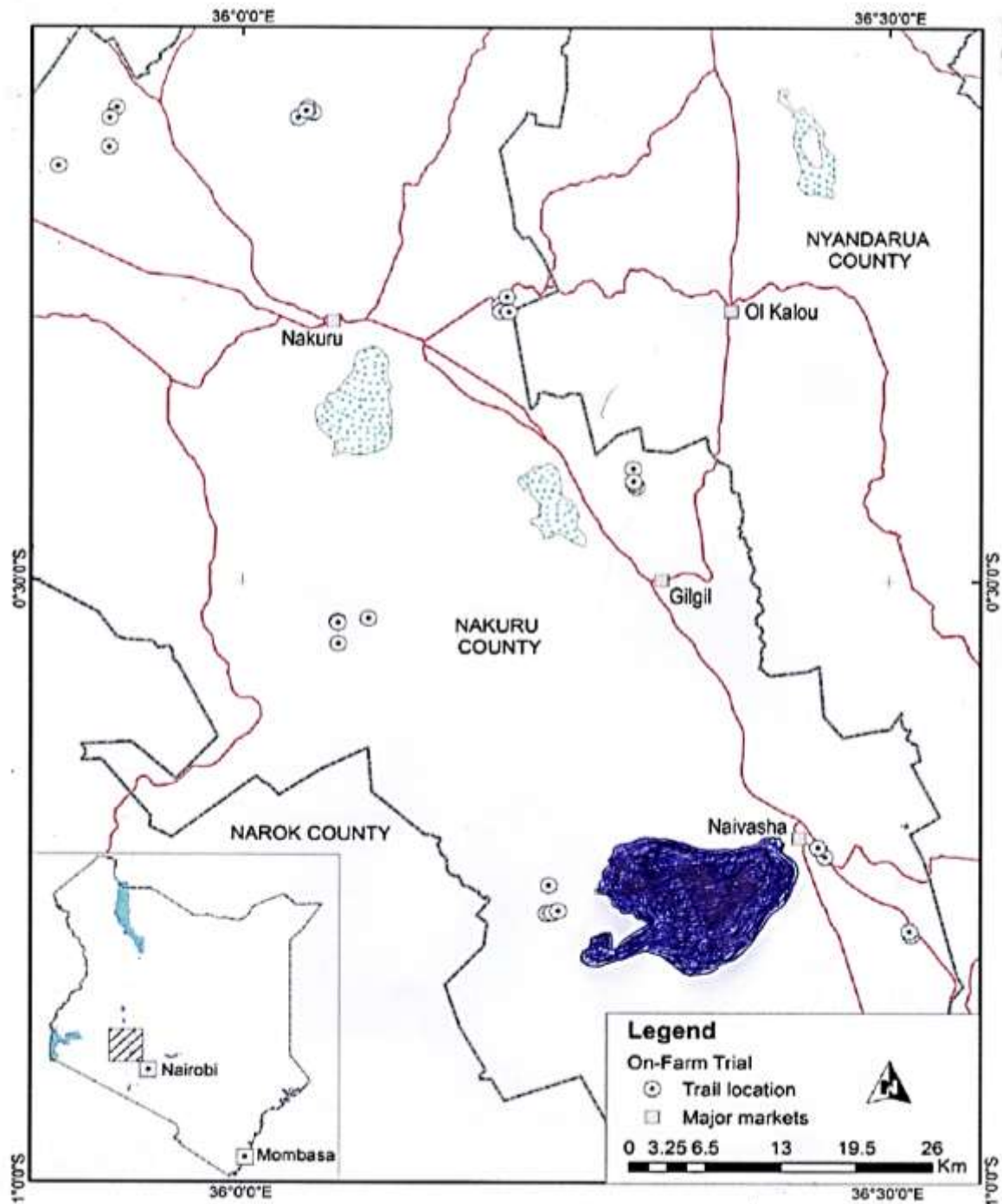
My lovely wife Christine, our three children Stefan, Anselm, and Conrad, as well as my devoted mother Bridget, are all honoured in this work.

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MAP OF THE STUDY AREA



Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Kenya-showing-demonstration-villages-in-Naivasha-and-Nakuru_fig1_304456616

OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

Waging peace; will be used to mean all activities put forth by women in Naivasha to achieve lasting coexistence among all walks of lives of people.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

FGD	Focused Group Discussions
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KPU	Kenya Peoples' Union
KWP	Kup Women for Peace
NACOSTI	National Commission for science, Technology and Innovation
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee council
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
TNA	The National Alliance
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
URP	United Republic Party
WFP	World Food Program
WFP	Women for Peace

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The study examined women waging peace in a post-election conflict context. The study assessed the role played by women in various spaces including and not limited to the social, political, and economic. The study was based in Naivasha Sub-County of Nakuru County in the Rift Valley- Kenya. The region is usually known for recreation facilities of worldwide renowned standards such as Hilton, Serena, and large-scale flower farms which employ thousands of people with minimum or lower wages. However, the sub-county was at the center of and featured in the limelight after it became a refuge for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) after the 2007-08 Kenya's post-election violence that had rocked the country. Similarly, the sub-county generated IDPs because of the conflicts that were experienced in the region.

1.2 Background of the Study

Recent political violence in Kenya can be traced to 1992 after the first Multi-party election. However, ethnicity and political tension began following the victory of KANU in the elections held in 1963, Kenya became a one-party state with Jomo Kenyatta as the leader and President, frustrating attempts of creation of opposition parties that were associated with the Luo ethnic groups. Many perceived this as Kenyatta promoting Kikuyu interests over national interests. This further resulted in political rivalry and ethno-regional animosity.¹ Inter-ethnic distrust increased due to the several accusations of betrayal by the political elites. The assassination of Tom Mboya, a prominent Luo politician, in 1969 along with the banning of Odinga's party, KPU, and his detention in 1969 led to a conflict between leaders from the then-Nyanza province and those from Central led by Kenyatta regime. Major incidents like these led to the fallout between the then-President Kenyatta and his Vice Odinga in 1966.²

In Kenyatta's leadership period, referred to as the birth of ethnic politics, there was heightened political assassination, manipulated electoral results, and the emergency of Mt Kenya oligarchy.³ His group side-lined the rest of the country both in the political and economic arena-

¹ Nnoli, O. *Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Ibadan: Vintage Publishers, (1989) p 7.

² Mutua, M. *Kenya's quest for democracy: taming the leviathan*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2008). p 10.

³ *Ibid.*p.62.

1963 to 1978. Indeed, by 1964, Kenyatta's cabinet had 16 members where seven were from his Kikuyu ethnic background while the rest of the country shared the remainder.⁴ Again out of the 22 permanent secretaries, 9 were from the Kikuyu community. Worse still, at his death, six out of the 8 Provincial Commissioners were Kikuyu that also was the same trend with the District Officers who were drawn from the Gema communities. Although in Kenyatta's era there was no ethnic instigated conflict, nonetheless, it was the same period that people who were alleged to be a threat to his leadership were assassinated. For instance, Pio Gama Pinto, J M Kariuki, Tom Mboya, Ronald Ngala, and Jean-Marie Seroney, all his critics, were assassinated.

The rest of the country felt left out of statehood. Kenya under Kenyatta was *a de facto* one-party nation and so used KANU to centralize power. Jaramogi Odinga the then his vice president was frustrated that he formed Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU) in 1966. However, the government responded by declaring an election to contain his ambitions. In 1969 after the assassination of Tom Mboya, when Kenyatta visited Kisumu, in December the presidential motorcade was stoned due to what was termed efforts to disseminate Luo leaders and marginalization of their kin, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, and the region at large. The presidential bodyguards responded by killing a number of the rioting people and from then on wards Kenyatta never visited the region until his death in 1978.

After the death of Kenyatta in 1978, Daniel Moi took over the office as the president of the republic of Kenya. Moi followed the footsteps of Jomo Kenyatta by pursuing policies he pursued that were skewed to benefit some elites from his ethnic group at the expense of other ethnic groups from getting public offices or access to state resources. This was done through the repression of those who opposed his style of leadership. President Moi opted for torture, use of excessive force, as well as illegal detention of those who opposed him. Amendment of the constitution during President Moi's regime after the attempted coup in 1982 led to Kenya becoming a one-party state. This led to various demonstrations against this move by Moi. President Moi responded by deploying the Police and security forces to curb the demonstrations. This caught the attention of the international community who piled up pressure

⁴ Sunday Nation, Nov 30, 2008 Accessed on 5th May 2019 from <https://www.nationmedia.com>

on Moi. After the intense donor-pressure and internal push from multi-party, Moi eventually repealed section 2A leading to the fifth multi-party elections in 1992.⁵

After the re-introduction of multi-party elections in 1992, old political parties were strengthened and new ones formed in Kenya. In the subsequent 1992 election where KANU was declared winner amidst allegations of election rigging, violence arose in various parts of the country. The Rift Valley and Western Kenya saw the majority of the violence. The administration asserts that the confrontations had ethnic undertones and had started as a result of multi-party politics. On the other hand, analysts asserted that politicians provoked the violence in order to win the elections. Threats, intimidation, and violent clashes between supporters of opposing parties characterized the election campaign, the election itself, and the outcome. According to Human Rights Watch, this resulted in the deaths of over 1500 Kenyans and the displacement of more than 300,000 people.⁶

The 1997 elections were linked to violence, much like the 1992 elections were. Six months prior to the elections, it is claimed that KANU party members supported armed organizations who assaulted "non-native ethnic groups" in the Coast province, killing more than 100 people and uprooting more than 100,000 others. The Kenya Human Commission (2001) calculated that between 1991 and 2001, there were 4,000 fatalities and 600,000 displaced persons as a result of the violence. The detribalization of politics and the deterioration of civic manhood marked the end of the violence.

After the creation of the coalition government by Mr. Kibaki and Mr. Raila Odinga, historical injustices and issues surrounding it have not been addressed much. The coalition government was set up in 2008 to pursue the four agendas that reflected the country's societal needs according to Gavin (2008). However, almost the same pattern is evident basing on the Kenyan history of election violence as the triggers and causes went unresolved event after successive agreements.⁷

Kenya has experienced post-election violence instigated by ethnic profiling which is traced back to the introduction of a multiparty system in 1992. Nonetheless, the 2007/8 post-election

⁵ Schaffer, F. (Ed.), *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2007), P 3.

⁶ Anderson and Lochery, "Violence and Exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, ," (2008) p 328.

⁷ Bunting, M. The violence in Kenya may be awful, but it is not senseless 'savagery', *The Guardian*, 14 January, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jan/14/kenya.world> , (2008), p 50.

violence was so devastating that hundreds were killed, thousands displaced as IDPs⁸ and refugees.⁹ Kenya has experienced politically instigated conflicts that go back to the post-independence period. Since independence, Kenya has traded on ethnic politics. For instance, both presidents' Kenyatta and Moi operated under the tribal lines similar to what the colonial masters had planted in the country where they allocated political positions or redistributed land by favoring members of their ethnic groups.¹⁰ Hopes to transit and implement a full multiparty in the country were dashed when Kenya reverted to conflict after the December 2007 election, dubbed 2007/8 post-election violence. The biggest challenge that has, however, been carried all through independent Kenya was ethnic groups competing for social, economic, and political wealth.¹¹

Bad governance and lack of strong institutions is attributed to the modes where the operation in government depends on personal rulers¹² treated as semi-god. As a result, the personal rulers picked all ministers, ambassadors, military chiefs, and parastatal heads¹³ directly, therefore, making them the most important persons on land. This was witnessed during presidents' Kenyatta, Moi, and to a certain extent Kibaki by appointing their tribes men mainly that would later lay the foundation of the post-election violence that was experienced in the country.

A similar road was adopted by president Moi who took over from Kenyatta and later Kibaki where political positions, land, and other lucrative positions were dished out to their ethnic groups. After the 27th December 2007 general elections, however, the country found itself in what was regarded the worst after-election-related violence in its land. This was after the disputed presidential results by Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) Party. The most

⁸ B. Muluka, Internally Displaced Persons and the Dilemma of the Right of Return: A Case study of Vumilia Eldoret, Jikaze and Fumilia Narok IDPs in Maai Mahiu in Kenya's Rift Valley Province, 2007-2010, Masters project, University of Nairobi., and F. Vosevwe. 'Internally Displaced Persons in Kenya: A study of their struggle for livelihood in Kuresoi constituency, Nakuru County.' Masters project. University of Nairobi.(2014) P14.

⁹ J. Osodo. 'From IDPSs to refugees and back to IDPs- The dynamics of post-election violence victims in Kenya: a case of Busia county,2007-2015.' University of Nairobi, Department of History and Archeology(2019). p 20.

¹⁰ B. Lang and P. Sakdapolrak. Violent place-making : How Kenya's post election violence transforms a worker's settlement at Lake Naivasha. *Political Geography* . Vol 45). Retrieved on 1st October 2021 from www.elsevier.com/locate/polgeo (2015). pp 67-78.

¹¹ M. Kaimenyi and N. Ndungu. 'Sporadic Ethnic violence: why Kenyans have not Experienced a full-blown civil war. Washington: World Bank(2005).. P 25.

¹² C. Odhiambo-Mbai. ' The rise and fall of autocratic state in Kenya. In W Oyugi , P. Wanyande and C. Mbai, *The politics of transition in Kenya: From KANU to NARC*. (2003). Pp 51-95

¹³ A. Opondo 'Ethnic politics and post-election violence of 2007/8 in Kenya' in *Africa journal of history and culture*. Vol 6. No. 4. Pp. 59-67. Accessed on 5th May 2020 from <http://www.academicjournals.org/AJHC>

affected region was the Rift valley. The damage was devastating: from the conflict over 1,500 were killed, over 3,000 women raped, and more than 300,000 people displaced both internally and externally. It is alleged that these atrocities happened between the date of the Kenyan general election and the 14th day after the December 27th, 2007 exercise. The severity of this conflict would later be felt for the following 59 days between Election Day and February 28th, 2008, when a political compromise was reached.¹⁴

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Conflicts in general are difficult to resolve. Conflict is a daily happening in human life, and many writers in conflict have reaffirmed that conflict is always with the human race. The history of elections in Kenya has been marred with electoral and political violence. Kenya has witnessed 5 instances of post-election violence out of 6 multi-party elections since 1992. Naivasha is one of the hotspot regions that has constantly been worst hit by post-election violence in Kenya. To this end, various efforts and strategies have been employed to manage post-election violence. However, the world is patriarchal in nature as most societies in Kenya are male-dominated despite the fact that women and girls form the bulk population. Post-election conflict management has been male-dominated. However, women equally suffer disproportionately from the effects of political violence and yet are often overlooked when it comes to conflict management. In times of peace-building, women participate least while they are the ones who bear the burden of conflict. Women are not visible; they are sidelined from the peace-building processes in the Country. This is despite the crucial role that women play in the day to day life as peacekeepers both in the family and in the society at large. Therefore this study aims to examine women waging peace in post-election conflict by analyzing the impact and challenges of women in waging peace in Naivasha. The question, therefore, is that what factors hinder women in Naivasha from playing a key role in post-election conflict management despite their peacekeeping and peacebuilding abilities?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The overall aim of the study is to understand women waging peace in a post-election conflict.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

1. To examine the nexus between women and electoral conflict in Kenya.

¹⁴ M. Roberts. 'Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post-election Violence in Kenya.' (2009). p1.

2. To Investigate the roles played by women in waging for peace in Naivasha
3. To assess the impact and challenges of women waging peace in Naivasha.

1.4.2 Research questions

1. What is the nexus between women and electoral conflict in Kenya.
2. What are the roles played by women in waging for peace in Naivasha
3. What are the impact and challenges of women waging peace in Naivasha.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The role played by women waging peace in a post-election-related conflict has not been exhaustively addressed, scholarly. Studies on women and peace after the election-related conflict in Africa and more so in Kenya, have tended to be limited on the causes of conflict and its impact on the population. They have fallen short of going beyond and examine the role played by various groups involved in resolving those conflicts. Indeed, this study is important as apart from appreciating the fact that studying the causes and impact of the after-election conflict, there is a need to examine the role played by women in waging peace as it will show how women in their various spaces were involved and what challenges and effect did the process have.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study

The study was carried out in the Naivasha sub-county, Nakuru County. It covered the period from 2007 to 2017. The year 2007 was chosen, for in the same in December the country witnessed post-election violence that left many killed as a result, thousands displaced and millions traumatized that lasted up to February the following year. The study ends in the year 2017 which was marked by a new truce between President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Deputy William Ruto in Afraha Stadium in Nakuru County. It is the same county, in the year 2013,¹⁵ where Uhuru and Ruto formed the Jubilee party after dissolving the United Republic Party (URP) and The National Alliance (TNA) parties, as it was captured by Caroline Wafula and Francis Mureithi of the daily nation. The coming together between the president (a Kikuyu)

¹⁵ C. Wafula and F Mureithi, (2017), 'Uhuru, Ruto charm Nakuru residents as they wind up vote hunt.' *Daily Nation*. Accessed on 10th May 2020 from <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Uhuru--Ruto-s-plea-to-Nakuru-residents-/1064-4046790-9p8j3wz/index.html> p40.

and his deputy (a Kalenjin) was intended to signal the end of the conflict that marred the country pitting one community against the other.

Some of the limitations were that some of the women involved in waging peace were not willing to talk about political issues in the country as there is alleged tension between the office of the president and his deputy. Similarly, the region is vast, therefore, the researcher picked regions such as slum, town, and flower farms settlement to be represented as they were the most affected by the conflict.

1.7 Literature Review

This section focuses on the literature about women, peace, and conflict. The intent is to show how women have participated in the peace process in their various capacities and the kind of conflict situation they were in. More importantly, is to illustrate that women were not only victims and perpetrators but also forged ways to wage peace after the 2007/08 election violence in Naivasha.

In a focus on the ‘Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and debate of right of return’, Barrack Muluka argues that, in conflict and its impact, many studies focused a lot of interest on the refugees while little on the IDPs. He adds that as a result, they were never included in the post-election planning and hence further escalating the problems to the victims. The writer also explains the reasons that resulted in the 2007-8 post-election violence in the country which is important for this study. Among the issues covered by the scholar were the political incitement, land problem, perceived economic injustices that took ethnic dimensions, disrespect of the law, and power rivalry between the Kikuyu and Luo communities.¹⁶

While addressing the issue about women waging peace in an ethnic-related conflict in her discussion paper ‘Kup Women for Peace’, Garap Sarah highlights the role played by women and peace efforts in Papua New Guinea. Here, women used tears to stop their men from fighting. Kup Women for Peace (KWP) saw there was the need to address the long-term ethnic conflict, violence against women and children in the Kup Sub- District which was regarded as the ‘Cowboy region’ due to its underdevelopment and lawlessness. Their ultimate goal as

¹⁶ B. Muluka, ‘Internally Displaced Persons and the Dilemma of the Right of Return: A Case study of Vumilia Eldoret, Jikaze and Fumilia Narok IDPs in Maai Mahiu in Kenya’s Rift Valley Province, 2007-2010.’ Maters project, University of Nairobi. (2010), P73.

mothers and carers was to have the presence of governance and process of law and justice.¹⁷ The paper also explains the activities the women of KUP were involved in for achieving their goals. They had programmes such as the International Human Rights Day celebration where they carried out awareness and educational sessions, tree planting ceremonies, flag raising, and witnessing amnesty for the surrendering fighting groups of young men.¹⁸ While the conflict in Papua New Guinea was fought on the basis of lawlessness created by lack of government presence that of Naivasha was triggered by a dispute over election that later took an ethnic dimension. Did the women waging peace in Naivasha talk about election disputes and ethnic-related conflict that was witnessed in the region and how did they do it?

Torunn L. Tryggestad in their work 'Trick or Treat?', argues that the United Nations' (UN) provision of resolution 1325 about Women, Peace, and Security in the year 2000, was in itself a gain that had a significant impact and on the right way. The reasons articulated by the scholar in support of the argument were that women issues were included on the agenda of the UN secretariat and incorporated not only by member states but also the nongovernmental organizations and individual experts.¹⁹ Although the scholar did not mention which women were included by the adoption of the resolution terms of peace efforts, however, it will be interesting to examine various women in their space and what role did they play in waging peace in Naivasha. This is in consideration that not all women are educated nor are they the same in their social and political influence. Secondly, was the inclusion of women on the UN secretariat enough to help give the women in the post-election violence context a platform?

Hunt Swenee notes that three years after the adoption of resolution 1325, women were missing not only physically but also in publications in this key section. The writer highlights that there were no significant footprints of women waging peace in UN programs, reports, and Nongovernmental organization (NGO) publications.²⁰ Indeed, this proposal concurs with the idea that as a result of missing in those key area much about women waging peace has tended to be missed as it has appeared as if they operate outside the stymied system and hence their

¹⁷ S. Garap, 'Kup Women for Peace: Women Taking Action to Build Peace and Influence Community Decision-Making.' *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Discussion paper*. The Australian National University Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Vol.4. (2004), p2.

¹⁸ Ibid.p8.

¹⁹ T. Tryggestad, 'Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security.' *Global Governance*. Vol. 15 No. 4. (2009), pp. 539-558. Accessed on 16th May 16, 2020, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Licence>

²⁰ H. Swanee, 'The critical Role of Women waging Peace.' *Columbia Journal of transnational Law*. Vol. 41. No. 3. (2003), Pp 557-572. Accessed on 13th May 2020 from, <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Licence>

impact being missed by the concerned parties both in academic and in analysis. However, the proposed study goes further to specifically examine the women involved in waging peace in a post-election conflict context of Naivasha and document it in a scholarly manner.

