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THE ROLE OF IGAD IN FACILITATING THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: CASE OF SOMALIA, 1992 – 2006

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Declaration

This project paper is my original work and has not been presented at any other university for an academic award.

Sign: _____ Date: _____

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This project paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to all peace-makers.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

After the cold war, there was an increase in intra-state conflicts in many African countries. The proliferation of weapons into these countries led to conflicts over both scarcity and abundance of natural resources in many states. This study looks at the horn of Africa conflict region which falls under IGAD framework. The formation of IGAD partly was to find solutions for conflict management in its framework. Somalia in particular, is the concern in this study. The research is singling out the role of women in conflict management in this country which has experienced protracted violence for the last two decades. Many scholars have argued that, conflicts are endemic and they cannot be done away with. They can only be managed. In the decision-making on management of these conflicts, women have been largely left out and only viewed as victims. The feminist theorists, claim that women have an active role in conflicts, for this reason, this study strives to analyze and determine the extent to which women have participated in conflict management strategies in the framework of IGAD and Somalia in particular. The traditionalists have viewed conflict management as a reserve for men. Women have been out of the limelight and only viewed as victims. Somali community is known to be patriarchal and therefore their women have had minimum participation in conflict management in their country. Guided by the feminist theorists this study argues that women are both victims and actors of conflict. They hold that women just like men are potential makers and breakers of peace. Feminism embodies a variety of dissatisfactions with things – as they are - and a variety of visions about how they could be improved. This study seeks to establish the extent to which women in Somalia have been involved in peace processes. In this connection, the study examines the role of IGAD in facilitating women's participation in advancing the regional agenda for peace.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning Mechanisms
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COGWO	Coalition for Grassroots Women's Organizations
EASBRIG	Eastern Africa Standby Brigade
EC	European Commission
GoS	Government of Sudan
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development
IPF	International Parties Forum
IWD	IGAD's Women Desk
MPs	Members of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NOW	National Organization for the Development of Women and Children
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PHRN	Peace and Human Rights Network
RRA	Rahanweyne Resistance Army
SNM	Somalia National Movement
SNPC	Somalia National Peace Conference
SOWDA	Somaliland Women Development Association
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
SSDF	Somalia Salvation Democratic Front

SSWC	Save Somalia Women and Children
TNA	Transitional National Assembly
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TNG	Transitional National Government
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations and Development Fund for Women
USC	United Somali Congress
WID	Women in Development

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This study presents conflict as a social reality. It highlights serious anthropological issues related to conflict. As a social phenomenon, this study affirms that, conflict is everyone's concern and therefore everyone's inclusion in decision-making is necessary. From the traditional point of view, the field of conflict management is a reserve for men. However, this research based on feminist theory, calls for maximum allocation of conflict management opportunities for women indiscriminately.

Conflict management is defined as the process of introducing external actors or exogenous managers and external factors such as mediation into a conflict. Conflict management can also be carried out by endogenous, exogenous or heterogeneous conflict managers. Endogenous managers are those who emerge from within the conflict, exogenous ones are external to the conflict and heterogeneous managers exhibit both characteristics[1].

Violent and protracted conflicts impact negatively within and outside the countries. Conflicts contribute to serious feminization of poverty: women are not as mobile as their counterparts, men; they do not have similar accessibility to credit resources. The impact of violent conflict on women include: loss of lives, displacement among others. Burdens due to responsibilities occur after death of husbands, including doubling up as bread-winners and mothers as well as generation caught in a cycle of violence. Conflicts also disrupt education of children as well as socio-economic indicators of not only a given area but all over the country

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[1] M. Mwagiru, *International Management of International Conflict in Africa*: The Uganda Mediation 1985. PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1994, pp.7.

and beyond. Other impacts also include trauma, rape, defilement, child labor and child soldiers among others[2].

For life to continue, what was destroyed has to be re-built. But rebuilding cannot start before relative calm is established. Reconstructing war-torn societies means "reconstructing human beings, souls and bodies, social structures, culture, environment, a peace culture of reconciliation, repentance, forgiveness, healing and collectively and individually acting out the sorrow etc…"[3]. In order for successful undertaking of the above involvements, it is important for the conflicting parties and other actors to be involved. In this case other actors include women and other vulnerable.

The utilization of the classical liberal feminist theory is necessary for this study for it advocates for equal rights to opportunities as much as men do. Although feminist theorists are of several strands, they however, agree on this observation. Therefore, this feminist standpoint provides a forum for women to stand up for their rights.

Since the local population has been affected by consequences of conflict, Somalia has been mobilizing and organizing at different levels, within IGAD framework to promote healing, conflict management, conflict resolution and peace-building. Review of literature reveals that Somalia is a patriarchal society. Benit, a Norwegian feminist notes that, "A patriarchal State is one rehabilitating from war, presently at war, or preparing for war."[4] This suggests that women have an important role to play in conflict management and in reconstructing the social and moral issues of the society at the end of conflict.