Swanee Hunt in the study 'moving beyond silence', argues that women in peace efforts activities are likely to go unnoticed especially with their new approaches and expertise in lower levels of activism, political leadership, military reform, negotiations, and conflict resolution. Therefore, the scholar adds, for them to be recognized, there is a need to have mechanisms and networks that links those women in conflict and peace areas to one another and policy shapers.²¹ The study suggest for networks such as links with the media, NGOs, government officials, and academicians involved with peace activities. Despite the fact that the scholar was general about the type of conflict, this study examined the grassroot women of Naivasha involvement in waging peace and types of networks made by those women in post-election conflict space.

Swanee and Cristina explore how women have been side-lined in security issues, where they argue that inclusive security is the key to avoiding renewed conflicts. However, they say, the international institutions have ignored women and relegated them to the periphery and their services are limited. For instance, they have minimal chances in the police, military, and diplomatic efforts. For instance, they add, in Bosnia women were never included in peace talks of Dayton, Ohio USA, despite the fact, there were over 40 women associations that cut across ethnic lines.²² And as a result, the implementation of the accord has been an uphill, never seen the light of the day. The scholars say the countries that have had successful inclusive security are Canada and the United States of America (USA).²³ The study invokes key issues. Were women in Naivasha listened to as they wage peace in the post-election-related conflict despite the fact that this is a third-world country? Are they recognized for their efforts?

In support of the above sentiment, Gorana Mlinarević *et al*, argue that the exclusion of women from the process of waging peace also diminishes the prospects for sustainable peace as it was

²¹ H. Swanee, 'Moving Beyond Silence: Women Waging Peace.' In *Listening to the silences; Women and War*. (2005), P 251-271. Accessed on 17th May 17, 2020 from, http://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/110_moving_beyond_silence.pdf

²² H. Swanee and C. Posa, 'Women Waging Peace.' *Foreign policy*. No 124. (2001), pp.38-47. Accessed on 13/05/2020 from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3183189>

²³ *Ibid*.p 39.

in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁴ For instance, during the peace agreement between the president and his deputy in 2013, were women included and what was done since? Secondly, in regard to the peace accord signed at the national level witnessed by the then UN Secretary-General Koffi Annan, where were women? The study examined.

Susan Evangelista in a research 'Women in Peace-making' supported the marginalization of women assertion. In the study, the writer argues that women's suggestions in regard to war and peace were in most cases shunted off, their voices pushed aside, and in essence 'marginalized'.²⁵ In a gender and peace symposium held in Manila, the writer adds, a woman from Northern Ireland said it was a challenge for them to mediate as women and bridge the religious divide between the protestant and catholic children as they were considered unpatriotic.²⁶ Despite the challenges, women have, however, continued with their inner voice of impacting society have had an impact. In Naivasha were women given an ear, what challenges did they experience in their efforts to foster peace after the election conflict that was witnessed in the country?

Nyathon James Hoth Mai brings out how essential women's role in peace building is, the writer says that their experience and skills were shown with what they had already done in the past conflicts, their work bridged conflict-related divides, they were affected differently from men and lastly, their role and participation were constitutional.²⁷ The context under which the conflict in the two countries happened was different. South Sudan is a young nation that carried some of its challenges from the North, unlike Kenya which had a political related conflict as a start off to the violence. Secondly, the women waging peace in South Sudan covers the whole country while the Kenyan case is in a small space of Naivasha that has different dynamics.

Tamara and Babbitt argue that it is important that women should engage in waging peace. This they should through a number of mechanisms with three key outcomes. Firstly, there must be possibilities for women to have self-disclosure because of sharing their personal experiences

²⁴ G. Mlinarević, N. Isaković and M. Rees, 'If women are left out of peace talks: Bosnia and Herzegovina twenty years on from the Dayton Peace Agreement.' *FMR* 50. (2015), P .35. Accessed on 10th may 2020 from www.fmreview.org/dayton20

²⁵ S. Evangelista, 'Women in Peacemaking: Inner Voices and Outer Positions.' *Peace Research*. Vol 29. No. 1. (1997), pp.1-12. Accessed on 13th May 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23607354>

²⁶ Ibid. p.2.

²⁷ J. Nyathon, 'The Role of women in Peace-Building in South Sudan.' *The SUDD Institute*. Research for a peaceful, just and prosperous South Sudan. (2015), P1. Accessed on 10th May 2020 from https://suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/572b7eb2dd52b_TheRoleOfWomenInPeaceBuildingIn_Full.pdf

and being able to move beyond the normal communication that was common among the political elite tended to be very high. Secondly, Israel and Palestine women in workshops and in studies were more willing to deal with their challenges which affect their emotions as well as strategize and lastly, after the workshop session, women appreciated the value in keeping networks and linkages which they build new language to be used both in one community and if need be shared to the other side for provision of mental and emotional support.²⁸ Though the study examined state to state relations and a different aspect of conflict it however took into account role of women in mediation which this examine how people-to-people relations in a country's jurisdiction took into context peace activities by women of Naivasha as the case study.

In a study conducted by development study network women, women played a major role in peace making. However, there were various hindrances that made it difficult for the women to foster peace. For example, in chapter two, Wood and Charlesworth argue that women were missing in the international arena for peace-making efforts. This was due to the acceptance of cultural and religious justifications that propagated unequal treatment of women and the missing efforts to explain why they were marginalized in the peace-waging space.²⁹ How has culture and religion impacted the women waging peace in Naivasha? This is because women in various religions are the target of this study.

Alice Pollard in their work 'Resolving Conflict in Solomon Island', argued that women and children were hugely affected by conflict because the central government was unable to provide important amenities such as security and social services. This was the case in Honiara that women formed the Women for Peace (WFP) group consisting of women from all walks of life. They comprised those of all ages, religions, and provinces.³⁰ After the government failed to protect property and people in Naivasha that the conflict sparked off by the disputed presidential election results, what role has women in Naivasha played to make peace?

²⁸ T. d'Estrée and E. Babbitt, 'Women and the Art of Peace-making: Data from Israeli-Palestinian Interactive Problem-solving Workshops.' *Political Psychology*. Vol 19. No.1. (1998), pp. 185-209. Accessed on 13th may 2020 from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3792121>

²⁹ M. Wood and H. Charlesworth 'Women and Conflict resolution in international law.' *Development Bulletin*. No. 53. In *Women, Gender and Development in the pacific: key issues*. (2000), pp 7-9.

³⁰ A. Pollard, 'Resolving conflict in Solomon Islands: The Women for peace approach.' *Development Bulletin*, No. 53. In *Women, Gender and Development in the pacific: key issues*. (2000), pp 44-46.

According to David Masika, the easy availability of weapons in the region introduced new warfare in the Kerio Valley which influenced women's participation in the conflict. To the scholar, women played both active roles which in various ways sustained the conflict and in return impacted all in the region.³¹ Women's participation in the conflict, the study adds, was affected both negatively and positively. Negatively, they lost their lives, livelihood, property as well as displacement. On the other hand, they gained proceeds of trading in arms and cattle raids. It will be interesting for this study to examine how women especially those who were involved in the conflict directly in Naivasha turned around to become wagers of peace. Secondly, is there anything they are benefiting from peace?

Elsewhere, de la Vega and Haley Nelson posit that if women were fully and equally involved in peace-making and peacekeeping as mandated by various international organs such as the Resolution 1325 of the UN, the action will be important in eliminating trafficking in women and children. The scholars add that during and in post wars, women and children bear the brand of trafficking where they are used as sex slaves, see their families killed and tortured. To them, the trafficking is perpetuated by either local or foreign placed militaries and the lack of women in the peace process heightens their vulnerability since their immunity against exploitation of women and girls (sexual) during wars was included in peace accords and after-conflict agreements.³² This paper is important to the proposed study in a number of ways. One it elicits ways under which war and post-war periods had negative impacts on women and children. Secondly, it suggests that women and girls are supposed to be involved in the peace process as by then, their immunity is included in the peace agreement and laws. However, the proposed study focuses on how women themselves are involved in a post-conflict activity to wage for a peaceful society. Secondly, the proposed study examines conflict perpetuated by communities and not only the military or the police during peace-making or peacekeeping periods.

Puechguirbal, in the work *From Helplessness to Agency: Examining the Plurality of Women's Experiences in Armed Conflict* gives an example of the gendered nature of armed violence which affects women and girls differently from men and boys. This literature introduces how women and girls suffer differently in conflicts they don't cause, more so in the political ones.

³¹ D. Masika, 'The role and impact of armed conflict on women: the case of the Kerio Valley, 1978-2007.', University of Nairobi. (2010), P 7.

³² C. de la Vega and C HeleyNelson, 'The Role of Women in Peacekeeping and Peace-making: Devising Solutions to the Demand Side of Trafficking.' Vol. 12 No.2. William &Mary Journal of Race, Gender and Social Justice. Retrieved on 30th August 2020 from <https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmjowl/vol12/iss2/7>(2006), p 30.

Men are the major perpetrators of gun violence in Africa, and women are particularly vulnerable in private settings, where firearms are frequently used to threaten, control, injure, and kill intimate female partners. Similarly, while women have generally been left out of debates about peace and security, it is now commonly acknowledged that women's experiences of conflict, whether as soldiers or civilians, differ from men. Women and girls also suffer other violence like sexual abuse by state security agencies. In war-torn countries like Sierra Leone and Uganda, rebel commanders abduct and recruit young girls as “wives” and in countries like Algeria women were seen as legitimate targets and part of the ‘war.’³³ It will be of interest to this study to understand how women in Naivasha suffer from political violence and whether they are subjected to other violence due to political conflict.

Pratt when critically examining UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security notes that the formal peace procedures continue to exclude or marginalize women. Women, on the other hand, are prominently involved in grassroots and informal peace-building efforts. This is in contrast to the UN's fourth international conference on women, which called for a global network of women to fight for peace and security in 1995. In 2000, the United Nations Security Council issued UNSCR 1325, which is titled "Women, Peace, and Security." This landmark agreement recognised women's rights to be free from violence and to participate in all types of decision-making during post-conflict reconstruction.³⁴ In like with the UNSCR 1325, this study will be interest to gauge the level of women's inclusion in waging peace in Naivasha.

Ringera advanced the notion that UNSCR 1325 is an international acknowledgment and acceptance of women's engagement in peace-building activities have increased globally in the effort commemorating Ten Years of UNSCR 1325. This is a result of the numerous campaigns and current frameworks for policy on women, peace, and security. The 1995 Beijing UN World Women Conference served as the catalyst for this, which was followed by the UNSCR 1325 in 2000 and six more resolutions on women's peacebuilding. However, despite these efforts consensus among international actors build around women being actively involved in peacebuilding, the experience and efforts of women in peacebuilding still remain unnoticed by

³³ Puechguirbal, Nadine „From Helplessness to Agency: Examining the Plurality of Women's Experiences in Armed Conflict,” In *International Review of the Red Cross*: Volume 92, No. 877: Red Cross; (2010), p 32.

³⁴ Pratt and Richter-Devroe, „Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Routledge, United Kingdom; (2011), p 51.

different policymakers.³⁵ Are women in Naivasha also marginalized in peacebuilding? Do their peacebuilding efforts go unnoticed?

Snyder, in the study *Women Building peace: What they do, why it Matters* posits that there are a variety of ways in which women have can contribute to peacebuilding. Women have experienced conflict in different ways hence can give new insight and provide lessons that are important towards achieving peace and ensure sustainable peace. However, for this to be done there should be visibility and recognition that women are marginalized and discriminated against. Women should be stakeholders in peace-building activities not just from the grassroots level but also in top peace-building committees. There should also be awareness raised and strategies formulated on how to enhance the participation of women in peacebuilding.³⁶ In line with this study, what ways do women in Naivasha contribute to peacebuilding?

MacKinnon in his work *Feminism Unmodified* argues that men's involvement is difficult to translate into a seat at the peace table. This is because not all women's organizations want to be at the table when it comes to bargaining with men as they feel they are the same dictators who contributed to the dispute. Women, on the other hand, must be present at the peacebuilding peace table. In informal discussions, whether as members of political parties, civil society, or special interest groups, women are underrepresented and excluded.³⁷ It will be interesting to find out nature of peacebuilding in Naivasha, do women in Naivasha work together with men towards peace?

Lewanika M, President of FERFAP states that “Women establish their credibility as peacemakers at the grassroots level but are marginalized from official negotiations. It is hard for the women to make it from the grassroots peace initiatives to the top peace table. The peace table is often set aside for the foreign mediators as well as the official negotiators. Women are under-represented and even the ones that are there have to speak the language of the male-dominated table. Often women are given proper chance to impact the peace processes.” However, they fail to understand that the concern of women does not just come from their own experiences but also from their gender roles as mothers, wives, and daughters in their communities.³⁸ In line with this study it will be interesting to find out role of women in the

³⁵ Ringera, K., „Celebrating Ten Years of UNSCR 1325: The Case of Kenya,” Nairobi: Kenya(2010), p 28.

³⁶ Snyder, UWomen Building peace: What they DO, why it Matters, Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner publishers(2012), pp 10-20.

³⁷ MacKinnon, C. A Feminism Unmodified. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Pp 50-54.

³⁸ FERFAP(2018), Women's Peace Activism – Organizations, Online publishers(2015), p 3.

society, do women in Naivasha have grassroots peacebuilding? and how does this contribute to overall peace.

Muema makes a solid case that there is a connection between culture and women's marginalisation in peace processes in his MA thesis, *Factors Influencing Women's Participation in Sustainable Peace Building: A Case of Kibra Region*, Nairobi, Kenya. Women remain marginalized in peacebuilding processes due to a number of reasons that has been discussed by different authors. Social norms conflict as a male agenda and hence peacebuilding and other peace processes should be left for men, hence point out that patriarchy has relegated women to the private sphere of their homes. This has been a hindrance for women to participate and play a big role in peacebuilding. This is an example of the discrimination and marginalization that women face in peacebuilding.³⁹In line with this study it is important to understand the factors that lead to marginalization and discrimination of women in peace building in Naivasha.

According to a study commissioned by ACORD on *Women Building Peace: An International Review of Peace Initiatives*, the study highlights other reasons for the failure to include women in peace processes. They include their lack of capacity or political-know how of engaging in such processes as negotiations or mediations and the public's perceptions of women as passive victims of conflict. This perception is brought about by the notion that since men are the ones who wage war, it is they who should determine the peace processes. This however is a misguided notion that often leads to women being marginalized in peace-building processes. This is despite the important roles women can play in peacebuilding. A good example is South Sudan where women are part of the conflict. Women in South Sudan are either engaged as combatants on the battlefield or are actively engaged in providing support to fighters. However, despite the potential of women to play an important role in peacebuilding they remain absent from the peace negotiations.⁴⁰What are the reasons for failure to include women in peacebuilding in Naivasha?

Tulel in her work, *Women and peace-building in pastoral conflicts* notes that lack of confidence is one of the reasons for the marginalization of women in peacebuilding. Women's lack of confidence in themselves remains a major hindrance to women taking up big positions

³⁹ Muema, J., „Factors Influencing Women's Participation in Sustainable Peace Building: A Case of Kibra Region, Nairobi, Kenya: MA Thesis, University of Nairobi, Nairobi: Kenya. (2014), pp 15-26

⁴⁰ ACORD „Peace by Piece: Addressing Sudan's Conflict,“ Conciliation Resources, London: UK; (2006), p 35.

in peace-building committees. Customs and traditions are another reason that women continue to be marginalized in peacebuilding hence limit themselves from participating in peace-building processes. The author adds that failure to implement laws that allow for women to engage in peacebuilding has limited the participation of women. There is a lack of commitment to make the peace-building process an all-inclusive affair. Other barriers that women face include a lack of capacity to engage effectively in peace processes.⁴¹As pointed put by Tulel, various factors are hindrance to women waging peace, do these same factors apply in Naivasha?

Carey spotlights that though laws and agreements will be a good step in the right direction, they will only serve as norms if not rightly implemented especially if taken advantage of in terms of the scope and vagueness. To the writer, some of the members will regard it as a work in progress, in other places, there will be a conflict with countries that observe religious laws which oppose gender mainstream on principle, scarce resources and other structural constraints at the end affect the whole idea.⁴² It will be interesting however to examine how women of Naivasha, at a local level, domesticated their challenges and developed declarations to address them and how they implemented them towards the achievements of a peaceful society especially after the 2007/8 post-election violence that marred Kenya.

Reviewing various conflict and war literature, to examine the status of women, Karam found that majority viewed them as victims as opposed to active actors which were largely influenced by the patriarchal structures. The scholar, however, opines those women occupy a number of roles and create different fates for themselves.⁴³ And here the writer gives examples of how women from Northern Ireland, South Africa, Guatemala, Cambodia, and Afghan, just to mention but a few, took matters into their own hands to demand their space on determining what was good for them through articulating their interests which spanned from rights, gender and, wholistically, their involvement in the peace process. It will be interesting to examine how

⁴¹ Tulel, I Women and peace-building in pastoral conflicts: a case study of pokot women in sigor region of west Pokot county. (2013), P 27.

⁴² F. Carey, Women and peace and security': The politics of implementing gender sensitivity norms in peacekeeping, *International Peacekeeping*, Vol .8 No.2, (2001), pp 49-68, retrieved on 2nd October 2020 from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310108413895>

⁴³ A. Karam. Women in War and Peace-building: The Roads Traversed, The Challenges Ahead.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.3 No.1, (2000), pp 2-25, retrieved on 30th September 2020 from <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740010019820>

women in Naivasha, emerging from ethnic conflict which was triggered by-elections, forged for peace.

Cohn *et al* argue that the inception of resolution 1325 was mandated in the protection of the group under study during wars, and appointment of more of them in the UN peace keeping and filed operations in addition to their participation in the decision-making process at various levels such as regional, national and international.⁴⁴ Although the paper does not explain to which women in specific are included in the whole peace process, the proposed study examines what role each woman in Naivasha played in the achievement of peace after the 2007/08 election skirmishes in Kenya and in the region, to be specific.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The Defying Victimhood Theory presented in *Women in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* by Albrecht Schnabel and Amara Tabyshalieva served as the foundation for this study. According to the thesis, inequities and injustices encountered before, during, and after the war must be addressed in order to build peace. Rape, sexual assault, forced pregnancy, forced marriage, divorce, prostitution, and human trafficking are only a few examples of the injustices and inequalities that exist.⁴⁵

The theory begins by addressing victimhood to empowerment and patterns of changes taken. Here it shows how structures were modelled with an intention to exclude women from peacebuilding activities. Secondly, it focuses on women and children arguing that women bear the challenge of patriarchy setting especially during and after conflicts. The third section speaks of the international mechanism to include women in the peace-making process through institutions such as truth and reconciliation commission with an aim to address atrocities such as rape, killings, and displacement, the UN Security Council (UNSCR) 1325, and legal systems for gender-based violence (GBV). Lastly, the theory suggests deconstruction of victimhood of women in the security and political arena.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ C. Cohn, H. Kinsella & S. Gibbings, Women, Peace and Security Resolution 1325, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol 6. No.1, (2004), pp 130-140. Retrieved on 30th September from, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000165969>

⁴⁵ A. Schnabel and A. Tabyshalieva, eds. *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post Conflict Peacebuilding*. Tokyo and New York: United Nations University Press(2012) p 35.

⁴⁶ M. Robinson, 'Albrecht Schnabel and Amara Tabyshalieva, eds. *Defying Victimhood: Women and Post Conflict Peacebuilding*.' Tokyo and New York: United Nations University Press, 2012. *African conflict and*

Basing on the above explanation and in addition to the experiences of rape, killings, sexual harassment, forced pregnancy, displacement among other horrible occurrences in Naivasha during the post-election violence, the theory well fits this study. Using the theory, it helps the reader understand the limits and exclusions that were structural hence the challenge in women waging peace in Naivasha and what mechanisms they employed to overcome them. Some of the challenges the study found out to be cultural and patriarchy dominance in the field of peace. Secondly, it was in the studies' interest to understand how they dealt with such losses that hit them after the post-election conflict in waging peace especially women and children and what they did to rebuilt. Thirdly, it was interesting examine how women overcome the male-dominated field to wage peace in Naivasha after the post-election violence. Lastly, the study analysed how international institutions and organization networks helped the women in Naivasha wage peace.

1.9 Research hypothesis

1. Women are the most affected by post-election violence in Kenya
2. Women play an important role in waging peace in Naivasha
3. The effects of women in waging peace in Naivasha is faced with numerous challenges

1.10 Methodology

For in-depth results, the study used a qualitative research methodology. The study used both secondary and primary sources to accomplish this purpose. Books, theses, and journal articles on women, peace, and conflict were among the secondary sources. This was applied to both the project and the literature review. The purpose of literature review about women, conflict and post-conflict experiences was to give the study a broad overview of their role in peace with identifying what is already written, the perspective taken and what is the perspective this research takes and in what context it is said. Some of these literatures were found at the history departmental library, the University of Nairobi, and here the focus was on armed conflict and peace studies thesis with a focus on women in the area. Secondly, the researcher visited the institute of diplomacy and African sections all at the University of Nairobi and at the African section in the Jomo Kenyatta Library with an aim of reading peace.

peacebuilding review. Vol 4. No. 1. (2014), Pp 142-147. Accessed on 10th may 2020 from , <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.4.1.142>

The primary source included reports and oral interviews about the 2007-8 post-election violence. Other primary sources were newspapers. I visited the University of Nairobi Library newspaper archives in the basement to read reporting of the 2007/08 post-election violence. Reports from organizations such as the UN, the world food Programme (WFP), Norwegian Refugee Council among others which helped in getting the right statistics of the affected regions as well as victims.

Oral interviews targeted women waging peace from the grassroot such as the small-scale businesswomen who were adversely affected due to the fact that they depended on the daily income to sustain themselves, in the hotel industry as workers and owners, in the flower farms as workers and owners, religious faction, administration sector, and the political class as the conflict was sparked off by election-related reason. Groups of women from several religions, political space, and in government with an aim of waging peace were also interviewed. Some of the government officials included those in the administration, police, health sector, education and agriculture. The reason for this target was because they were directly involved or affected by the conflict and more it is the government with the right statistics.

Oral interviews were carried out through the use of an interview guide with the women under study. Due to its flexibility, it served the researcher with the advantage of working along with the desired themes. The guide helped the researcher answer to the set objectives within the time frame. The advantage is the researcher had exhaustive responses that there were no follow-up arrangements made.

Purposive sampling was employed in this study. This is because the researcher did not have to do a follow-up after the research is completed, unless for a different reason. Secondly, the method well served with a snowball as the researcher sought to know which women were waging peace at their different capacities, levels. Similarly, those with particular attributes and who were willing to engage in the interview and convenient to locate them and relevant to this study were interviewed. The researcher engaged in one-on-one interviews and focused group discussions (FGDs). A one-on-one interview was key as it served as a confidence builder where some people were not okay in sharing with people known to them. Cases such as of rape left victims stigmatized and uneasy to share but through this mode of interview, I was able to get a few. Such information was important to tell their story on and know-how they have used their experiences to wage for peace what some scholars termed them the inner voice to wage peace. Similarly, the researcher also used FGDs to help the research with authentication. The

participant was free to give the correct information and where one misses some crucial information the others are there to interject and put across more information.

At Naivasha, the researcher had a colleague who works as a hotel manager and was in the region during and in post-conflict period. The manager has the contacts of the women who have used the facility for their training and workshops. Similarly, a former student of the researcher was based in the region. Through the student, the researcher was able to understand the logistics and areas that were majorly affected by the conflict. From the observation, the researcher got a glimpse of how the settlement of the population is and why it was easy for the attacks to go on without the protection of the state.

The researcher requested a permit from the National commission for science, technology, and innovation (NACOSTI), which is part of the ministry of education, in order to proceed without raising suspicion from the interviewee(s) in the field. The researcher is aware that this is a requirement of ethics. To obtain the permit, the researcher first obtained a letter from the History and Archaeology department of the university, which was then forwarded to NACOSTI, which issued a permit and afterwards acted as an introduction to the Naivasha education and administrative officers.

At request, the researcher also gave a copy to my interviewee. During the interviews, the researcher kept all information confidential. This was ensured by asking for their consent if the study could use real names or coded ones, for the identity factors. This was to avoid the stigma that may result from the study, whether physically or psychologically. Similarly, the researcher took all responsibility for whatever issues the study will elicit.

After data was collected from Naivasha, the researcher set the information collected based on the objectives. This was to facilitate the writing of the subsequent chapters. Secondly, it was purposely to eliminate unusable information and the rest were coded (were involved 1 for yes and 0 for no in this research) and stored (the storage was both in electronic- as this was easy to use and small volume and paper which is cheap and speedy retrieval) for use. Respectively, the researcher interpreted the answers given by the interviewees, including some of the vocabularies as they are used among the women in Naivasha, and finally, deal with contradicting answers that arise due to competition among the women waging peace in this part of the country. Data were analyzed based on the themes at hand where the researcher developed topics and subtopics to answer the problem. This mainly answered the two

objectives of the proposed study- roles played by women in their different spaces to wage peace and what were the impacts and challenges they experienced while in the quest to make peace in Naivasha.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN EVERYDAY PEACE KEEPING (1963-2007)

2.1 Introduction

Women generally are seen as the societal granary, without a woman the society will be extinct; the woman does the procreation hence a very integral part of society. Women, therefore, holds a very pivotal role in the fabric of society. Any form of conflict and more so that which is directed to the women is a direct affront to the society, any attack on the woman is an attack to the society at large. Therefore, women in political conflict must be treated with a lot of caution. Women and children are the people who are left standing in any political conflict whenever Men are killed or injured. Generally, women are seen in conflict to play either as a peacemaker or a fanner of such conflict, since the woman is directly related to men as husbands and brothers and with boys as their mothers, their contribution in conflict can fan or stop such conflict. UNSC resolution 1325 propagates the involvement of women in peace settlement after conflict

2.2 Women in the Family

Family and general household administration is frequently handled by a woman. A neat, orderly home is necessary for a happy family life. The female members of the family take up this job. She oversees every element of the household and serves as the executive director for the family. She assigns tasks to members of the home in accordance with their abilities and interests, and she provides the required equipment and materials to finish the job. She helps with the preparation and delivery of meals, the selection and maintenance of clothing, the laundry, the furniture, and the cleaning of the house. She organises a lot of events at home to help her develop as a social organizer. Additionally, she manages recreational activities. To meet the needs of the adult and kid generations of the family, she plans a variety of recreational

activities.. Her job is to get the most out of every penny she spends. She generally opts for an excess income over a deficit budget when preparing a budget. When it comes to cash, she is meticulous in her calculations. She spends her money wisely on essentials, pleasures, and indulgences, among other things. The family's revenue is supplemented by the lady's earnings, either in or out of the household. Her employment contributes positively to the household's earnings. She works at home and ensures the house is running at all times.

When it comes to property ownership within the family, women now have the same right to own property, judiciary accessibility, succession,⁴⁷ citizenship, and liberated mobility of people as men, according to the Kenyan 2010 constitution. Many females and court authorities are unfamiliar with the new legislation due to the slow pace of generational change. Kenyan cultural heritage revolves around the household, and the traditional female gender job is to support the household. Kenya is a predominantly masculine country. Governments, property, cattle, and enterprises are all owned by males, but it is transforming. Kenya has achieved the highest progress in terms of women's rights laws for the advancement of women's experiences. Ladies in Kenya struggle monetarily, psychologically, emotionally, and politically as a result of gendered imbalance, which differs by ethnicity and remote regions. Kenyan females are believed to have 'double work hours,' meaning they put in two times as much effort as males. According to data from the agricultural industry, women produce eighty percent of the foodstuff. This is in addition to all of the personal, domestic, and parenting responsibilities. Nairobi, like other metropolitan areas in the Rest of the world, has a burgeoning middle class, better women's rights, and much more educational opportunities.

The woman is the fulcrum of any given community. They are the engine of society; as the wife, they give birth to the said community. They act as the granary of each and every society hence are central and indeed pivotal to the growth of that community, which can't go on without any peace. The relation that the woman has within the community is multifaceted, wife, mother, and brother to the men, who are, in most cases, the combatants. She holds a very precarious position, which can't be ignored when in search of any meaningful peace. This, therefore, means that the woman must be part of a parcel of any conflict resolution and advance to the

⁴⁷ Okiri, F. *Women's rights in Kenyan jurisprudence*. Grin Verlag. (2019), Pp 20-30

agenda of peace. However, in most African traditional setup, conflicts are solved by elders where women are not or and even if they are, are not evenly represented.⁴⁸

The foregoing of the day to day lives of women means that women are part and parcel of conflict and equally also on peace. They tend to be more for peace since peace is best for the family, which remains the focus number one for any woman worldwide. Thus, any attempt to delineate the woman in conflict is not only a disservice to the community in conflict but is also in bad taste to the international law, UNSC number 1325, the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security 2000.⁴⁹

Women have been known to be breadwinners to children and the family in case the spouse is unable to provide.⁵⁰ A woman is often known for their kindness of heart and hard work, women will often toil for their family needs just to make ends meet. It is by their nature to work hard and act as breadwinners for their children. Kenyan women are known to wake up early and go to school late, the Kenyan small-scale workers are heavily made up of women who toil to provide for their kids. This does not mean that men are irresponsible, but it is proven by research that women are much more responsible than men. In most cases, a woman will live longer than life due to their biological structure, many men are breadwinners but, in their absence, then the modern-day woman will serve as the breadwinner. It is the role of the elected women representatives to draw funds that might help single mothers start-up businesses and provide for their families.

A woman in the family performs the vital role of raising the children to responsible adults. It is very common in African society to blame women if the children go astray⁵¹. The woman of a family gives birth to children and teaches them the ways to live. A child will often spend about eighteen years of their lives with their mother, of course, this is a long time for character shaping. The involvement of both the father and the mother is required for raising a healthy child. However, in honor of World Female's Day, it's important to recognize the multiple

⁴⁸ Francis Kariuki, Conflict Resolution by Elders in Africa: Successes, Challenges and Opportunities

⁴⁹ UNSC 1325, UN 2000

⁵⁰ Mwobobia, F. M. The Role of Banks in Empowering Women Entrepreneurs in Small and Micro Enterprises (SMEs) in Kenya: A Case of Cooperative Bank of Kenya. *International Journal of Business Administration*, 4(3). <https://doi.org/10.5430/ijba.v4n3>(2016), p73.

⁵¹ Abdullaeva, M. D The Role Of Parents In Raising Children In The Family. *The American Journal of Social Science and Education Innovations*, 03(01), . (2021),pp 410–415. <https://doi.org/10.37547/tajssei/volume03issue01-75>

responsibilities and impacts that women have on their children's lives on a cultural, religious, academic, economic, and psychological level. A mother also sees it as her first spiritual responsibility to instill the fear of God in her kid. This is something that women do ethically so that their kids can contribute to the country. It is a mum's responsibility to keep track of her children's movements at school, in places of worship, at social gatherings, was in and out of the household, much as moms are concerned about ensuring that their children receive a good education. Mothers are at their strongest even though their youngsters are at their lowest. Even though it appears that they are not being rewarded for their achievements, women provide support and compassion to their offspring. More importantly, being a mom is a never-ending task. Even in their advanced years, many moms continue to inquire if their 40-year-old children have eaten for each day.

Women are caregivers to the old, children, and male partners in the family. In every nation, females are the principal caregivers for youngsters and the elderly. Global research shows that when general societal commerce and governmental structure transform, females play a leading role in assisting their families in adjusting to changing circumstances and obstacles. Women are usually the most essential source of external aid and serve a key responsibility in supporting household adjustments. Ladies give the bulk of family caregivers to their husbands, grandparents, relatives, colleagues, and acquaintances, and they perform a variety of roles while doing it and: practical work healthcare professional, healthcare administrator, partner, comrade, surrogate choice, and activist, to name a few. Women's roles in caregiving have been studied extensively. Women caretakers account for around sixty percent of all caregivers. The typical caregiver is a 49-year-old lady who works just within the household and delivers care or support to her grandmother and mother for twenty hours per week. Even though males contribute as well, women carers may spend up to 50% more hours delivering assistance than males' caretakers.

2.3 Women in the community

Women have been key parties in volunteering services within the communities in Kenya. Since the old days, women have been known to have a kind heart and this has been tested and proven by the large number of women involved in volunteering services. ⁵²The Kenya red cross and

⁵² Kiruthu, F. The Role of Windle Trust Kenya in Promotion of Education in Dadaab Camp, Kenya. *Msingi Journal*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.33886/mj.v4i1.178>(2020), pp 33-45.

other common volunteering organizations have enrolled a big number of women who offer services such as healthcare awareness, environmental control, psychological health support, and general nutrition health. A good example is the former miss world Kenya who was known for her kind heart in providing voluntary services in the fight against jiggers. Despite the woman being beautiful and famous, she was pictured in numerous communities washing and treating jigger-infested children. This is just one of the many roles that women have played as volunteers. The volunteers work to ensure educational admission, develop parent participation, offer supportive services, offer additional diet and nutrition awareness, finance women's grants and loans, build schools with girls' restrooms, teach reading as well as skills, and so many others under the leadership of government officials. The kind heart of a woman should not be taken for granted, such volunteering services bring the community together and change the lives of many people living below the poverty line.

Women have typically served as neutral battlefield medics and behind-the-lines peacemakers. Even in patriarchal family communities, women were useful mediators in conflicts. Although the Pokot community is highly patriarchal, little information about its women, if any, has been recorded. There is now a significant gap in scholarship that must be filled. The above work explains the roles women can play in times of conflict but fails to highlight how women are marginalized in peace-building.⁵³

Women have been the core educators of communities in Kenya and around the world. From the ancient days, women have always apprehended the role of being educators within the society⁵⁴. From ancient articles, we find out that women had a role to teach the children basic knowledge about life and the society at large. In most cases, women have been blamed whenever a child's behavior gets out of hand. In the modern-day world, women as educators have had a major role in early childhood education. In Kenya, most of the early childhood development teachers are women, Why? Because little children find women easy to hang around with because motherly instincts have a major role in early childhood education.

⁵³ Fitzgerald, M. A., *Throwing the Stick Forward: The Impact of War on Southern Sudanese Women*, Nairobi; (2002), p 29.

⁵⁴ Maina, K. N. *Role of Women in Ethnic Conflict Management and Resolution in Kenya: Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic Conflict Management and Resolution in Nakuru and Uasin Gishu Districts, Kenya*. Scholars' Press. (2015), P 40.

It is undeniable that women have a significant impact on the present societal shift from pre-literacy to literacy.⁵⁵ For a nation to prosper and achieve its sustainable development goals, a basic education is essential. Studies have demonstrated that education considerably improves quality of life, performance, and the status of women and girls. It also lowers birth rates and contributes to the preservation of the ecosystem. The head of the house encourages both boys and girls to register in - and continue in - school most of the time. The position of ladies is at the start of a sequence of developments that result in longer competence in the household and society.

Women have been known to be wives and helpers of men within the basic household unit. They have been known to instill discipline and order within the family.⁵⁶ A lady is a man's helper, partner, and friend. She sets moral standards, lessens strain and hardship on her spouse, upholds harmony and balance in the family, and foregoes her own ambitions and aspirations. She thus creates the ideal environment for the man-husband to focus considerably more on the financial security of the family. She serves as additional inspiration for men to put in extra effort and achieve great things in life. She stands at his side through all of his challenges and shares in all of his victories and accomplishments. A woman is a person he turns to when he needs love, care, acceptance, pleasure, or recognition. She symbolizes hope, constancy, devotion, and love for her spouse, her children, and the society at large. Men are always encouraged to get married to have their lives in order, all these are brought by a woman. Acts of domestic violence against women by exploring their vulnerable nature should be punishable by law because they deserve better.

Women have played a big role in promoting agriculture and sustainability in the green economy movement. Women having a key position in society has guaranteed the sustainability, prosperity, and lengthy expansion of countries across their existence. Around 42 percent of all agricultural workers worldwide are women, with some countries approaching 70 percent. For instance, eighty percent of Africa's agricultural producers are local ones, the bulk of whom are smallholder farmers. In undeveloped nations, farming is widely recognized as a source of income and an instrument for reducing inequality. Women in particular have a major role to

⁵⁵ C. M. ICT Role in Women's Education and Development. *International Journal of Research in Arts and Science*, 5(Special Issue). <https://doi.org/10.9756/bp2019.1001/22>(2019), pp 211-221

⁵⁶ DeYoung, M. Women as mothers and wives in paternally incestuous families: Coping with role conflict. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 18(1). [https://doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134\(94\)90097-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134(94)90097-3) (2020). pp 73-83

play in the preparation and nutrition of meals at home.⁵⁷ In addition, mothers are more likely to self-report their efforts to protect children's wellbeing and nourishment. A modern-day agricultural innovation is aimed to provide a sustainable future as it aims at conserving the environment and providing healthy agricultural products. Women have been at the forefront of providing agricultural workforce and support should be granted to them.

Educating the Kenyan woman would of course open the world of opportunities and better economic booster for the Kenyan economy. Kenya places high importance on schooling. Women make up more than forty percent of university graduates⁵⁸. Kenya's updated Education Bill of 2012 declares that every kid has the entitlement to a comprehensive and obligatory education. A youngster may not even be recruited or worked if it prevents the minor from attending classes, according to the legislation. Accessibility to competent education, resources, and instructors is challenging for rural households, especially for the girl child. Families want their daughters to stay married, so why attend university? In addition, women are expected to assist at homes, labor on farmland, sell extra products at the marketplace, store water, and collect firewood for cooking. Kenya is a developing republican state. Women have before been excluded from serving in administration due to restrictive and prejudiced policies. No sexuality could have more than 2/3 of the seats in the 350-member Legislative Council, and 47 seats were set aside for females. Kenya recognizes the critical contribution females perform in the economy and has taken concrete initiatives to increase and preserve women's participation. They are backed by funding dedicated to protecting girls and women and assisting them in achieving greater educational levels, better jobs and health, and economic empowerment.

Kenyan women have proved to succeed in male-dominated fields like sports and other forms of arts. In 2014, actress Lupita Amondi Nyong'o, who hails from Kisumu City in West Kenya, won the first Oscars for her portrayal in the popular film *12 Years a Slave*, bringing Africa and Kenya together for the first time. She was born and raised in Nairobi. She was a performer in both primary and secondary school and then worked in theatre at Nairobi's renowned Phoenix Players. She pushed it on the cinema in America and worldwide, as well as on Broadway, with great success. Lupita Nyong'o has done a lot to raise consciousness regarding the detrimental impacts of discrimination and racial profiling in humanity, including authoring and releasing a

⁵⁷ The role of women enterprises for the conservation of Kakamega forest, Kenya. (2020). *Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences and Humanities*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.26500/jarssh-05-2020-0301> pp 20-30

⁵⁸ Onyango, E. A. *Gender and Development: A History of Women's Education in Kenya*. Langham Monographs. (2018), Pp 12-20.

children's book called *Sulwe* and producing the film *In My Genes*. She has proved to excel where men only were known to dwell. The Kenyan volleyball women's team and athletes like Obiri ⁵⁹have broken Olympic records, it is indeed a good motivation for the young girls out there.

Women in Kenya have joined hands in playing a role in fighting HIV and AIDS that has affected the youth. WOFAK (Women Fighting AIDS in Kenya) is a Kenyan non-governmental organization established in 1994 by several ladies, the majority of whom had confirmed HIV positive. WOFAK has contributed important contributions to the country's attempts to eradicate HIV/AIDS as well as provide extensive treatment and support to ladies, adolescents, and people – with and afflicted by HIV and AIDS, allowing them to live a better, more meaningful life. It promotes female's and adolescents' independence by aiding them with their healthcare and serostatus, living positively with a virus, and protecting their societies and households from infectious disease⁶⁰. Current ASOS only handle feminist rights as a small part of their activities, according to the WOFAK ⁶¹founders and perhaps most existing initiatives geared at women focus on sexually active adolescents. They provide training in home-based care approaches as well as counseling and support to hospitalized members. In universities, parishes, commercial centers, and the countryside, WOFAK provides HIV/AIDS education and outreach. They continue to advocate for more robust responses from the government and other organizations that provide HIV/AIDS prevention and care. Only women have proven to be such caring to the people living with this virus.

Women have helped the government in the fight against Female genital mutilation in Kenya, enabling adolescents to continue schooling and advance their careers. FGM is on the decrease in Kenya, thanks to a regulation passed in 2011 that rendered it socially unacceptable, but it is still prevalent amongst some cultural minorities.⁶² As per the Kenyan Department of Statistics, 77.9% of Maasai females in Kenya were exposed to Circumcision in 2014, despite UNICEF reporting that twenty percent of Kenyan females and adolescents aged 10 to 50 had experienced

⁵⁹ McCarthy, C. Develop plans for increasing success in athletics, academics, and beyond. *College Athletics and the Law*, 12(12). <https://doi.org/10.1002/catl.30190> (2016), p 12.

⁶⁰ LA, P., T, J., R, G., H, G., G, M. G., & P, E. J. (2019), Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) Disclosure and Sexual Behaviors among Kenyan Women. *Journal of HIV and AIDS*, 5(2). <https://doi.org/10.16966/2380-5536.165> p 30.

⁶¹ Ligami, C. WOFAK — support and advocacy for women in Kenya. *The Lancet HIV*, 7(1), e14. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s2352-3018\(19\)30412-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/s2352-3018(19)30412-6)(2020), p 14.

⁶² Nam, Y. Learning through social interaction: Kenyan women against female genital cutting in Kenya. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 23(6). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2020.1734662> pp 840-853

the procedure. ⁶³FGM is a worldwide problem. In some of Kenya's bordering countries, the practice is much more frequent. As per the United Nations Development Programme, 74 percent of Ethiopian girls and women have had FGM, while 98 percent of Females have. Approximately 200 million girls and women have been subjected to FGM internationally, with around 500,000 in the United States. Women spearheading the fight against FGM in Kenya have proven to be a vital role in society. Kudos! To all women fighting female genital mutilation.

Women in Kenya have played a big role in fighting early marriages of young girls. It is, of course, a vice in society, and the efforts by women to fight it is a big role within society. About fifteen million women married before they turn 18, with Kenya currently has the highest rates of the child getting married in the globe, believed to be between twenty-five and thirty percent. In Kenya's rural communities, forced marriages are common. In societies where forced marriage is common, it is considered a traditional practice. Families have also exploited forced marriages as a defensive mechanism. Parents have also exploited forced marriages as a surviving tactic⁶⁴. Child marriages jeopardize a children's upbringing and put the Sustainable Development Goals in jeopardy. An examination of the literature revealed that Kenya has a solid legal process in place to combat forced marriages and penalize abusers. Women have been at the forefront in fighting such vices and it is an encouragement of young ladies to work hard.

The Kenyan women and female political leaders have played a big role in fighting school dropouts among young ladies in Kenya caused by gender-based violence. Nairobi, Kenya — Female harassment has indeed been identified as a major contributor to females dropping out of primary school in Kenya, especially this year, as hundreds of girls declined to sit for their elementary school standardized tests. According to statistics issued by the Department of Education in March, 12,424 Class 8 applicants failed to appear for tests” in September. Violent abuse, prostitution and forced sexual assault, homicide, humiliation, grave damage, child maltreatment, and mental trauma have been the most likely causes of Female Aggression recognized. Ladies should indeed be prepared to confront such character flaws, according to

⁶³ Wangila, M. N. *Female Circumcision: The Interplay of Religion, Culture, and Gender in Kenya (Women from the Margins)*. ORBIS. (2015) (2020), Pp 14-20.

⁶⁴ Mohamud, A., Qureshi, Z., de Wildt, G., & Jones, L. Exploring Perceptions of Female Genital mutilation/Cutting Abandonment (FGM/C) in Kenyan Health Care Professionals. *Qualitative Health Research*, 104973232110159. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10497323211015967> (2021), pp 17-25

Winnie Syombua, a Female Leader at Professional for Constitutional Rights (JHR), which operates the Voice for Women and Girls' Rights (VWGR).

2.4 Women in Self-help groups (chama)

Women have been able to bring people together through self-help groups popularly known as 'Chamas' in Kenya. These groups are known for raising money monthly and allocating them in rounds for their registered members. It is not only a way to save money for later productive reasons, but also bringing the community together. It is for obvious reasons that women will be the people who come together to form these groups, they have a big heart and can sit together to discuss the wellbeing of their families and the society at large. These self-help groups have also been necessary for providing basic needs to families that are struggling financially. In most self-groups, its members will raise funds and visit children orphanages and support those parents with fewer children. The children living in those homes often need basic needs and compassion, it is the women in our societies who can make them feel at home. In recent years, these groups have been seen to grow and even get registered by the high office of the registrar. They are now able to raise a huge chunk of money which can be directed to several social projects within communities in Kenya. The Kenya Women finance group has played a big role in empowering young girls and needy children and also providing funds to hundreds of women in Kenya who want to start businesses. The role of Women's self-help groups is indeed one of the visionary aspects of a sustainable economy.⁶⁵

For the world's economy to grow, then women have played a big role especially in the growth of the world's overall workforce and developing small enterprises that are important in bringing the community together. In Kenya, it is very common to see women coming together in groups and coming up with small entities such as shops, tailoring services, and hair salon services. These small businesses have had a big impact in increasing women's role in the world's general workforce to about forty-six percent. It is very rare to find a woman in society promoting idleness, there is always one or two activities that a woman will get involved in to pull strings together for the family and the society. In Kenya, especially within the streets of the capital, it is a common scene to see women involving themselves in hawking and management of small enterprises just to raise funds for the whole family. If the government can consider empowering women, then the economy would be at a better place in the coming years. The Kenyan

⁶⁵ J. Ann Tickner. *Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press) (1992), p 36.

government has played a big role in promoting women's small enterprises by having parliamentary women representatives and directing a reasonable portion of the budget to the women and the small enterprises.⁶⁶

2.5 Women in leadership

Women have had a big role in bringing society together by contesting for bigger national positions like the presidency, gubernatorial seats, parliamentary seats, and even head of parastatals and companies. In recent years, Kenya and the rest of the world have witnessed women stepping up and going head to head with men for the top sits. It is considered a big achievement for women and young girls who want to be heads of a nation. In the past, women were viewed as inferior to men and their place was in the Kitchen. Many things have changed over the years and there are notable names like Samia Suluhu Hassan, the current president of Tanzania who has stepped up in helping the needy and motivating young girls in Tanzania and Africa at large.⁶⁷ Charity Ngilu and Martha Karua have also been women leaders for a long time in Kenya, indeed in the positions, they have held, they have left a huge legacy. During their reign, they were able to foresee many projects against domestic violence and protected the young woman's life especially in an era where female genital mutilation was in the rise. Kenya has also been able to have the opportunity to have a lady chief justice, she indeed promised to bring changes to the corrupt judicial systems and I believe that the system is in better hands.

Women in Kenya have played a big role as activists in promoting peace, harmony, and environmental control. Community activism is a powerful revolutionary movement in Kenya, particularly among women, and it is far from a modern concept. Ladies in Kenya have spearheaded initiatives on topics including such as female genital mutilation, governmental engagement, and sexual identity abuse. Organizing protests put campaigners like Wanjeri Nderu in danger of being attacked. After being attacked by police, human rights activist Philo Ikonya fled to Norwegian. This should stop! Prof. Wangari Maathai,⁶⁸ an activist and legislator were among Kenya's best well citizens. For her "effort to economic growth, democratization,

⁶⁶ Weber, A. *Feminism Peace and Conflict Theory*. Routledge Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Theory, Winter. (2006), P 5.

⁶⁷ Byne, B. *Towards Gender Understanding of Conflicts; Peace building initiative strategic framework*. (1997), Retrieved August 22, 2015 p10.

⁶⁸ Swanson, J. *Environmental Activist Wangari Maathai (STEM Trailblazer Bios)*. LernerClassroom. (2018). Pp 11.

and tranquility," She became the first African female to earn the Nobel Peace Prize.⁶⁹ Margaret was also appointed to the Kenyan national assembly and participated in the Kenyan government for more than twenty years, posing a significant threat to her male peers. She is a light to young women and her legacy will remain forever in the hearts of women and their everlasting love for the environment and the society.

2.6 Women in Religious Organization

Women are the backbone of most churches in Kenya.⁷⁰ Women have been able to guide members of the family and the community spiritually by having equal say in churches. It has for long been misunderstood that women should not talk in spiritual convents and institutions. Of course, all these are ancient laws that have proven to be ineffective over the decades. Women are natural leaders and the spiritual foundations of many Kenyan families. Women holding such positions in churches and other institutions have had a huge impact. Many catholic girl schools are led by women nuns and church leaders who are known to be strict and spiritually available for the young generation. They ought to be members of the church organization to give spiritual messages to male and female adolescents to diminish the issue of youth crime in the Kenyan community. They also play an important role in pre-marital and post-marital counseling for young women on sexually transmitted infections. AIDS and other viral infections are two of the most common diseases in the world affecting young girls and boys. They are responsible for raising knowledge about fundamental liberties, women's and children's rights, bank lending, and other exposure initiatives among individuals with the low financial position. Furthermore, it is females who have maintained general societal progress and shaped the destiny of countries. Ladies have an important role in various industries in the highly complicated socio-economic landscape.

As the religious teachings encouraged women to push the household, neighborhood, and social system to peacefully coexist and exercise the principle of love, Religion supplied the framework that inspired women peacebuilders⁷¹. Regional Union of Christians of Kenya,

⁶⁹ Prevot, F., & Fronty, A. *Wangari Maathai: The Woman Who Planted Millions of Trees* (Reprint ed.). Charlesbridge; (2017), p 20.

⁷⁰ Kising'u, T. M., Namusonge, P. G. S., & Mwirigi, D. F. M. The Role of Organizational Innovation in Sustainable Competitive Advantage in Universities in Kenya. *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention*. Published. <https://doi.org/10.18535/ijsshi/v3i9.24>(2016), pp 18-30.

⁷¹ Kilonzo, S. M. Silent peacemakers: grass-roots transitional justice and peacebuilding by women in Kenyas North Rift conflicts. *Journal of the British Academy*, 9s. <https://doi.org/10.5871/jba/009s2.053> (2021), pp 53-74.

Catholics Peace and Equality Committee, and Seventh Day Adventist Church meetings and conventions gave a venue for women to speak for peace and hence an epitome of peace within the society. Women have been known to be the religious aspects of the family as a whole and this passes from generation to generation, promoting peace within the communities of Kenya. Churches will often deal with the teachings of living in a peaceful environment and the forefront of such activities will be the church women. The Christian teaching is so precise and the churches will often act as a grass roots for peacebuilding exercises. They will often refer to the ten commandments that dictate that the human race should live in co-existence and peace. In Kenya, women have acted as the grassroots to peace exercises through their door-to-door initiative when the country was facing a hard time of the post-election violence. The church and women groups acted as the only place to run to because many men were brainwashed and were so much engaged in conflict and war. Through the women within the religious blocks, peace was restored in many parts of the country and the displaced people were offered a place to sleep in churches. Through their natural ability, women are peacemakers even at home and at the workplace.⁷² Whenever anything that might stir conflict arises, then women can step up and rebuke the situation, creating peace for the household and the society at large.

Through churches and women's religious groups, women have been able to promote peace through organizing visits and other related peaceful demonstrations. Peace workshops and peace visits were also arranged by women through the church. Members of various churches paid a visit to another church to participate in discourse about the origins of violence and how peace may be attained. Participating in peace races and cultural events are two examples. These events can promote peace and harmony within the grass root levels of the society and the household. Generally, conflicts start from the smallest unit of the society, this is through the youths, schools, and even the family. Through visits such as peacebuilding visits to schools, women can converse with the general public and give them the various consequences of conflict and the long-term reputation. The women involved in such organizational developed visits have undergone training and they're generally compassionate towards the society and peace gives them an upper hand in promoting peace. They will often deliver heart-touching speeches and the youths will get some valid peace-keeping points, it will influence their future and they will pass the message from generation to generation. Events such as peace-building

⁷² Welty, E. 'Faith-Based Peacebuilding and Development: An Analysis of the Mennonite Central Committee in Uganda and Kenya. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2014.938994>(2014), pp 65-70.

racers can capture a large portion of society, including children, the youth, and even the physically disabled members. Women groups participate heavily in such exercises and it has been effective in promoting peace at the grassroots level. If the government can shift focus and be able to support such small initiatives taken by women in the society, there is a possibility in influencing the youths in peace races and other initiatives, passing peace messages from generation to generation.

Intermarriages, especially within Kenyan society have been able to act as a peace-building strategy, especially through women. In the Kenyan society set up, when the woman of a household gets married, then the woman will have to relocate from her community and join the husband's community as a symbol of unity⁷³. There are many communities in Kenya, women are getting married every single day with different tribal groups. A good example is post-election violence that was experienced a couple of years ago, through women and intermarriages, many families were safe from the cruelty of war. The women in marriage institutions were considered peace drivers within the community. Through intermarriages, communities live as one, this prevented the tribal clashes from extending further into the country's grassroots level and hence a peacebuilding strategy was employed. Women were at the forefront of condemning community-based violence as they heard an equal voice in the community they were married to. I believe that intermarriages have been a major peacebuilding strategy that should be appreciated as communities will always come together through marriages.

Women play an important role in inter-clan relationships as they marry outside of their clan and can serve as vital conduits for communication between opposing clans.⁷⁴The woman will be discussed as a very important person in conflict resolution, given their centrality in the society`. The women are generally known as peacemakers since the people who cause much of the conflicts are men. The woman is the fulcrum of any given community. They are the engine of society, as the wife, they give birth to the said community. They act as the granary of each and every society hence are central in and indeed pivotal to the growth of that community, which can't go on without any peace. The relation that the woman has within the community is multifaceted, wife, mother, and brother to the men, who are, in most cases, the

⁷³ Fatuma Ahmed Ali. Women's Agency and Violence against Women: The Case of the Coalition on Violence Against Women in Kenya. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.7.1.04>(2017), p 51.

⁷⁴ Saverio Krätli and Jeremy Swift, Understanding And Managing Pastoring Conflict in Kenya, Institute of Development Studies University of Sussex, UK. p 18.

combatants. She holds a very precarious position, which can't be ignored when in search of any meaningful peace. This, therefore, means that the woman must be part of a parcel of any conflict resolution and advance to the agenda of peace. However, in most African traditional setup, conflicts are solved by elders where women are not or and even if they are, are not evenly represented⁷⁵. The woman is the fulcrum of any given community. They are the engine of society, their wife; they give birth to the said community. They act as the granary of each and every society hence are central in and indeed pivotal to the growth of that community, which can't go on without any peace. The relation that the woman has within the community is multifaceted, wife, mother, and brother to the men, who are, in most cases, the combatants. She holds a very precarious position, which can't be ignored when in search of any meaningful peace. This, therefore, means that the woman must be part of a parcel of any conflict resolution and advance to the agenda of peace. However, in most African traditional setup, conflicts are solved by elders where women are not or and even if they are, are not evenly represented.⁷⁶

Peacebuilding is a lengthy process of making a framework that allows for peaceful coexistence to flourish. It is a method of bringing warring parties together to establish a long-term peace.⁷⁷By involving women as peacebuilding agents, Kenya has been able to obtain peace at the grassroots level of society. Formerly opposing factions must be disbanded, expelled from the country, and reintroduced into the community, according to contemporary security standards, which are frequently included in peace agreements. Recognizing that criminal activities had the potential to escalate into tribal confrontations, most Kenyan Women Peace Groups established Rapid Response Teams. These women agents, like most in Kenyan communities, were dominated by women, teenagers, the local protection council, and older people. Their mission was to "listen continually and act swiftly" in potentially explosive circumstances such as rape cases or offenders burning down houses. When an event is notified to them, they go to the scene of the crime and gather information. They are heavily dominated by women because of the swift ability and willingness of women to respond to such emergencies. For example, the Rapid Response Team requested that the Women for Peace subcommittee address women's rights. This strategy was used to tackle a situation that may have been influenced politically in one instance. An eight-year-old girl was raped, and details were proved following a series of

⁷⁵ Francis Kariuki, Conflict Resolution by Elders in Africa: Successes, Challenges and Opportunities.

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Wambua. Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding: The ICC and TJRC Processes in Kenya. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.2979/africanconfpeacrevi.9.1.03>(2019), p 54.

examinations, and the case was sent to the women's subcommittee. They can make decisions that will not prompt the youth to use war as an element of the fight against rape cases. It's a good peacekeeping strategy.

The world is patriarchal in nature as most societies are male-dominated despite the fact that women and girls form the bulk population of society. Women suffer disproportionately from the effects of conflicts and harmful situations. In times of peace-building, women participate least while they are the ones who bear the burden of conflict. Women are not visible; they are sidelined from the peace-building processes in the Country.

On the other hand, conflicts in society are difficult to resolve. Conflict is a daily happening in human life, and many writers in conflict have reaffirmed that conflict is always with the human race. The only thing that is important, therefore, is how to manage it through various means. The above therefore requires that all that are affected by such conflict are involved in conflict resolution. Peace is a very important ingredient to development, and much of the societal development is in the hands of the mother, who are actually women. Despite this, women have been discriminated against in leadership during the conflict and are under-represented in post-conflict peace-building. Conflict and the aftermath of conflict have been male-dominated. This is despite the acute impact that conflict has on women. Women are generally peaceful in nature, which means that women are more likely to manage conflict resolution better than men.

2.7 Conclusion

The role of women in society cannot be overstated. Women occupy important roles in the family, the house, the neighborhood church, and even politics. In terms of the care and duty they are supposed to give for children, the sick, the elderly, and their assets, women appear to be more overloaded than males when conflicts erupt. Their partners, male friends, and kids, who are mostly warriors in times of war, desert them. Some of the spouses and sons may be preoccupied with their jobs and studies, while others may be widowed. They are in charge of their homes, regardless of their level of experience. Their first priority shifts to providing for and safeguarding the family. This is the reason why women acquire coping skills to support their families both during and after crises. Women's advocacy roles are evident in the interventions they make both during and after conflicts. A few instances of Kenyan women's stories about promoting peace are documented by the Coalition for Peace in Africa (COPA).

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN AND ELECTORAL CONFLICTS IN KENYA (1963-2007)

3.1 Introduction

Like many African states in post-colonial period, Kenya has experienced spates of episodic conflicts. In particular, Kenya has been ravaged by a series of conflicts that follow the electoral cycle thus engendering structural violence as part of political organizing, mobilization and legitimization of processes. According to Kanyinga et al. (2010), since the dawn of independence from the brutish yoke of British colonialism in December 1963, the country has experienced electoral reversals and tensions. This has heralded negative peace that is routinely interrupted by episodes of overt conflict during electoral processes⁷⁸. This chapter is a background that critically examines the history of electoral conflicts in Kenya and the place of women in electoral conflicts in Kenya.

3.2 Electoral Conflicts in Kenya

To understand this trajectory of Kenya's electoral conflicts, one has to look at the context in which this conflict has been cultured. Just like many African states, Kenya's electoral violence is a legacy of the brutish British divide-and-rule strategy of colonial misrule where indigenous communities in the colonial territory were pitted against each other. This was followed by the disempowerment of these indigenous communities, now in isolation from each other, in order to create room for the unfettered plunder of the country's economic resources⁷⁹. With independence, Wamwere (2008) points out, the colonial strategy of divide and rule and the logic of oppression was appropriated by the new ruling elites. This perpetuated the structural inequalities that characterized the colonial state in effect heightening the unequal distribution of economic and political resources⁸⁰.

⁷⁸ Kanyinga, Karuti, Duncan Okello, and Akech Akoko. "Contradictions of transition to democracy in fragmented societies: The Kenya 2007 elections in perspective." In *Tensions and reversals in democratic transitions: The Kenya 2007 general elections*, edited by Karuti Kanyinga and Duncan Okello. Nairobi: Society for International Development and Institute for Development Studies. (2010), Pp 1-30

⁷⁹ Munene, Macharia. (2014), "Contextualizing peace and security in Africa: Framing the issues." In *The study and practice of peace and security in Africa*, edited by Macharia Munene and Ozonnia Ojielo. Nairobi: UNDP. P 24.

⁸⁰ Wamwere, Koigi. *Towards genocide in Kenya: The curse of negative ethnicity*. Nairobi: Mvule Africa Publishers; (2008), p 5.

In examining the independent government in Kenya, Ajulu (1998) and Adeagbo (2011) pointed out that the structural differences amongst indigenous communities heralded the manifestation of class and ethnic patronage in the unequal distribution of resources in the 1960s and 1970s. This was especially witnessed in the grabbing of huge tracts of land and particularly the productive 'white highlands' which were previously in the hands of the white settlers. Another issue was the entrenchment of structural injustices by the Kenyatta regime.⁸¹ Coupled by the personalization of power in the hands of one autocrat, these ethnic inequalities in the distribution of political resources, as well as the structural injustices in regime, established genuine grievances that further buttressed political divisions in the country. With the maturation of political grievances that assumed ethnic and regional identities in the country, the Kenyatta regime responded with underhand tactics such as overt political domination and manipulation of the political institutions, in effect turning national plebiscites into calculated moves that were for rewarding those perceived loyalists while punishing opposing voices⁸².

In following in Kenyatta's footsteps of ethnicized economic plunder and personal rule, Kenya's second commander in chief, Daniel Moi, and his autocratic regime continued with the unfettered accumulation of state resources along ethnic lines with the Kalenjin becoming the new blue-eyed boys of the state's logic of economic production like crony capitalism.⁸³ This administration massively plundered state coffers. On the reverse, it heightened the need and demand for constitutional and institutional reforms in the entire country. For political survival and expediency, Moi fiddled with ethnicity to gain political mileage by employing the already instituted colonialists' tricks which were perfected by President Kenyatta in Kenya's political contest⁸⁴. In addition, Moi transformed the country into a de jure single-party state through the Constitution of Kenya Amendment Act number 7 of 1982 infamously known as Section 2 (A)⁸⁵.

⁸¹ Ajulu, Rok. "Kenya's 1997 Elections: Making Sense of the Transition Process." *New England Journal of Public Policy* 14 (1): (1998), pp 73–88. *See also*, Adeagbo, Oluwafemi. 2011. "Post-Election Crisis in Kenya and Internally Displaced Persons: A Critical Appraisal." *Journal of Politics and Law* 4 (2): pp 174–179.

⁸² Mutua, Makau. *Kenya's quest for democracy: Taming the leviathan*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2008), P 7.

⁸³ Ajulu, Rok. "Kenya's 1997 Elections: Making Sense of the Transition Process." *New England Journal of Public Policy* 14 (1): (1998), pp 73–88. *See also*, Adeagbo, Oluwafemi. 2011. "Post-Election Crisis in Kenya and Internally Displaced Persons: A Critical Appraisal." *Journal of Politics and Law* 4 (2): (2000), pp 174–179.

⁸⁴ *ibid* pp 34-51.

⁸⁵ Korwa, Adar, and Franklin Vivekananda. "The interface between political conditionality and democratization: The case of Kenya." *Scandinavian journal of development alternatives and area studies* 19 (2 & 3): pp 71-106.

The re-introduction of pluralist kind of politics in Kenya following the repeal of section 2(A) of the constitution in 1991 heralded the start of Kenya's troubled history with electoral conflicts. With the expansion of the democratic space, the parties that were emerging were largely conceived without substantive political ideologies. As such, most political parties were established by regional kingpins and served as vehicles to acquire power by making the ethnic positioning of their political home ground as the basis for their power⁸⁶. While this election provided a critical stepping stone in moving away from Moi's autocratic regime that was underpinned by crony capitalism, kleptocracy, orthodox governance, and violation of human rights, Kenya's quest for democratic transition, Throup, and Hornsby (1998) postulate, was dealt a massive blow by the political machinations of the Moi regime with electoral malpractices as well as a coordinated campaign of electoral violence in the Rift Valley meant to dissuade communities such as the Agikuyu from voting for fear of further reprisals⁸⁷.

This pattern of ethnic violence was further repeated in the 1997 general elections which still carried a heightened fervor for regime change. Electoral malpractices including vote-rigging were the order of the day. Furthermore, electoral-related conflicts expanded from Rift Valley to other areas such as the coastal towns leading to loss of human life and the increase of IDPs in the Rift valley, Nyanza, Western and Coastal regions⁸⁸.

While the 2002 general election that actually heralded regime change was largely peaceful and thus providing an opportunity for a transition from Moi's authoritarian governance to a democratic regime, the new Kibaki regime did not leave to the desired goal to pursue positive peace in the country.⁸⁹ With the breakdown in the 2002 pre-election pact between Kibaki and his allies, the 2007 general election was held amidst deep political tensions. During the election, militant groups such as the Mungiki, Kalenjin Warriors, and Baghdad Boys, aiding with

⁸⁶ Ajulu, Rok. "Kenya's 1997 Elections: Making Sense of the Transition Process." *New England Journal of Public Policy* 14 (1). (1998). Pp 73–88.

⁸⁷ Throup, David, and Charles Hornsby. (1998). *Multiparty politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta and Moi states and the triumph of the system in the 1992 elections*. Oxford: James Currey. P 4.

⁸⁸ Brown, Stephen. "Lessons learnt and forgotten: The international community and conflict management in Kenya." In *Elections in dangerous places: Democracy and paradoxes of peacebuilding*, edited by David Gillies. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. (2011). Pp 127-143

⁸⁹ Ajulu, Rok. "Kenya's 2007 elections: Derailing democracy through ethno-regional violence." *Journal of African elections* 7 (2). (2008). Pp 34-51.

financial support and weapons such as machetes and arrows instigated fear in order to influence the voting patterns in different regions⁹⁰.

On 27th December 2007 where Kenyans overwhelmingly voted in a plebiscite they thought would herald a peaceful handover of power if the incumbent was defeated. Despite polls predicting Raila Odinga's victory and with allegations of electoral fraud, the then electoral management body pronounced the incumbent as the winner on 31st December. This led to the outbreak of violence in opposition-held areas where organized violent militias, bankrolled by leading members of the opposition party, attacked President Kibaki's ethnic group, the Kikuyus. This led to a counter-response where Kikuyu militias exacted retaliatory attacks against Kalenjins and Luos who had supported Raila Odinga, the opposition candidate⁹¹.

With the international community entering the fray in trying to find a way to end the stalemate and the violence, the disputants agreed to negotiate under a mediation panel led by Kofi Annan towards the end of January 2008. The ultimate achievement was the signed National Accord, an agreement that heralded sharing of power between President Kibaki and Raila Odinga, the latter becoming a prime minister under the now the National Accord and Reconciliation Act of 2008, a parliamentary statute that sought to give powers to the agreement between the disputants. The hallmark of the agreement was the end to the skirmishes, the formation of a coalition government with the sharing of power between the disputants; the enactment of reforms geared towards resolving issues predisposing the country to endemic violence. This agreement was widely hailed as a success⁹².

In the post-conflict period just after the mediation panel jetted out of the country, the coalitional regime started experiencing hiccups in the implementation of the National Accord. The division of power for instance almost led to relapse to violence since while disputants acquiesced to the balance of power, the two sides actively sought the control of key ministries including the treasury, domestic security, and the public service. With Kibaki's side refusing

⁹⁰ Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence. (2008), *Report on commission of inquiry into post-election violence*. Nairobi: Government Printer. See also, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights. 2008. *On the Brink of the Precipice: A Human Rights Account of Kenya's Post-2007 Election Violence*. Nairobi: Kenya National Commission on Human Rights. P15.

⁹¹ Keck, Trevor. *Mediating Ethnic Conflict: Kofi Annan in Kenya*. Accessed July 19, 2020. http://works.bepress.com/trevor_keck/2/(2011). p 33.

⁹² Ibid, Keck. 2011.

with these ministries, Odinga's side took to the streets and the country had to seek the services of Kofi Annan once more to solve the ensuing impasse⁹³.

Despite these hiccups, it is worth noting that by the end of the year 2008, all three review committees that had been created by the National Accord had been set up with some having completed the work they had been mandated by the agreement to undertake. A good example is the Independent Review Committee which had investigated electoral fraud and published its report by September 2008. Noting that a re-count of the ballots of the presidential election would be an impossibility, the Independent Review Committee recommended changes so that there is enhanced independence of electoral management body⁹⁴.

In October 2008, the commission tasked with inquiring on the Post-Election Violence and which was popularly referred to as the Waki Commission chaired by Justice Phillip Waki, published their report. This report identified a list of alleged perpetrators of the after-election skirmishes. The National Assembly also enacted the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Act that heralded the creation of a Commission in order to investigate human rights abuses in Kenya's post-colonial era⁹⁵.

However, there were no political blessings and will in the implementation of the recommendations part forward by the Independent Review Committee as well as the Waki commission with lukewarm and even antagonistic reception from Kenya's leaders. In addition, the bloated governance structure resulting from power-sharing led to governance paralysis. This often led to antagonistic stances including when Rift Valley leaders, responding to rumors about an imminent collapse of the coalition government, began rearming the deadly militias that were used to commit atrocities against Mwai Kibaki's Kikuyu community. As such, despite the agreement in place, Keck (2011) fears that a whole downfall of the government could send Kenya into a downward spiral of large-scale inter-ethnic violence⁹⁶.

⁹³ Brown, Stephen. "Lessons learnt and forgotten: The international community and conflict management in Kenya." In *Elections in dangerous places: Democracy and paradoxes of peacebuilding*, edited by David Gillies. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. (2011). Pp 127-143.

⁹⁴ Keck, Trevor. *Mediating Ethnic Conflict: Kofi Annan in Kenya*. Accessed July 19, 2020. http://works.bepress.com/trevor_keck/2/. (2011). P 25.

⁹⁵ Brown, Stephen. "Lessons learnt and forgotten: The international community and conflict management in Kenya." In *Elections in dangerous places: Democracy and paradoxes of peacebuilding*, edited by David Gillies. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. (2011), Pp 127-143

⁹⁶ Keck, Trevor. *Mediating Ethnic Conflict: Kofi Annan in Kenya*. Accessed July 19, 2020. http://works.bepress.com/trevor_keck/2/. (2011). P30.

The police are responsible for the death of over half of the people killed during the after-election conflict, there was an expectation that the new reforms would deal with police reforms in order to transform it from the killer machine that it was and into a law enforcement agency. However, the police were still operating with impunity particularly with regard to extrajudicial killings. In 2009 for instance the then United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions, Prof. Phillip Alston, fingered the systematization of brutality through the police in a situation where violence was being carried on with a renewed fervor and in complete disregard of the due process of justice. Corruption was also a key problem bedeviling the country's institutions. Transparency International for instance would name Kenya's law enforcement agency as the most corrupt body in the East African region⁹⁷.

Lamentably, while the disputants had agreed to establish a national commission to be tasked with the mandate of investigating and prosecuting instigators of the after-election conflict and in line with the recommendations of the Waki Commission, the National Assembly proved to be a stumbling block as parliamentarians progressively obstructed legislation to create a tribunal. With parliament missing the deadline to approve the coming into a place of a local platform to bring instigators to justice, Kofi Annan who had been given the report of the Waki report complete with a list of the perpetrators handed the list of those fingered out as liable for the violence to the then International Criminal Court (ICC) Prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo in 2009. With several of Kenya's most prominent leaders on the list, Annan bequeathed Luis Moreno Ocampo this resulted in the prosecutor opening investigations into Kenya's post-election violence in November 2009⁹⁸.

In analyzing electoral conflicts in Kenya, scholars such as Karuti Kanyinga are of the view that it is multifaceted and compounded with a number of factors. To Mwagiru (2008) and Wamwere (2008), structural inequalities form a basis under which the after-election-related conflicts in Kenya were founded. The two are of the view that the sharing of economic and political resources, and in particular, the inequitable distribution of the land resource in the productive and economically viable regions in the country played a role in the cycle of electoral-related

⁹⁷ Ibid, Keck. 2011.

⁹⁸ Ajulu, Rok. "Kenya's 2007 elections: Derailing democracy through ethno-regional violence." *Journal of African elections* 7 (2): (2008). Pp 34-51.

conflicts⁹⁹. It is no wonder then that patterns of such conflicts in the country reflect the contestations on land ownership in the Rift Valley and the coastal regions¹⁰⁰.

According to Mutunga (1999) and Wanjohi (1993), interest aggregation has been another source of ethnic conflicts in that the ruling elite has used their political correctness for personal economic interests and in return used state machinery to maintain the status quo. Coupled by the winner-takes-all game of politics, those opposed to a particular economic and political interests of the 'establishment' of the time face fierce contestations from the regime. These contestations provoke the electorate fuelling open defiance of the leadership¹⁰¹.

Another source of heightened electoral conflicts in Kenya is the economic marginalization of some ethnicities throughout the country's post-colonial history. Buttressed by the Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism, post-colonial Kenya has been characterized by the marginalization of the 'less productive' regions of the country. This has disenfranchised multiple ethnicities and particularly coastal Bantus, Cushitic speakers as well as River Lake and Plain Nilotes. In addition, uneven economic resource sharing and skewed infrastructure development in most parts of the country have heightened economic inequalities that sporadically trigger conflicts¹⁰².

Another factor is the institutional inadequacy of electoral contentions occasioned by institutionalized failure mechanisms that make it impossible to deliver elections devoid of malpractices. While state institutions mandated with providing elections such as the electoral management body, security institutions, and other supporting actors work towards electoral processes, they have routinely failed to address electoral conflicts by addressing electoral errors

⁹⁹ Mwangi, Makumi. *The water's edge: Mediation of violent electoral conflict in Kenya*. Nairobi: Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. See also, Wamwere, Koigi. 2008. *Towards genocide in Kenya: The curse of negative ethnicity*. Nairobi: Mvule Africa Publishers. (2008), P 26.

¹⁰⁰ Lafargue, Jérôme, and Musambayi Katumanga. "Kenya in turmoil: Post-election violence and precarious pacification." In *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*, edited by Jérôme Lafargue, 13-32. Nairobi: French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA). (2008), P 40.

¹⁰¹ Wanjohi, Nick., *Challenges of democratic governance: Parliament, executive and the citizen in Kenya*. Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. see also, Mutunga, Willy. 1999. *Constitution-making from the middle: Civil society and transition politics in Kenya, 1992-1997*. Nairobi: MWENGO and SARIAT. (1993) P 45.

¹⁰² Nunow, Abdirizak A, "Conflict over environmental resources among pastoral communities in the horn of Africa." In *The study and practice of peace and security in Africa*, edited by Macharia Munene and Ozonnia Ojielo. Nairobi: UNDP. (2014) P 30.

by relevant state and non-state actors. Furthermore, these institutions have a tendency to intensify electoral conflicts in the country¹⁰³.

3.3 Women and Electoral Conflicts in Kenya

In Kenya, women have historically agonized from eons of gender-based marginalization as well as violation of their physical, socio-economic, and psychological wellbeing be it in public or private spaces. In electoral conflicts, reports in the aftermath of elections have habitually pointed out innumerable cases of rape, gender-based attacks, sexual assault as well as physical attacks on the person of women across different regions of the country. These violations are usually carried out by society at large as the law enforcement agencies and other state agencies wielding instruments of violence such as the military and ethnic militias carry out attacks in the public sphere while those regarded as either neighbor, relatives, or supposed friends engaged in widespread acts of violence against women of all ethnic origins, predominantly those that are from poor areas¹⁰⁴.

According to Birgen (2013) women and women, groupings play a critical role in peacekeeping.¹⁰⁵ Women are involved in peacekeeping initiatives as panelists, senior consultants for negotiators, and arbitrators. women also occupy top seats in the political parties and social movements which they use to enhance peace. Women are campaigning for peace in various ways and platforms. The women and women groupings cooperated with women from Burundi so as to share insights and generate more effective peacekeeping proposals. The KPTJ convened daily to debate how they can handle conflicts.

An exclusive conference was convened by the Kenya Women's Consultative Group that gathered over fifty females to address ways they may use to push for the two parties to agree and put an end to their conflict. Twelve women from the consultative group were picked to submit the team's report to the arbitrators. The negotiators were intended to guarantee whether UNSCR 1325 was followed as well as to seek changes to the constitution, along with other things, in the memorandum towards the committee. They also recommended that the resolution

¹⁰³ Independent Review Commission. *Report of The Independent Review Commission On Kenya's 2007 General Elections*. Nairobi: Government Printer. (2008) Pp 22-30.

¹⁰⁴ ACE. *Preventing Election-related Violence*. Accessed July 18, 2020. <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/ev/factors-that-may-trigger-electoral-violence/external-factors/gender-based-discrimination-and-violence>. (2012). Pp 35-40.

¹⁰⁵ Cheptepkeny C. Birgen The role of women in peacebuilding: A case study of Uasin Gishu county of Kenya. (2013), Pp 42-51.

team assign a gender consultant to the Committee in order to achieve gender equality, however, this was not done

While violence is part of the political backdrop in Kenya, regardless of gender, it is worth noting that violence is more oriented towards women. To Berry and Bouka, in Kenya, political violence exceptionally targets women largely in gender-specific ways. The objective of this gendered violence is always to keep women in the background of politics. This hurts the letter and spirit of the progressive and gender-sensitive constitutional overhaul carried out in Kenya in 2010 when Kenyans chose gender quota as a means to catapult quite a number of women into strategic positions than ever before. Additionally, the two scholars argue that gendered violence in Kenyan politics is part of a heightened vigor by patriarchal forces to uphold and intensify the subordination of women who have been deemed to be encroaching onto masculine spaces previously controlled by men such as those in politics, public affairs and in the corporate world¹⁰⁶.

In describing the physical, psychological and sexual violence experienced by women throughout the electoral cycle in Kenya, Margaret Kamar postulates that violence against women in electoral cycles is perpetrated by both women and men particularly against women candidates during the campaign and against women electorate who are deemed to be soft targets. In addition, sexual violence is often perpetrated through social media where edited images of women candidates are circulated on the Internet¹⁰⁷.

To Berry, Bouka, and Kamuru, when female political elites are forced to manoeuvre their way around an arena shadowed by violence, they are forced to moot patriarchal strategies in order to eke an existence. For instance, they are forced to get masculine allies i.e., a patriarchal figure who more often than not is a powerful male elite in order to get protection from the patriarchal hounds baying for her blood. This phenomenon is particularly widespread at the devolved level of governance. Here, Berry, Bouka and Kamuru postulate, women elected and/or nominated as Members of the County Assembly (MCAs) are forced to coalesce behind a male gubernatorial aspirant in order to not only reduce resistance to their own candidacies but also to ensure they are physically safe from militias and gangs operating in these devolved levels of governance.

¹⁰⁶ Berry, Marie, Yolande Bouka, and Marilyn Muthoni Kamuru. "Kenyan Women Just Fought One of the Most Violent Campaigns in History." *Foreign Policy*, August 7. (2017). P17.

¹⁰⁷ UN Women. "Violence Against Women In Politics: Expert Group Meeting Report & Recommendations." New York, NY: UN Women(2018). Pp 24-32.

This is problematic as it forces these women to become beholden to these political benefactors and their political agendas¹⁰⁸.

3.4 Women in Peace Negotiation Processes: The National Accord in Kenya, 2008

In the case of Kenya in the aftermath of the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence (PEV), both civil society as well as the community of nations at the regional (African Union) and the Global (United Nations) levels pursued a cessation of the violence. Groupings in the civil society such as the Concerned Citizens for Peace (CCP) mooted strategies geared towards pushing the principal antagonists, the then incumbent president Mwai Kibaki and the opposition leader, Raila Amolo Odinga, into a localized mediation process. Lamentably, the idea failed as the two antagonists lacked confidence in local actors.

On the second day of January 2008, three days after the crisis began, the continental integration body, the African Union (AU) with overt support from Western countries such as the United States and the European Union called for the parties to compromise. Lamentably, despite a retinue of mediators, including African heads of state such as John Kufuor, the then Ghanaian president, there was no success in bringing the antagonists to the negotiation table or to a cessation of hostilities. Both sides adopted hard-line stances as the government side sought to avoid the internationalization of the crisis and its remedy while the opposition side wanted to leverage on the internationalization of the conflict. However, there was a ray of hope at the end of the day when the AU mediator, President Kufour who also doubled up as the then Chair of the African Union got both sides to negotiate through an African Union-led mediation team that was known as the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation process. This team included notable African statesmen and women comprising of the African Union's Panel of Eminent African Personalities such as the former Tanzanian president, Benjamin Mkapa, and the wife to the then doyen of anti-apartheid agitation and South African president Mandela, Graça Machel. The panel was chaired by the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan.

The role of women in the pursuit of the cessation of hostilities is of critical importance here and worth noting. This owes largely to their part as envoys and anti-conflict agitators as well as in their role as sources of socio-political pressure which they piled upon the mediation and negotiating sides. Galvanized by the inclusion of feminine personalities such as Graça Machel,

¹⁰⁸ Berry, Marie, et al, (2017).p.12

women in civil society were galvanized in action coalescing as a distinct lobby. These included personalities such as Muthoni Wanyeki and Gladwell Otieno who advocated for the peaceful resolution of the conflict as well as the need to focus also on creating a platform under which important issues such as how the truth or justice will be discussed and a mechanism put in place for the entire process. Additionally, an umbrella coalition i.e., the National Civil Society Congress (NCSC), supported the efforts of the anti-conflict women caucus where mediation together with the political negotiation team were considered and three of the six leaders in the team were women. They used the conflict as a watershed moment to push for a quest to redress past injustices and reopen the constitutional debate¹⁰⁹.

These women's grouping was largely mobilized from an ethnic perspective and combined with other African women in a platform that was meant to share conflict experiences. Furthermore, they raised up the needs of women, arguing the endemic nature of political violence in Kenya affected women and children most severely. Furthermore, women from different backgrounds were chosen, including the Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM) led by Betty Maina as well as the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) led by Carole Kariuki, were also pivotal in the conflict resolution process whereby they principally dedicated their lenses unto the detrimental nature of the violence particularly in the economic front. Here, they were embroiled in the course of demonstrating how the conflict was not good for doing business and that businesses were hurting. While they independently countered the problem via the coalitions above, many of these same group also answered Machel's request for Kenyan women to participate in the process.

In measuring whether the efforts of the women agitators were a success in face of the lack of progress on the reform agenda agreed upon by the disputants in the 2008 National Accord and considering Kenya's history of violent elections, notwithstanding the fact that this mediation panel was pivotal in terminating the political standoff and averting Kenya's descent into full-blown intra-state war, there is a need to employ Bercovitch's parameters of mediation success. These parameters are based on Bercovitch's postulation that the success of a mediation process should be evaluated based on what was achieved, the type of change that was brought about by this process, as well as the behavioral makeover that the process has engineered.

¹⁰⁹ Chang, P., Alam, M., Warren, R., Bhatia, R., & Turkington, R. *Women Leading Peace: A close examination of women's political participation in peace processes in Northern Ireland, Guatemala, Kenya, and the Philippines*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security. (2015), Pp 60-70.

In the post-conflict period just after the mediation panel jetted out of the country, the coalitional regime started experiencing hiccups in the implementation of the National Accord. The division of power for instance almost led to relapse to violence since while disputants acquiesced to the balance of power, the two sides actively sought the control of key ministries including the treasury, domestic security, and the public service. With Kibaki's side refusing with these ministries, Odinga's side took to the streets and the country had to seek the services of Kofi Annan once more to solve the ensuing impasse.

Despite these hiccups, it is worth noting that by the end of the year 2008, all three review committees that had been created by the National Accord had been set up with some having completed the work they had been mandated by the agreement to undertake. A good example is the Independent Review Committee which had investigated electoral fraud and published its report by September 2008. Noting that a re-count of the ballots of the presidential election would be an impossibility, the Independent Review Committee recommended changes that were aimed at enhancing the independence of the electoral management body.

A month later (October 2008), the commission tasked with inquiring on the Post-Election Violence and which was popularly referred to as the Waki Commission due to the fact that it was headed by Justice Phillip Waki, published their report. This report identified a list of alleged instigators of the after-election conflict. The National Assembly also enacted the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Act that heralded the creation of a commission in order to investigate human rights abuses in Kenya's post-colonial era.

However, there was no political will in the implementation of the recommendations part forward by the Independent Review Committee as well as the Waki commission with lukewarm and even antagonistic reception from Kenya's leaders. In addition, the bloated governance structure resulting from power-sharing led to governance paralysis. This often led to antagonistic stances including when Rift Valley leaders, responding to rumours about an imminent collapse of the coalition government, began rearming the deadly militias that were used to commit atrocities against Mwai Kibaki's Kikuyu community.

The police are responsible for the death of over half of the people killed in the after-election quagmire, there was an expectation that the reforms would deal with police reforms in order to transform it from the killer machine that it was and into a law enforcement agency. However, the police were still operating with impunity particularly with regard to extrajudicial killings. In 2009 for instance the then United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary

and Arbitrary Executions, Prof. Phillip Alston, fingered the systematization of brutality through the police in a situation where violence was being carried on with a renewed fervor and in complete disregard of the due process of justice. Corruption was also a key problem bedeviling the country's institutions. Transparency International for instance would name Kenya's law enforcement agency as the most corrupt body in the East African region.

Lamentably, while the disputants had agreed to establish a national commission to be tasked with the mandate of investigating and prosecuting culprits of the after-election brutality and in line with the recommendations of the Waki Commission, the National Assembly proved to be a stumbling block as parliamentarians progressively obstructed legislation to create a tribunal. With parliament missing the deadline to approve the inception of a specific tribunal to bring perpetrators to justice, Kofi Annan who had been given the report of the Waki report complete with a list of the perpetrators handed the list of those fingered out as liable for the violence to the then International Criminal Court (ICC) Prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo in 2009. With several of Kenya's most prominent leaders on the list, Annan bequeathed Luis Moreno Ocampo this resulted in the prosecutor opening investigations into Kenya's post-election violence in November 2009.

Despite all these hiccups, the coalition government managed to survive the portentous forewarnings of imminent collapse that featured daily in Kenya's mainstream media. There were also instances of milestones being reached on a number of key issues which led to the holding together of the fabric of peace. In a process aimed at making the National Assembly proceedings open to the people, Kenya opened its first parliamentary media center in June 2009. This allowed Kenyans to watch and listen to parliamentary proceedings as well as put on notice parliamentarians that they were being watched and listened to live on TV and radio by their constituents in lieu of their contributions to nation-building, development, and tackling issues affecting the country.

The increased transparency was touted as being critical in mobilizing grassroots backing for the reform agenda outlined in the Agenda Four of the National Accord which sought long-term structural reforms and particularly an overhaul of the independence constitution which encouraged authoritarianism. In November 2009, Kenya's Committee of Experts, a group tasked with formulating Kenya's constitution, released a draft of the new constitution with a shared governance structure; the president was to be the head of state while the prime minister headed the government. Furthermore, the Kofi Annan-led mediation panel, as well as the

international community, were also critical in pressing the government to fast-track the implementation of the reform agenda.

3.5 Conclusion

The scramble and partition of Africa by European imperial powers in the 19th century left the continent demarcated along with improper border designs along with ethnic groups. Worse, these ethnic groups had no tied history of socio-economic and political systems. Furthermore, the differences among most of them far outweighed the points of convergence. A good example is the Nilotes who belong to the Nilo-Hamitic language group and the Bantus who had no shared history prior to the conjuring of Kenya as a state by the colonialists.

In addition, Kenya's democracy was founded on an ethnicity platform where in its wholesome applicability called for the winner takes it all. This was mostly witnessed in the so-called multiparty democracy of 1991. What many do not know is that the parties were formed in ethnic enlightenments and in essence, people voted along with the same. Worse was witnessed in 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2017 where politicians were strict in funning ethnic-related tensions that excluded some and included a few at the expense of where one came from. This kind of arrangement left many dead, millions displaced both internally and externally and others traumatized. Worse still, people lost properties in the same conflict due to ethnic groupings in the warm-up for the general elections. One will argue that the only year that such arrangement was avoided was in the year 2002 where the top contenders came from one community and people had a choice to make without necessarily considering their ethnicity, rather what they promised to do for the country.¹¹⁰

It should be noted that Kenya's conflicts are only triggered by election-related disagreements. However, the real matters cut structural, legal, institutional, historical, and cultural factors. The challenge, therefore, the named issues are coined together during campaigns that it is because of one community that the other is suffering. It might be true to an extent because during mzee Kenyatta's regime majority of his cabinet came from his Kikuyu ethnic group and more importantly is that they were from his Kiambu region. Things never changed much as in Moi's ruling, the majority of his cabinet ministers were from the Kalenjin community. The similarities of the two were that even most of the top government officials were from their communities.

¹¹⁰ Mwangiru, Makumi. *The water's edge*: (2008) See also, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights. (2017), p. 67.

After Kibaki's time, Uhuru and Ruto repeated the same and at one point they only considered their community members, not the qualifications one had to suit in those areas. What was then experienced was an upped game of corruption that has ailed Kenya since independence. This coupled with the issue of ethnicity then became a fertile breeding ground for the conflict that was triggered with elections.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROLES PLAYED BY WOMEN IN WAGING FOR PEACE IN NAIVASHA

4.1 Introduction

It is important to note that women are rarely adequately represented at peace negotiations, despite policies advocating for their inclusion in peace and security processes, such as Kenya's National Action Plan, the Maputo Protocol of the African Union, and the United Nations' historic framework on women, peace, and security. Women have been pushed to lead the peace agenda through initiatives aimed at preventing, managing, and resolving conflicts because they constitute up half of the population of any country experiencing conflict or war. This chapter explores how women have fought for peace in Naivasha in their unique contexts.

4.2 Role Played by Women in Conflict Resolution in Naivasha

According to Agnes Abuom (2012), in the wake of the after-election savagery that threatened to tear the social fabric of the cosmopolitan Naivasha area, women under religious settings set up faith-based organizations to pursue conflict resolution. To begin with, were those who engaged in ways to stop the violence. In this, they involved major political parties.¹¹¹

According to Muthoni Wanyeki (2008), women's movements have been involved in conflict resolution due to the fact that many of today's conflicts overrun the grasp of traditional diplomacy. As such, loose networks of women actors just like many other actors in the civil space have been involved in the peacemaking process. These mediated reconciliation processes have been seen as critical in the conflict zone in that they offered alternatives in dealing with identity-based brutalities with a goal to achieve a real political approach/es characteristic of the Cold War era. The women groupings were critical in that they offered a way to access critical constituencies such as that of women in order to address societal inequities and insecurities.¹¹²

Additionally, in the case of women and women groupings in Naivasha, there was an understanding of the ramifications of incitement and in-group out-group hate speech, women organizations were keen to avoid letting political leaders use the expanded political space to propagate hate speech which could be a possible catalyst for violence. As such, women groups

¹¹¹ Abuom, Agnes R. M., *Making Peace*. D+C, Vol. 39; (2012), Pp 324-326.

¹¹² Wanyeki, L. Muthoni, *Lessons from Kenya: Women and the Post-Election Violence*, *Feminist Africa*, Vol. 10, No. 2; Pp(2008), 91-97.

became gatekeepers alerting the body responsible for monitoring hate speech i.e., the NCIC whenever they felt that public utterances amounted to incitement and/or hate speech. Furthermore, women groups reported to the media and created awareness on the need to enforce chapter six of the constitution on leadership and integrity. While calling for tolerance, women groups asserted that there should be structural mechanisms in order to have clean elections and ensure that the forthcoming electoral process would be above board by being free, fair, and credible.¹¹³

These intervention forays by women and women organizations fit the bill of the African Union's quest to tap into indigenous methods of conflict resolution. In the first decade of the 21st century, the idea of *African solutions to African problems* was touted as a convincing maxim as the continent sought to turn a new chapter in its quest to solve African problems.¹¹⁴ According to Nathan (2013), this idea assumed an emotional angle as its euphoric aura resonated with stakeholders in peace and conflict management processes across Africa including governments, civil society, and the media. While the idea of *African solutions to African problems* applies to diverse issues, it has been the foundational premise of the continental conflict and peace framework i.e., the African Peace and Security Architecture.¹¹⁵

Mooted in July 2001 at the Lusaka Summit when the predecessor of the African Union, the Organisation of African Unity decided to invigorate its conflict management mechanisms, the African Peace and Security Architecture came into vogue when the Protocol on the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council as a basis for a continental institutional conflict management system was adopted in 2002. This continental institutional conflict management system sought to create a mechanism where threats and potential conflicts could be identified before they erupted, prevention mechanisms mooted and if need be, intervention mechanisms activated.¹¹⁶ This institutional architecture encompasses the African Standby Force, the Continental Early Warning System, the Peace Fund, the Peace and Security Council, and the Panel of the Wise¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ Abuom, Agnes R. M., Making Peace. D+C, Vol. 39; (2012), pp 324-326.

¹¹⁴ Nathan, L., *African Solutions to African Problems South Africa's Foreign Policy*, Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (2013). p 50.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, Nathan, L., (2013) pp 26-34.

¹¹⁶ Jegede, A., 'The African Union peace and security architecture: Can the Panel of the Wise make a difference?'. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Volume 9, (2009), pp 409-433.

¹¹⁷ op. cit., Nathan, L., (2013) p 3.

In African societies as can be seen from African literature such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o's "The River Between", Chinua Achebe's "Things Fall Apart" and Elechi Amadi's Concubine, the old are revered as they are deemed to have been wisened up by age. As such, they are considered to be sages unto whom wisdom is to be tapped particularly when society is facing some problems. This exemplification of the concept of the wise in the elders has been useful in the areas of conflict prevention, management, and resolution in furtherance to the goals of maintaining peace and security. As such, the elder's good offices are invoked whenever trouble looms in society.

The introduction of the African Union's Panel of the Wise into the African Union's peace and security architecture as part of the African Solutions to African Problems maxim was an attempt to give the good offices of elders and respected statesmen a shot in conflict resolution at the various conflict hotspots that had heralded Africa's socio-economic and political stagnation. Bringing together distinguished African statesmen in order to tap into their expertise and good offices, the Panel of the Wise was created as an African solution of turning to elders when things get hot in order to support the Peace and Security Council together with the Chairperson of the African Union Commission in the quest to prevent conflicts from erupting as well as have a culture where continental peace, security, and stability is maintained.¹¹⁸

4.3 Role Played by Women in Peace Management in Naivasha

In the aftermath of election vehemence, women groups in Naivasha addressed the psychosocial wants of female survivors of the ensuing electoral skirmishes of 2008 in conjunction with international organizations. Additionally, women groups in this area were involved with helping the communities financially, in health matters as well as trauma counseling and healing programmes to female and child victims of severity, rape, and other educational activities in order to increase literacy. Another role played by women that contributed to peace include the running of skills training centers and other educational activities in order to increase literacy and education among girls and women.

"What was deeply concerning was the prevalence of different manifestations of the gender-related killing of women and girls which was reaching alarming proportions which largely defined the conflict. During the post-election violence, cases of femicide

¹¹⁸ Ibid, Jegede, A., (2009) pp 36-46.

i.e., the killing of women, which is the most severe form of violence against women, became the defining factor of the post-election violence in addition to sexual and gender-based violence. With an incompetent and patriarchal criminal justice system, we feared that in the aftermath of the conflict, a culture of impunity would creep in and like moss in a wet veranda be rejuvenated by the humidity of ineptitude. Coupled by the pervasion of incompetency within the criminal justice system and a culture of impunity particularly with regard to crimes by the high and mighty in our society, the termites of femicide, as well as sexual and gender based violence, would be hollowing Kenya's tree of life, women, from within."¹¹⁹

At large, women were also involved in putting up emergency learning centers for girls whose schools were destroyed during the conflict; providing educational information at entry points to female returnees on their rights as well as providing micro-credit loans to women with a view to resuscitating economic activities among women.

With the raging conflict, the state was unable to holistically enable the sanctity of life, fundamental freedoms, and private property. According to a carpenter in the outskirts of Naivasha town, the skirmishes in Naivasha town made the women groups think of peace making because they were the greatest sufferers as well as their children.¹²⁰ Through established groups as well as grassroots women networks, Naivasha women established structures to coordinate all the activities to do with peacemaking. This had a bandwagon effect on the Naivasha populace.

*"Women organized into groups calling for peace and cessation of war. The groups included religious women peace making forum, women traders' peace making forum, women homesteads council committees' peace making forum, women Chamas Committee peace making forum, women farmers' peace making forum, women politicians' peace making forum, female teachers' peace making forum, women in Uniform as peace makers, local government women officers as peace makers, women and the community elders as peace makers, women and the youth as peace makers."*¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Oral interview with Wacuka Kareithi, Bunge la Wamama Mashinani, Kayole, Naivasha Tuesday 6th November 2018.

¹²⁰ Oral Interview with Joshua Njenga outside Naivasha town Thursday 8th November 2018.

¹²¹ Interview with Onyango Otieno, a staff working in the Provincial Administration Wednesday 9th November 2018.

In pursuing peace, the women peacemakers believed that a feminist voice could provide an alternative avenue to promoting peace. Women were also involved in the formation of civil society organizations, voluntary and non-governmental organizations that focused on societal well-being as a mechanism to achieving peace. Through ventures such as child care projects and income-generating projects that were geared towards making women economically empowered, women pursued this as a means to create alternative gendered societal economic centers.

In Naivasha, women mobilized fellow women in peacebuilding most visible at the grassroots levels in their communities. This is where they organize themselves to end conflict and build the skills necessary for peacebuilding that will enable them to reconstruct their communities. The women in these organizations share their interests and aspirations and thus an opportunity to get different views and ideas. These led women grassroots organizations have one aim of seeing peace in their respective communities. They can do this through peace walks, prayer vigils, persuading their fighting husbands and sons to stop among other methods. However, their leadership roles do not translate into leadership at the top peace negotiations processes. At the grassroots level, women lead their fellow women which is okay to the general public

Other women groups used international organizations for educating women to raise their standards of living. Using their experience, knowledge, and influence in their families and communities to preach peace, they encouraged each other to join the political processes of the country so as to feel more involved rather than marginalized. Additionally, they called for peace through round table conferences and through peace education. It is also worth noting that women took leading roles in creating links and forums for resolving interethnic conflict leading to many grassroots peace accords. In subsequent electoral processes e.g. the 2012 general elections, women would form observer and civic education groups in order to have those elections which were free and fair factor that would ensure there was peace, absence of war or at least negative peace.

Women in Naivasha played important role in peacebuilding as well. They are peace activists who call for an end to violence; “women are among the first to speak out against war and to attempt to avoid escalation,” they say. This can be seen all around the world.” In order to attain their goals as peacebuilders, some women, for example, exploit the role of motherhood and rely on nonviolent nature. This works effectively because attacking a mother is difficult, and it raises public awareness. Women go above and above to establish a common ground for all

parties involved in a disagreement. Nonviolent tactics are also used by women to advocate for peace.

As Agnes Abuom (2012) avers, women organizations were also instrumental in managing the ensuing conflict by playing a moderating role in the conflict. This entailed the provision of spiritual support and counseling to those affected by the conflict as well as providing humanitarian relief to the worst-hit areas. Bearing in mind the polarity of the Naivasha region, women groups were also critical in pacifying the cosmopolitan constituency of Naivasha by raising awareness for the need to base political debates about important issues instead of ethnic divisions. In the wake of new electoral management bodies, women groups also joined other civil society actors in order to augment efforts by the then new electoral management body i.e., the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) in its quest to conduct free and fair elections by conducting voter education and holding peace dialogues to create the environment for free, fair and credible elections.¹²²

As shown in key informant interviews with women who have been critical in conflict resolution, women were a critical constituency due to the fact that they were the most affected by the post-election violence as well as other forms of violence which often took the shape of patriarchal violence.

*My passion for conflict resolution is informed by my personal struggles. Having been born and raised in an area punctuated by patriarchal violence against women and the youth, I believe I'm supposed to be activism of change. Furthermore, my past experience as a victim of gender-based post-electoral violence makes me more of an agent of change. In low-income neighborhoods, women were extensively targeted as they were harassed, violated, and sexually abused by organized criminal groupings hired by politicians, the police, and the General Service Unit (GSU), a paramilitary police unit. The situation in Naivasha was a microcosm of women's plights all over the country. I believe I should be an inspiration to women in low-income areas but also as a uniting voice as I rally women and amplify their voices in order to break all systems of patriarchal oppression towards them and all barriers to women empowerment.*¹²³

¹²² Abuom, Agnes R. M., Making Peace. D+C, Vol. 39; (2012), pp 324-326.

¹²³ Oral Interview with Mama Momanyi, Maai Mahiu, Naivasha Thursday 26th March 2019.

4.3 Role Played by Women in Peacebuilding in Naivasha

Peacebuilding necessitates the inclusive reconstruction or reconstitution of political and economic institutions, as well as the promotion of democratization through methods such as fair elections and increasing citizen involvement. These long-term projects contribute to the development of a stable society capable of dealing with opposing interests without resorting to violence. Women's engagement is very important in this area, not least because they make up half of the population, making their full and equal participation essential for a functioning democracy. Women play a diverse role in both the official and informal domains of political institutions.

There are ways in which women in Naivasha engaged in peacebuilding in the aftermath election brutality. With regard to peace building efforts in Naivasha, women organizations were critical in canvassing for structural measures to address the conflict. This included serving as key agents for public participation. Through town hall meetings, rallies and pickets held in Naivasha and Nakuru, women organizations were critical in informing people about important issues that affect them and how structural measures such as constitution-making can be critical in addressing issues that predisposed communities to violence. As Abuom (2012) further postulates, these exchanges were immensely critical in that they were important in the healing among the communities affected by the conflict in Naivasha. Additionally, women actors in the civil space were critical in pressurizing the government to implement necessary reforms.¹²⁴

*The 2007-2008 post-election crisis where Kenya was at war with itself was a watershed moment particularly for us in Naivasha. A critical examination by women activists showed that Kenya's problems largely arise from the crisis of patriarchy and predatory economics characterized by vertical extractivism (extracting without inventing in the society) and naked capitalism. As such, we felt the urgent need for a multi-dimensional approach particularly to marginalized social groups such as women.*¹²⁵

These sentiments are also supported by other activists who were instrumental in pursuing deeper structural reforms.

¹²⁴ Abuom, Agnes R. M Making Peace. D+C, Vol. 39; ,(2012),^c pp 324-326.

¹²⁵ Oral Interview with David Sitienei, a University student from Karati, Naivasha Friday 27th March 2019.

*Organized the first-ever grassroots women congress in constitution-making in Kenya in 2009 looking at issues and provisions for women. Proposed constitutional legislation on socio-economic rights with the memoranda presented to the Committee of Experts. Article 43 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) on socio-economic rights was born. We Organized the 2010 campaign on the constitution, Waremboni YES to mobilize young women to understand the constitution and its principles on women's rights. This turned into a national movement where we mobilized 5000 women as our Waremboni YES campaigners.*¹²⁶

According to Mueller-Hirth (2019) who examines the links between gender and peace in the wake of the post-electoral skirmishes that placed Kenya on the brink of descending into a full-blown civil war, the lived experiences of women peace builders though not well captured are immensely critical in understanding the quest for peace in Naivasha. As Mueller-Hirth (2019) further avers, women primarily engaged in peacebuilding because they had been survivors of violence in the Naivasha community as they were targets of rape and other forms of sexual assault, physical violence, murder, and even loss of livelihoods. Bearing in mind that women within the community bore the brunt of the electoral-related skirmishes as well as carrying the burdens of war, there was a need for women to have a platform under which issues would be resolved amicably. Therefore, they created a range of effective peacebuilding activities including peace dialogues which through them they were enabled to pick up community tensions early on, mediation, and economic empowerment initiatives which they experienced and become a space where empowering and transformative factors were channeled.¹²⁷

Some of the peace committees that were formed by the Naivasha women were religious committees.

“The women from the local communities would meet after and even sometimes before the church ceremonies to deliberate on how to restore peace in the Naivasha area. We encouraged each other to convince our male counterparts as well as their sons to stop any fighting that was going on in the area. Those of us who were preachers and lay leaders would also use our positions in the church to preach peace. Once we were given

¹²⁶ Oral Interview with Scolastica Nyawira, Kinamba, Naivasha on Monday 8th April 2019.

¹²⁷ Natascha Mueller-Hirth,(2019),‘How women in Kenya mobilised for peace after surviving violence’. The Conversation. Accessed on 7th August from <https://theconversation.com/how-women-in-kenya-mobilised-for-peace-after-surviving-violence-119843> p 34.

an opportunity to address the gathering in the church they would use the occasion to tell both men and women that peace was important for the society to thrive well. Most of us had been affected very much by the violence and some of them had vowed never to get involved in such activities that were likely to breach the peace.”¹²⁸

Naivasha women religious leaders also contributed to peace restoration in the churches. In most cases, the female pastors ensured that sermons were centered on the theme of forgiveness and reconciliation. This was crafted to ensure that the people were able to forgive each other at all times. This approach was welcomed by the women because they were the ones that were facing problems during the crises. A female pastor who confessed having visited the Naivasha Camp severally observed that most of the issues arose from the fact that the people were not willing to forgive each other. However, when the female pastors went to the camps and showed the people that the violence was affecting the women and children, a sense of calmness prevailed not only within the camps but also without. This led to the restoration of peace and most of the people were not very much affected by the fighting.¹²⁹

Women in Naivasha also came up with peace committees during trading in the markets. As they carried on with their businesses in the markets after the war had come to almost a standstill the women encouraged each to preach peace so as to help the country restore peace. This was confirmed by one of the respondents who informed the researcher that her mother was a leading trader in the main market in Naivasha town. The respondent observed that her mother alongside other female traders would meet in the market and pursue various measures centered on dialogue and reconciliation in order to quell the ever lingering tension in the cosmopolitan neighborhood of the area.¹³⁰

There were also homesteads council committees by the Naivasha where women would also deliberate at length on the ways of restoring peace in the areas they were living.

“After the post-election violence, some of the women in the flats would deliberate on how to restore peace after their husbands and children had left. In our neighborhood, there were many Kikuyus, Luos, Kisii among other communities. The womenfolk would discuss

¹²⁸ Oral interview with Nzioka Wambua, a female teacher in a primary school in Naivasha on Monday 8th April 2019.

¹²⁹ Oral interview with a female pastor in Naivasha town on Wednesday 10th April 2019.

¹³⁰ Oral interview with Mbote Ngarachu, Kinamba Naivasha on Friday 12th April 2019.

in Kiswahili languages how to bring peace. Most of them were very bitter about how the politicians had brought suffering to the neighborhood.”¹³¹

Another group of Naivasha women that contributed to peace restoration was the women engaging in farming activities or those working as casual laborers in flower farms in Naivasha. After-election vehemence, women working in flower farms in Naivasha would share their experiences during the violence.

“Many women engaged in farming activities in the flower farms and other farming areas would discuss their experiences during the violence and realized that the conflicts affected the women not because they were of certain ethnic background but because they were simply women. Some women confessed to having being raped by their fellow tribes which shows clearly that this had nothing to do with disputed presidential elections. As a result, most of the women agreed to cooperate and avoid scenarios that would eventually culminate into war.”

Furthermore, women survivors of violence in the Naivasha community resorted to a number of peacebuilding activities within the Naivasha community in subsequent electoral processes such as the 2013 and the 2017 General Elections by monitoring and conducting early warning foresight through peace dialogues across the litany of ethnicities dotting the neighborhoods of Naivasha including the Agikuyu, the Luos, and the Maasai as well as pockets of minority communities. Women widowed by after-election brutality, for instance, brought together widows from all ethnic communities in order to form a pressure group that would be a focal point in picking up challenges earlier in the community and promotes benefits of peace for the community. Additionally, women in inter-ethnic marriages were able to become mediators in their husbands’ communities.¹³²

During the post-election violence in 2007-2008, mothers in the Naivasha sub-county served as peacemakers by teaching their children the importance of making peace with everyone and talking to their spouses about how to live peacefully with their neighbors. They proved this by providing sanctuary, food, and clothes to children from warring villages. This demonstrated that their nurturing job is a natural obligation for them, and it causes them to value calm in

¹³¹ Oral interview with Akinyi Mary, one of the residents in a Naivasha Flat on Friday 19th April 2019.

¹³² Ibid

order to provide a safe atmosphere for their children. Women's peacebuilding appears to be a long-standing practice.

Additionally, women were able to organize themselves into community-based organizations where they would undertake mediation and training activities, share their experiences in the space of mediating in very direct and physical ways such as telling the men to stop fighting and committing cross-ethnic arsonist attacks. Other women formed multi-ethnic merry-go-rounds which served as focal points of economic empowerment. Using them they saved and invested money through micro-saving groups. These economic empowerment groups also served as spaces of encounter and dialogue in which peace was discussed.

Another way women in Naivasha sought to manage the raging conflict was through seeking justice and helping in managing the consequences of the post-electoral violence. Women in Naivasha were actively involved in achieving justice through the Commission of Inquiry into the after elections violence, a commission formed under the negotiated settlement to the conflict in order to address the immediate violence, the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission which was formed to address the root causes of the cyclic instances of electoral vehemence and the newly-begun re-settlement process for internally displaced persons (IDPs) dubbed *Operation Rudi Nyumbani* (return home). By documenting their experiences and responding with augmented services, as well as with activism to guarantee that those involved in the humanitarian and relief exertions did the same, women were a pivotal cog in managing the conflict.¹³³

Following the post-election violence, women in Naivasha Sub-County conducted education campaigns through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) aimed at various groups, notably government officials. Each workshop determined the next target group based on who the participants considered to be in need of civic education. These sessions benefited chiefs and sub-chiefs who had received leadership training. Their instruction emphasized the importance of peace and development. These lessons taught them about the consequences of violence on civilians and the need of finding a long-term solution. Other public workers were subjected to civic and peace education.

¹³³ Wanyeki, L. Muthoni. Lessons from Kenya: Women and the Post-Election Violence', *Feminist Africa*, Vol. 10, No. 2; , (2008), ' pp 91-97.

Women groupings such as the Bunge la Wamama Mashinani, a grassroots woman grouping in marginalized neighborhoods in both rural, urban, and peri-urban areas were critical in propelling women voices to the fore in order to have them become the authors of peace in their communities. One of the co-founders would articulate this as part of the struggles of women in Naivasha in addressing structural issues pertaining to women at large.

I am a grassroots human rights defender and convener working in the area of socio-economic and political emancipation of grassroots and low-income neighborhoods. Using Bunge la Wamama Mashinani (BLWM), which is loosely translated as 'Grassroots Women Parliament', a social movement of women in marginalized areas in Kenya which I helped found in 2008, we work around creating a platform for grassroots women to voice their experiences and struggles and to address economic, political and social issues and injustices around gender-based, sexual and physical violence as well as socio-economic inequality, disinheritance, extra-judicial killings, early marriages, FGM, discriminating cultural practices, access to maternal health among others. We also hold frequent debating forums to amplify women's voices and connect them to agitate for change. Amongst my successful ventures in human rights activism and social organizing is in the constitution drafting process as conveners of the Waremo Ni Yes! The campaign, the Sexual Reproductive Health Rights campaign which resulted in the decriminalization of post-abortion care services, exposing human rights violations against Informal and domestic workers, a successful radio talk show that created a platform for adolescent girls to discuss their challenges and find solutions and a 2018-2019 campaign against femicide which resulted in the declaration of femicide as a national issue requiring focused intervention. We hope to further expand women constituencies and include further marginalized groups such as women living with disabilities and women with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities, as well as Women working in the transport industry, women peasant farmers.¹³⁴

The Merry-go-round approach was created and used by women peace builders in Naivasha-sub-county to aid victims of the post-election violence especially post 2008. This was a method

¹³⁴ Oral interview with Wacuka Kareithi, Bunge la Wamama Mashinani, Kayole, Naivasha on Tuesday 23rd April 2019.

in which a group of ladies met once a month to donate money or any other thing to one of their members. It was a rotating system based on who chose the first number. During the event, participants held prayer sessions and contributed items such as clothing, money, and utensils, among other things. They counseled and urged their members to forget about the past and concentrate on the future during the process.

“The local merry-go-round gave us an opportunity to re-establish our companies and reconcile with our neighbors. It also nourished us spiritually since every merry-go-round gathering included a prayer session.”¹³⁵”

4.4 Conclusion

The section has found out that in the wake of the after-election brutality that threatened to tear the social fabric of the cosmopolitan Naivasha area, women under religious settings set up faith-based organizations to pursue conflict resolution. They first engaged in debate with the major political parties to stop the violence. This is supported by scholars such as Muthoni Wanyeki (2008) who postulates that women's movements were involved in conflict resolution due to the fact that many of the contemporary conflicts overrun the usual relied upon traditional diplomacy. Additionally, women and women groupings in Naivasha became gatekeepers alerting the body responsible for monitoring hate speech i.e., the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) whenever they felt that public utterances amounted to incitement and/or hate speech. Women organizations were also instrumental in managing the ensuing conflict by playing a moderating role in the conflict. Women also engaged in peacebuilding efforts in Naivasha by canvassing structural measures to address the conflict. This included constitution-making and institutional reforms.

¹³⁵ Oral interview with Mrs. Maina, Longonot, Naivasha on Tuesday 30th April 2019.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT AND CHALLENGES OF WOMEN WAGING PEACE IN NAIVASHA

5.1 Introduction

For peacebuilding forays to succeed, there is a need to operationalize the process to suit the socio-economic and political realities while revolutionizing them in order to fundamentally alter the social structure so as to make conflict an impossibility in the future. As such, peacebuilding requires context-appropriate strategies that are specific to the conflict and post-conflict society being addressed. In Kenya, this can be seen in the contextualization of the 2008 conflict in its ethnic, historical, and political connotations which made the negotiations for the National Accord agreement possible by first mediating between the two main protagonists in order to bring to a halt the physical hostilities while instituting long term structural and historical remedies to build sustainable peace. This chapter examines the impact and challenges of women in waging peace in Naivasha.

5.2 Impact of Women Waging Peace in Naivasha

In the wake of the ensuing violence, women had a positive impact. In tackling the challenges brought about by the conflict as well as playing a moderating role in the political crisis, women were critical in ensuring parties stopped the violence and in saving lives from the ensuing humanitarian crisis through spiritual support and counseling services as well as the provision of humanitarian relief. Additionally, town hall meetings, rallies, and pickets organized by women were critical in contributing to recollecting the devastated groups among the communities affected by the violence.¹³⁶

Women organizations were also critical in fighting hate speech. became gatekeepers alerting the body responsible for monitoring hate speech i.e., the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) whenever they felt that public utterances amounted to incitement and/or hate speech. Furthermore, women groups hatched methods through which they reported to the media with an aim to create awareness on the need to enforce chapter six of the constitution on leadership and integrity. It is no wonder then that as the country headed to a referendum on the new constitution that was slated for August 2010, several politicians who were campaigning and their utterances viewed to trigger tensions were arraigned in court and charged with hate

¹³⁶ Abuom, Agnes R. M., 'Making Peace. D+C, Vol. 39; (2012), pp 324-326.

speech. Even though these efforts did not result in convictions of the hate mongers, the idea that certain utterances would cause violence and thus hate speech being unacceptable became very clear.¹³⁷

In helping the Naivasha community to engage with each other, feminine organizations were of importance in redefining the antagonistic socio-economic and political structures as well as identity-based and primordial belief systems which had been encouraging past public and private violence. As such, these feminine groupings helped the community in Naivasha to have a new platform under which it became a positive network and system to nurture their socio-political relations. Indeed, their collective identity was gradually acknowledged as a principal contributor to intergroup conflicts in societies divided along socio-political identity lines, credit has been extended to women groups for using the same to redefine the society and engage in conflict prevention. This is due to the fact that in the pursuit of significant conflict prevention forays, social relations have to change if antagonism was to find a field where the transformation of their relationships opens the way to conflict management.

Additionally, it is worth noting that transformative processes such as conflict prevention can in no way be restricted to political class alone. This is due to the fact that if they are indeed geared towards being successful in reconciling socially divided communities. To achieve this, it is necessary for the intended change to thoroughly penetrate society, which calls for broader societal conflict prevention that involves the entirety of society, or at the very least the majority, in the conflict prevention process. In the case of Naivasha, feminine organisations played a crucial role in conflict transformation by altering social and psychological relationships at various levels of society and successfully transforming a local conflict-system marked by sharply hostile, violent, and divisive relationships into a peace-system characterised by fair and interdependent relationships with an innate capacity to find non-violent means of expressing and resolving conflict.

Through the Rural Women Peace Link, there was also the rebuilding of the market destroyed during the post-electoral skirmishes in order to give, especially, those who had stalled a shelter one from bad weather conditions during the rainy season and secondly to at least give them a chance to rebuild once more. This idea for the project originated out of women groups in the community. The rebuilding of those markets was critical as they served as physical points and

¹³⁷ Ibid

the economical center of the town in which all ethnic groups within the neighborhood meet and interact. Since the majority of the women who use the markets to sell their wares originated from the conflicting communities such as the Maasai, Luos, and the Agikuyu, interacting in a market space and working together highly contributed to the necessary reconciliation process.¹³⁸

Furthermore, those stallholders were given one year of free usage without paying regular rates to the community, in return, the local economy was promoted. Another novel innovation was that a small percentage of the rent was always saved. This would later help out the female merchants whenever one of them ran into financial trouble. It was done in form of micro-credits. Additionally, away from economically boosting the women and their families, this created a “we” attitude between the different ethnicity, class, and homes in present form.¹³⁹

The Rural Women Peace Link has also been critical in initiating regular peace talks and dialogues between the different communities such as the Maasai, Luos, and the Agikuyu. The Rural Women Peace Link serves as a bridge in these discussions between the many ethnic tribes, genders, and age groups. As a result, the project was valued highly from an ownership perspective. Regarding the business owners, there was a noticeable improvement in the healing of trauma, and people at last had a forum to vent their emotions.¹⁴⁰

Another success emanating from women’s conflict prevention efforts is the institutional reforms that it midwived. These institutional reforms were a conflict prevention success in that in subsequent electoral processes, widespread violence or mass atrocities has been averted. This is attributed to three distinct milestones. Either they created elected government, security, and police were effectively deployed or their court petition process was up to the tusk. Indeed, it can be true that institutional reforms were central to the government’s strategy for conflict prevention in anticipation of the 2013 general elections. They included the new constitution, new electoral commission, and laws, what should be termed as the reformed judiciary, and

¹³⁸ Nebe, Johannes Michael, ‘Civil Conflict Management of the Post- Election Violence 2007/2008 in Kenya: Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward’, Trier: University of Trier. (2012), P 43.

¹³⁹ Op. cit.

¹⁴⁰ Nebe, Johannes Michael, ‘Civil Conflict Management of the Post- Election Violence 2007/2008 in Kenya: Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward’, Trier: University of Trier (2012), pp 36-46.

lastly, legislation to prohibit hate speech have been critical elements that have helped the country to avoid a repeat of the post-electoral skirmishes of 2007 and 2008.¹⁴¹

It is also worth noting that the hallmark of conflict prevention and resolution process should necessitate the conjuring of mutual trust among antagonists in order to usher in a new era of amicable relations and expectations of justice and development as the bedrock of societal existence. These transformed social relations are hinged upon a lessening in levels of inequitable biases and prejudices. Additionally, they are hinged upon the desire to ameliorate negative stereotypes about others. In lieu of the foregoing, it is worth noting that women and women groupings in Naivasha have been central to efforts aimed at cultivating and mooting mutual trust through sustained experiences of positive social interaction.

For instance, women groupings in Naivasha have also been a critical cog in actualizing the Nakuru County Violence Prevention Policy. Through the promotion of trust between the citizens and the police; inter-sectoral dialogue and collaborations; as well as the fine-tuning of response mechanisms, women groupings in Naivasha have been part and parcel of the Nakuru county's quest to ensure safety and security in the entire county in a manner responsive to the needs of the population.¹⁴²

Women generally are viewed as peaceful, this is because women are less likely to participate in violent conflict as compared to men. The armed conflict arena is mostly male-dominated. This is attributed to their maternal instinct in which women always want a peaceful environment and peaceful coexistence because of their children. However, this does not mean that women do not take part in conflict at all. Women do participate in conflict however their involvement is often limited to the supporting role. This role they play is very key to conflict as it can either shorten or prolong the conflict depending on the circumstances. Therefore the masculine role of men in war and the war dynamic, in general, is very much and directly dependent on the supporting role women play.¹⁴³

By centering their focus on the quest for gender equality as well as equity, Naivasha's people centeredness to a participatory approach, efficiency, multi-sectoral approach, and social accountability in the delivery of violence prevention services, women groupings became part

¹⁴¹ Elder, Claire, Susan Stigant, and Jonas Claes, 'Elections and Violent Conflict in Kenya: Making Prevention Stick', Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace. (2014), P 57.

¹⁴² Nebe, Johannes Michael, 'Civil Conflict Management of the Post- Election Violence 2007/2008 in Kenya: Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward', Trier: University of Trier (2012), p 68.

¹⁴³ Cockburn, Cynthia (2010) talk for WILPF, in WPP Report on Masculinities.

and parcel of Nakuru county's efforts to challenge the culture of violence, reduce organized violence, strengthen institutions for violence prevention, rebuild community trust, prevent and manage political violence, deepen violence prevention in land reforms and enhance reporting of violence in the area.¹⁴⁴

Women in Naivasha have participated very little in political conflicts both as active participants and as part of conflict resolution. This can be attributed perhaps to their equally little participation in politics and leadership generally. Although this trend is slowly changing, their participation is still low. Most women in Naivasha are economically and politically disempowered. This is because the history of war is such that war has been much masculinized. War, therefore, has been defined from a masculine point of view. The two world wars were mainly male-dominated. The issue of peace and security has also for a long time been referred to as the male space.¹⁴⁵

5.3 Challenges of Women Waging Peace in Naivasha

The world is patriarchal in nature and this is reflected in Naivasha sub-County as well. To this end, women are inferior and are often marginalized. Thus to add to the already unfair state of the economy, women suffer a lot in conflict. Not only are they the most affected but they are also in a position that they cannot do anything to help change the fact that they are the most affected. During long-term conflicts, problems that directly affect women are often ignored as the larger conflicts take center stage. These larger conflicts are deemed more important, thus requiring more attention and more resources than the conflicts that affect only women. Women, therefore, have to cope with the fact that they are not only disadvantaged in society but also play a lesser role in a conflict situation and post-conflict reconstruction.¹⁴⁶

Women in Naivasha have participated very little in political conflicts both as active participants and as part of conflict resolution. This can be attributed perhaps to their equally little participation in politics generally. Although this trend is slowly changing, their participation is still low. Most women in Naivasha are economically and politically disempowered.

Despite the new constitution promising a lot for women including the 2\3 gender rule and the affirmative action which saw the introduction of the women representative seats, there is still a low number of women participating in politics in Naivasha and Kenya as a whole and most

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Tulel, I Women and peace-building in pastoral conflicts: a case study of pokot women in sigor region of west Pokot county. (2013), Pp 32-49

¹⁴⁶ Sorensen, B. Women in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources. (1998), P 65.

of them are limiting themselves to the position of women representatives where they compete against their fellow women. Women argue that it is difficult to campaign against men thus they prefer to compete with fellow women.¹⁴⁷

The study established that the consequences of women's marginalization and discrimination in peace were evident. The study found out that when women are discriminated against and marginalized in peace-building processes then the outcome cannot be said to be all-inclusive. Whenever there are no woman representatives present at the peace talks then women's issues, concerns, and priorities are often not addressed during peacebuilding talks this means that the goals of peace cannot be fully achieved. The study established that the cultural gender roles of women such as women's role of bearing children and women being associated with domestic spheres among others have led to women being marginalized in sustainable peacebuilding. According to a number of studies, women's involvement in peace processes comes second after their gender role. To a woman, peacebuilding should not be her first priority. Her duty lies at home to take care of the children and carry out other domestic chores while the husband takes on peace and conflict resolution matters.

According to Stacie, the reason for women's marginalization include their lack of capacity or political-know how of engaging in such processes as negotiations or mediations and the public's perceptions of women as passive victims of conflict. This is perception is brought about by the notion that since men are the ones who wage war, it is they who should determine the peace processes. This however is a misguided notion that often leads to women being marginalized in peace-building processes. This is despite the important roles women can play in peacebuilding. A good example is South Sudan where women are part of the conflict. Women in South Sudan are either engaged as combatants on the battlefield or are actively engaged in providing support to fighters. However, despite the potential of women to play an important role in peacebuilding they remain absent from the peace negotiations.¹⁴⁸

The fact that women were included as a strategic constituency in conflict resolution, management, and peacebuilding forays played a critical role and became successful in terms

¹⁴⁷ African Women in Crisis Umbrella Programme: AFWIC, Nairobi: UNIFEM(1994), p12.

¹⁴⁸ Stacie, U., Women Building peace: What they DO, why it Matters, Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner publishers. (2010), P21.

of efforts to constructively respond to conflict and to undertake transformation, reconstruction, and reconciliation not only in Naivasha, Africa but at the globe level. Additionally, it became central in sustaining and consolidating peace efforts which were important in the transformation of conflict that had occurred.¹⁴⁹ Lamentably, women's efforts have met a number of challenges that have made the pursuit of peace tedious.

Additionally, Naivasha women decried the blowback unto the institutional safeguards put in place as part of the Agenda Four agenda. Respondents argued that as they canvassed for constitutional safeguards of women to undo the patriarchal elite compromise that was the independence constitution. To the respondents, the cost that the country paid due to the inefficiencies of the independence constitution was seeing it being plunged by the ruling elites into the after-election brutality of 2007/2008 where a total disregard of human rights took place and allowed for 'the state' against its 'citizen' violence to take center stage. As a result, women paid the highest price for the violence.

While Kenyans as a whole now have more freedoms, including as the freedoms of expression and assembly, their realisation has been severely hampered by the blatant and egregious violation of constitutional requirements. However, this numerical participation has not translated into quality representation in terms of new laws put in place to protect women's rights. Women have also increased representation in legislative assemblies at the county and national level. Fundamentally, Kenya has not yet enacted the 2/3 gender rule.

Women continue to face increased violations, such as gender-based violence, control over women's bodily autonomy, suppression and silencing of women's voices, femicide, and patriarchal cultural practises on inheritance and ownership of land. While some rights specific to women envisioned by the drafters of the constitution, such as access to safe abortion, have also been achieved through the courts. I have a few questions after considering the constitutional process.

Why the sudden push to amend the Constitution?

¹⁴⁹ Ogunsonya, Kemi, (2007), Women Transforming Conflicts in Africa: Descriptive Studies from Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Sudan', Occasional Paper Series, Vol. 2, No. 3 p16.

*Do the proposed reforms in any way protect the interests of Kenyan people, particularly those of women? Why alter what you haven't put into practise? And what justification does that have, in the end? And who is it intended to help?*¹⁵⁰

One of the key challenges faced by women in waging peace in Naivasha has been the pervasiveness of a patriarchal culture of violence. In Naivasha in particular and Kenya at large, the normalization of patriarchal violence as an integral part of life has been detrimental to feminist interventions to pursuing peace. As the Nakuru County violence prevention report aptly observed, violence was normalized through various channels such as the media and language that made light of violent acts spiral very fast. To be sure, children, as well as grownups, witnessed or fell victims acts of violence that were repeated over and over again and many grew up knowing for instance domestic violence was “a way of life.”¹⁵¹ Issues such as ethnicity are some of the societal issues which make conflict possible. As Hunt and Posa (2001) postulate, while women proved over time and again their unique ability to bridge seemingly insurmountable divides, one cannot end wars simply by declaring by word of mouth peace. “Inclusive security” rested on the principle that fundamental social changes must and were necessary to prevent renewed hostilities.¹⁵²

According to Moser and quoted in David Ayora’s work women are not included in formal meeting processes of peacemaking. In fact, women are the main victims of armed conflicts, worse, however, they are excluded from peace negotiations at local, national, and international levels.¹⁵³ Additionally, they are rarely consulted during many occasions including the political processes of peace negotiations despite the fact that they were often the ones who kept communities alive emotionally and physically during the war¹⁵⁴.

The challenges to Naivasha women in peacemaking included Patriarchal challenges, traditional cultures and cultural violence, Outright absence of support from some men, limited participation in decision making, gender-based violence (GBV) and domestic violence(DV),

¹⁵⁰ Oral interview with, Mumbi Mwangi, Naivasha town. On Saturday 18th May 2019.

¹⁵¹ Nakuru County Government, ‘Nakuru County Violence Prevention Policy’, Nakuru: Nakuru County Government (2019),

¹⁵² Hunt, Swanee & Cristina Posa, ‘Women Waging Peace’, Foreign Policy, Vol. 38, No. 47(2001) p 6.

¹⁵³ Moser, C., *The Gendered continuum of violence and Violence and Conflict: An operational Framework*, in Moser C and Clark, F (eds), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors, Armed Conflict and Political violence*, London: Zed Books; (2001), p 54.

¹⁵⁴ Women’s commission for refugee women and children (1995), “The struggle for peace and Recovery in Former Yugoslavia More women from Background to foreground. New York, Women Commission; p 4.

poverty, limited finances from the government, limited levels of education, poor health services and HIV and AIDS, loss of faith and lack of consensus in justice mechanisms, lack of training and skills in peacebuilding, poor coping mechanisms, political factors, economic factors, ethnicity, natural resources management, inequality, destruction of natural resources, child abuse and intolerance

A weak political institutionalization in relation to social mobilization increases the chances of instability in the state. The problem and the challenge here is that when a nation is not stable then it becomes difficult to ensure peace by all leave alone the women only. According to respondents interviewed in the study, the Naivasha women found it difficult to ensure peace due to patriarchy. In a nutshell, it is a social system in which males held primary power and predominated in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege, and controlled much of property compared to women. Similarly, in such domain of the family fathers or father figures held authority over women and children.

The study found out that one of the patriarchal challenges was the traditional cultures. Most if not all the communities in the Naivasha area were Africans. According to the African traditions and customs a woman is supposed to be at home busy with domestic and children issues. Most women would not even be allowed to be with other women by their husbands because it was just discussing politics and to the men, this was not only out of order but also culturally wrong. One of the respondents observed that “A woman is supposed to remain at home and if you are seen in a security team or just talking to other women or even men on the security issue and your husband happens to see you, “utakiona” (You will be in for it).¹⁵⁵

Another patriarchal challenge was the fact that even in situations where men would see the importance of women in promoting peace they failed completely to support them. “Most men do not believe that women can do something on security meaningful on their own and so need to be controlled by men.¹⁵⁶ This was triangulated by another respondent who observed that in his community, the status of the womenfolk was so diminished to the extent that when a woman was speaking, a man would stand beside in order to tell the rest of the menfolk what she was saying.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Oral interview with Wanjiku Kangethe at Maai Mahiu, Naivasha on Wednesday 22nd May 2019.

¹⁵⁶ Oral interview with a petrol station attendant at Longonot, Naivasha on Friday 24th May 2019.

¹⁵⁷ Oral interview with Felistus Kuraru at Maai Mahiu, Naivasha on Tuesday 4th June 2019.

To Abuom (2012), ethnicity is also another key challenge that posed a hindrance to the pursuit of peace by women in Naivasha. The author argues that despite the cosmopolitan nature of the region, many deep ethnic divisions have been reinforced in the region and have been detrimental to campaigns for amity due to socio-psychological scars that are yet to heal. Additionally, internally displaced persons (IDPs) took too long in the camps, and with their resettlement proving a hot political potato, healing remained a mirage. Another problem tied to this is the pervasiveness of the winner takes all model of political competition. With Corruption and tribalism part and parcel of this mode of governance, it is no wonder then that it has been a challenge healing societal fissure.¹⁵⁸

The snail's pace of institutional reforms particularly in the public service, the electoral management body, and in the securocracy has also been a hindrance. According to Elder, Stigant, and Claes, if security sector reforms ahead of the elections are limited, failures in their implementation and lacks a comprehensive civic and voter education program then those are indicators of a failed and breeding ground for conflict. Additionally, minimum mechanisms to initiate local reconciliation efforts and ensure local ownership of the electoral process escalates the situation. The electoral management body formed with the promulgation of the 2010 constitution is yet to instill public confidence due to reports of election rigging. For example, in the 2013 elections, there were still cases of ballot-box stuffing, adding names to the register, insufficient updates and significant time delays in announcing results have detracted people from the electoral management body's lustre. Luckily, there were reformed judiciary calls that bolstered Kenyans' trust in its ability to handle electoral disputes or malpractices. However, in the lead-up to the elections, it has been criticized due to its eminent "toothlessness".¹⁵⁹

To Cho, et al. (2015), Kenya's governance system is also to blame for the inability of peace efforts at local levels to be sustainable in the long term. The four scholars are of the view that Kenya's system of governance is highly centralized with a personalized executive power. With the acquisition of political power primarily seen as a zero-sum game in which one's own tribe must hold the presidency in order to benefit from state resources, this results in tensions that local level actors can't defray. Additionally, the longstanding problem of high youth unemployment has contributed to violence. With little hope of formal sector employment, youth gangs and militias have proliferated throughout the country, offering an avenue for

¹⁵⁸ Abuom, Agnes R. M., 'Making Peace. D+C, Vol. 39(2012); pp 324-326.

¹⁵⁹ Elder, Claire, Susan Stigant, and Jonas Claes, (2014), 'Elections and Violent Conflict in Kenya: Making Prevention Stick', Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace; p 21.

informal employment and income opportunities. Politicians mobilize these groups as the primary perpetrators of electoral violence.¹⁶⁰

The land issue has also been a hindrance to peace forays by women. According to Rohwerder (2015), in an agrarian economy where 80% of Kenyans depend on land for survival in a country where only 20% of the landmass is viable for agricultural production, land has remained a highly emotive issue in Kenya and is a driver in a wide variety of conflicts. This has been worsened further by the deterioration of land carrying capacity due to climate change is also a conflict driver. With little done to tackle grievances over inequity in land ownership and access in Naivasha as well as issues of land grabbing, forays to make peace have been curtailed as a result.¹⁶¹

Another key challenge emanates from the disparity between the conflict resolution efforts mounted by women and women groupings and the local, community-based dynamics of violent conflict as these efforts often prove insufficient in addressing the micro-level causes and politics of local violence.¹⁶² This is evident in Naivasha which is underpinned by the failure of women's reconciliation efforts to mitigate resurgent, violent mobilization by community organizations such as Mungiki as women's efforts on conflict resolutions have frequently failed to achieve parallel settlements in local negotiations.¹⁶³ As such, while women peace actors have facilitated robust political reconciliation and accountability processes in the aftermath of the country's disputed 2007 general election, the prospect of widespread violence in future electoral processes remains significant.¹⁶⁴

In addition, there are still a lot of barriers preventing women from playing peacebuilding roles despite the empowerment the women in this study described. These include patriarchal cultures and attitudes, poverty, and the polarising aspect of ethnic identification. It is also important to note that the absence of female participation at the national and international levels should be

¹⁶⁰ Cho, Seung Yeon, Erin Connors, Faizaa Fatima & Utku Yalim, 'Preventing Post-Election Violence Based on the Kenyan Experience', Stanford: Stanford University. (2015), P 43.

¹⁶¹ Rohwerder, B., 'Conflict Analysis of Kenya', Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham(2015), pp 11-30

¹⁶² Autesserre, Severine, 'The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding', Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (2010), P32.

¹⁶³ Klopp, Jacqueline, 'Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding in Kenya: Challenges and Innovations', Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace; (2010), p17.

¹⁶⁴ U.S. Institute of Peace, 'Prevention Newsletter', Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace (2011), p 37.

disregarded in favour of community-level peacebuilding. However, the communities where these activities take place need them to be effective at promoting peace.¹⁶⁵

Despite women in Naivasha seeking to manage the raging conflict by pursuing justice and helping in managing the consequences of the post-electoral violence, the quest for justice has not been won. Women in Naivasha were actively involved in pursuing justice through the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Elections Violence, a commission formed under the negotiated settlement to the conflict in order to address the immediate violence, the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission which was formed to address the underlying causes of the violence and the newly-begun re-settlement process for internally displaced persons (IDPs) Operation Rudi Nyumbani (return home). By documenting women's experiences and responding with increased services, as well as with advocacy to ensure that those involved in the humanitarian and relief effort did the same, women were a critical cog in managing the conflict. However, a lot of work lies ahead to ensure justice for the women who were affected.¹⁶⁶

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter found out that in the wake of the ensuing violence, women had a positive impact. In tackling the challenges brought about by the conflict as well as playing a moderating role in the political crisis, women were critical in ensuring parties stopped the violence and in saving lives from the ensuing humanitarian crisis through spiritual support and counselling services as well as the provision of humanitarian relief. Additionally, women organizations were also critical in fighting hate speech by becoming gatekeepers alerting the body responsible for monitoring hate speech which led to the arraignment of parliamentarians and thus passing the message that hates speech was unacceptable.

In helping the Naivasha community to engage with each other, women groupings have been critical in redefining the antagonistic identities and belief systems motivating past violence and (re)creating a more positive system of relations governing their interactions. Women organizations were critical in rebuilding destroyed markets which would serve as physical

¹⁶⁵ Natascha Mueller-Hirth, 'How women in Kenya mobilised for peace after surviving violence'. The Conversation. Accessed on 7th August from <https://theconversation.com/how-women-in-kenya-mobilised-for-peace-after-surviving-violence-119843> (2019), 'p 20.

¹⁶⁶ Wanyeki, L. Muthoni, 'Lessons from Kenya: Women and the Post-Election Violence', *Feminist Africa*, Vol. 10, No. 2; (2008), ' pp 91-97.

points and economical centers of the town in which all ethnic groups within the neighbourhood meet and interact. Another success emanating from women's conflict prevention efforts is the institutional reforms that it midwived. These institutional reforms were a conflict prevention success in that in subsequent electoral processes, widespread violence or mass atrocities has been averted. For instance, women groupings in Naivasha have also been a critical cog in actualizing the Nakuru County Violence Prevention Policy through the promotion of trust between the citizens and the police; inter-sectoral dialogue, and collaborations; as well as the fine-tuning of response mechanisms, women groupings in Naivasha.

The challenges faced by women in waging peace in Naivasha have been the pervasiveness of a patriarchal culture of violence. Ethnicity is also another key challenge that posed a hindrance to the pursuit of peace by women in Naivasha. The snail's pace of institutional reforms particularly in the public service, the electoral management body, and in the securocracy has also been a hindrance. Kenya's governance system is also to blame for the inability of peace efforts at local levels to be sustainable in the long term. The land issue has also been a hindrance to peace forays by women. Another key challenge emanates from the disparity between the conflict resolution efforts mounted by women and women groupings in all levels so that whenever challenges were seen to show up, they would tackle them before they are out of hand.

The study's participants described being empowered, yet there are still many barriers that prevent women from playing full peacebuilding roles. These include a lack of wealth, the polarising effects of ethnicity, and patriarchal traditions and norms. Furthermore, despite women in Naivasha seeking to manage the raging conflict by pursuing justice and helping in managing the consequences of the post-electoral violence, the quest for justice has not been won.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The locus of peacebuilding and peacekeeping efforts pursued by women has been an issue of consideration in policy and academic circles due to the recognition of the pivotal import that women and women groupings play in advancing the quest for justice, advancing broader societal issues such as the quest for social justice through inclusive actions and policies all of which are critical building blocks to sustainable peace. This chapter examines the chapter's findings with a view to institute policy recommendations on the same.

Women had a pivotal role in conflict resolution in Naivasha in the wake of the post-election violence. Faced by the threat of violence tearing the social fabric of the cosmopolitan Naivasha area, women under religious settings set up faith-based organizations to pursue conflict resolution. Women and feminine groupings for instance had debates with the major political parties to stop the violence. This has been aptly supported by scholars who argue that women movements at the top and local levels were involved in conflict resolution where they mediated reconciliation processes have been seen as critical in the conflict zone in that they offered alternatives in dealing with identity-based conflicts to the real challenges and approaches that were characterized by the Cold War era. In places such as Naivasha, the women groupings were critical in that they offered a way to access critical constituencies such as that of women in order to address societal inequities and insecurities.

Additionally, in the case of women and women groupings in Naivasha, there was an understanding of the ramifications of incitement and in-group out-group hate speech, women organizations were keen to avoid letting political leaders use the expanded political space to propagate hate speech which could be a possible catalyst for violence. These intervention forays by women and women organizations fit the bill of the African Union's quest to tap into indigenous methods of conflict resolution.

Women groups in Naivasha also addressed the psycho-social wants of female survivors of the ensuing electoral skirmishes of 2008 in conjunction with international organizations. Additionally, the women groups also provided assistance in matters of finance and medical as well as trauma counseling and healing programs to female and child victims of conflict

violence and rape and other educational activities in order to increase literacy. Another role played by women that contributed to peace include the running of training centers and other educational activities in order to increase literacy and education among girls and women.

Women organizations were also instrumental in managing the ensuing conflict by playing a moderating role in the conflict. This entailed the provision of spiritual support and counseling to those affected by the conflict as well as providing humanitarian relief to the worst-hit areas. Bearing in mind the polarity of the Naivasha region, women groups were also critical in pacifying the cosmopolitan constituency of Naivasha by raising awareness for the need to base political debates on matters that are important instead of ethnic divisions. Women called for reforms in various key areas such as in the election bodies, national cohesion, and integrity were held key to sanctify the process at the beginning so that conflict is managed at the bottom before the tensions are building. This would make the process fair and credible not only to the leaders but also to the local people.

In peacebuilding, women and women organizations were critical in canvassing for structural measures to address the conflict. This included serving as key agents for public participation. Through town hall meetings, rallies, and pickets held in Naivasha and Nakuru, women organizations were critical in informing people about important issues that affect them and how structural measures such as constitution-making can be critical in addressing issues that predisposed communities to violence. These exchanges were immensely critical in that they led to the healing process among the communities who were affected by the violence in Naivasha. Additionally, women actors in the civil space were critical in asserting needed pressure on the government to implement necessary reforms.

Naivasha women religious leaders also contributed to peace restoration in the churches. In most cases, the female pastors ensured that sermons were centered on the theme of forgiveness and reconciliation. This was crafted to ensure that the people were able to forgive each other at all times. This approach was welcomed by the women because they were the ones that were facing problems during the crises. Women in Naivasha also came up with peace committees during trading in the markets. As they carried on with their businesses in the markets after the war had come to almost a standstill the women encouraged each other to preach peace so as to help the country restore peace.

Furthermore, women survivors of violence in the Naivasha community resorted to a number of peacebuilding activities within the Naivasha community in subsequent electoral processes

such as the 2013 and the 2017 General Elections by keeping an eye and being the early warning foresight groups through peace dialogues across the litany of ethnicities dotting the neighbourhoods of Naivasha including the Agikuyu, the Luos, and the Maasai as well as pockets of minority communities. Women widowed by election-related violence, for instance, brought together those they shared with similar space from all ethnic communities in order to form a pressure group that would be a focal point to highlight possible ways tensions would prop up in the community early on and promote the benefits of peace for the community. Additionally, women in inter-ethnic marriages were able to become mediators in their husbands' communities.

Additionally, women were able to organize themselves into community-based organizations where they would undertake mediation and training activities, shared their experiences about mediation in very direct and physical ways such as telling the men to stop fighting and committing cross-ethnic arsonist attacks. Other women formed multi-ethnic merry-go-rounds which served as focal points of economic empowerment which apart from saving they learned ways to invest their money through micro-savings groups. These economic empowerment groups also served as spaces of encounter and dialogue in which peace was discussed.

In the wake of the ensuing violence, women had a positive impact. In tackling the challenges brought about by the conflict as well as playing a moderating role in the political crisis, women were critical in ensuring parties stopped the violence and in saving lives from the ensuing humanitarian crisis through spiritual support and counseling services as well as the provision of humanitarian relief. Additionally, town hall meetings, rallies, and pickets organized by women were critical in contributing to healing among the communities affected by the violence. Women organizations were also critical in fighting hate speech whereby they became gatekeepers alerting the body responsible for monitoring hate speech.

Additionally, in helping the Naivasha community to engage with each other, feminine organizations were of import in redefining the antagonistic socio-economic and political structures as well as identity-based and primordial belief systems which had been encouraging past public and private violence. As such, these feminine groupings helped the community in Naivasha in (re)creating a more positive system of socio-political relations. Given that collective identity has been gradually acknowledged as a principal contributor to intergroup conflicts in societies divided along socio-political identity lines, credit has been extended to women groups for using the same to redefine the society and engage in conflict prevention.

This is due to the fact that in the pursuit of significant conflict prevention forays, social relations have to change if antagonism is to be resolved in a way that transforms the relationship and opens the way to conflict prevention.

However, while the inclusion of women as a strategic constituency in conflict resolution, management, and peacebuilding forays has been critical in successful efforts to constructively respond to conflict and to undertake transformation, reconstruction, and reconciliation, this has been fraught with a number of challenges. These challenges include the pervasiveness of a patriarchal culture of violence. Additionally, women are rarely consulted during the political processes of peace negotiations despite the fact that they are often the ones who keep communities alive emotionally and physically during the war. Ethnicity is also another key challenge that posed a hindrance to the pursuit of peace by women in Naivasha. Furthermore, the snail's pace of institutional reforms particularly in the public service, the electoral management body, and in the securocracy have also been a hindrance.

The role played by women in peacebuilding in societies at the grassroots level cannot be gainsaid. However, their push for societal change as evidenced by the case in Naivasha has been fraught with a number of challenges. As noted in the study, power asymmetries during conflict mediation were a salient issue largely occasioned by patriarchy. As such, in future engagement, there is a need to address the same. In this regard, there is a need to work around the individual's attitudes and actions so that the parties they represent are aware of what conflict can do to society. This concurs with what Kelman proposes, that to overcome asymmetries, there is a need to bring people seen as to make or shape opinions together from all groups or ethnicity that are fighting to iron out the underlying challenges. Such people hold a say and hence their agreement will be taken by the majority of whom they represent and as a result avert conflict.¹⁶⁷

During the consultation, such influential people will play as an intermediary as their words are taken with some weight which is very important during consultation. In many cases, they are considered as the silent "third-party consultation" because in times where there is a need to emphasize their essential role regarded as non-directive, non-coercive, and non-evaluative and in a most respected manner. In such a way it was manageable to bring members of the

¹⁶⁷ Kelman, H. C. *Interactive problem solving: Informal mediation by the scholar-practitioner*. In *Studies in international mediation: Essays in honor of Jeffrey Z. Rubin*, Edited by: Bercovitch, J., New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (2002), Pp 167-193.

conflicting areas into face-to-face interactions putting in place measures that increase understanding and not only aimed at agreements that will not be put into practice.

Additionally, there is a need to overcome asymmetries by creating an informal atmosphere in which participants can freely express their views while respecting those of the other side. It also ensures that the parties can move from adversarial debate to a joint analysis of the conflict and the creation of problem solutions that might help address it.¹⁶⁸

To prevent and mitigate violence during and after elections in Kenya, women groups need to adopt a number of measures. First of all, there is a need to adapt and focus on Early Warning Early Response (EWER) systems that are centered around detecting and Deterring Spoilers and conflict entrepreneurs; Peace Messaging; Community Dialogue, and Reconciliation. In addition to this, there is a need to have a mechanism under which hate speech was monitored, and capacitating in the local peace structures improved. Programmes such as those mentioned above will help not in deterring but also counter election-related conflict such as those that we experienced in 2007/08. To this end, there is a need to enhance the capacity of the key anti-hate body in Kenya, with a view that that will help not only to fulfill their mandate but work with other agencies such as the media and equip their staff with a skill that can be used to preach peace message to all so that what happened did not repeat itself.

The act of sharing a peace message was also key as it focused and urged Kenyans to maintain peace, calm, and unity before, during, and after the elections. Through the platform, the texts were developed and disseminated and reached people either through SMS, email blasts, door-to-door campaigns, TV and radio, community events, or billboards among others. Another key preventive measure was through communities having dialogue and reconciliation meetings which focused on key elements such as ways under which tensions were to be reduced and the relationship of the people improved. This was after their previous relations were polarized in line with their ethnicity. In 2013 for instance, some programs focused their efforts on communications, to the civil society with an aim to start a dialogue between and among people in their various capacities. Such projects were run by “Kenya Tuna Uwezo” and the “People to People Peace Project (3Ps)” and “Picha Mtaani”. They held peace caravans and toured

¹⁶⁸ Kelman, H. C. *Interactive problem solving: Informal mediation by the scholar-practitioner*. In *Studies in international mediation: Essays in honor of Jeffrey Z. Rubin*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Edited by: Bercovitch, J. (2002), pp 167–193.

many parts of the country with the aim that what had happened before is shown to the people through videos and pictures.

There is also a need to capacitate local peace structures by focusing on how far Kenya's peace infrastructure should be developed. To name a few, they must work to improve the NSC's capacity for conflict management, establish District Committees (DPCs) at the local level with the responsibility of emphasising dialogue, fostering mutual understanding, fostering trust, and creating constructive problem-solving and joint action to prevent violence, and increase the ability of local organisations to engage in conflict management.

This will augment the Early Warning Early Response (EWER) system that will focus among other important ways to raise alarm about potential threats of violence and undertake effective measures that are aimed to address those threats before they escalate. Additionally, mechanisms that function both locally and nationally should be included. For instance, in 2013, the national Uwiano Platform for Peace, which received significant funding from UNDP, hired and trained more than 100 peace monitors and erected "Peace Tents" in about 20 counties to coordinate information sharing on new threats and responses by state and non-state actors, such as security alerts to police, elder conflict mediation, and peace committees.

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