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[2] Draft Report of the Karamoja Women for Peace Building Networking Meeting 25-26 June 2010, pp. 11.
[3] Oberg, J., *Conflict Mitigation in Reconstruction and Development*. http://www.gmu.edu/academic/pcs/ober/htm Accessed on 20th May, 2012.
[4] Robin, Morgan, The Word of a Woman: *Feminist Dispatches (1968-1992),* Published by W.W. Norton Company, New York, London. 1991.

The Arta Peace Conference which led to the formation of the Transitional National Government (TNG) in August 2000 led to a significant development in the politics of Somalia for a decade. The TNG was the outcome of a length of public open dialogue. This was a negotiation which put more emphasis on civil society involvement rather than factional representation. This was the first Somalia peace conference that included women and minor clans among the voting delegates. This conference attracted participants from the wider Somalia's regions. This was the most successful peace initiative conference which drew its name from the town it was held known as Arta. The Somali National Peace Conference (SNPC) officially launched on 2nd May 2000 in Arta and has since been referred to as the Arta Peace Conference.

This study determines the extent to which women have been involved in this endeavor within the framework of IGAD conflict region and in Somalia. The focus is IGAD-led women desk's efforts after the Arta Peace Conference. The findings are drawn from conflict management scholars, comparative literature, journals, internet materials and the analysis of primary data. The primary data was obtained from questionnaires and interview schedules presented to sampled populations ranging from scholars to students of conflict management, workers from conflict management institutions to victims of the Somali conflict. The primary data findings are analyzed and presented as narrative in chapter five.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study highlights that women also have a stake in conflicts and their management. They are not just victims but actors as well. For this reason, there is a re-examination of women's role in conflicts and their management, as actors rather than passive victims. This calls for a different conceptual lens founded on a gender focus. As opposed to sex which is biological, gender is the

cultural or social construction of sex[5]. However, the biological aspect is what it means to be male or female.

A gender analysis refers to the systematic examination of the different activities and identities of men and women. It involves encompassing and understanding the power relations relating to patterns of women's and men's access to and control over resources, authority and social legitimacy. Unlike Women in Development (WID) which focuses on women alone, a gender analysis emphasizes the relation aspect between men and women and how this affects societal relations. Sheryl Brown and Kimber Schraub (1991) point out that, even democracies cannot avoid possessing and sometimes sowing the seeds of internal conflict in the absence of civil rights tradition and effective judicial system[6]. Writing about causes of conflict, John Burton (1991) on the human needs theory - which is based on the assumption that human beings do have basic needs that have to be met – says that those needs have to be met. If these needs have not been met, the society is meant to plunge into conflict. The conflict will further bring about instability in the society. Burton describes this as follows:

> We believe that the human participants in conflict situation are compulsively struggling in their respective institutional environments at all social levels to satisfy primordial and universal needs - such as security, identity, recognition, and development. They strive increasingly to gain control of the environment that is necessary to ensure the satisfaction of these needs. This struggle cannot be curbed. It is primordial[7].

On his part, Mitchell sees conflict to be caused by incompatible goals between two parties about something. This causes political tensions between governments and regimes on the one

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[5] Cranny – Francis, A. et al., *Gender Studies, Terms and Debates* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Mac Millan, 2003).
[6] Brown, S.J., *Resolving Third* World Conflict: Challenges for a New Era. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC. 1991, pp. 51.
[7] Burton, J., Conflict Resolution as a Political System in VamikVolka, et al (eds), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships*: Vol II: Official Diplomacy at Work. (Lexington, M.A., Levington Books, 1991, pp. 82 – 83).

hand and the opposition in such cases resents the regime`s inability to maintain order and peace and to provide freedom. Reinforcing Mitchell`s point of view, Holsti (1988) says conflict emerges "from a particular combination of parties" incompatible positions over an issue, hostile attitudes, and certain types of diplomatic and military action[8].

Lawlessness and insecurity have taken hold of many countries. Fear and uncertainty of the unknown grip the citizenry. According to the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU):

> Conflicts have cast a dark shadow over the prospects for a united secure and prosperous Africa which we seek to create… conflicts have caused immense sufferings to our people and, in the worst case, death. Men, women and children have been uprooted, dispossessed, deprived of their means of livelihood and thrown into exile as refugees as a result of conflicts. This dehumanization of a large segment of our population is unacceptable and cannot be allowed to continue. Conflicts have engendered hate and division among our people and undermined the prospects of the long term stability and unity of our countries and Africa as a whole.[9]

The horn of Africa which also falls under IGAD region is one of the conflict prone parts of Africa: Somalia on its part has faced internal rebellion since its defeat at Ogaden by Ethiopia between the years 1977-1978. The conflict situation in the country became aggravated when the abortive coup led by the Mijerteen officers led to the formation of the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) in the north-east regions to oust the dictatorial regime of Siad Barre. Another opposition's movement, the Somalia National Movement (SNM) was created in the north-west regions for the same purpose. By 1988, a full scale war erupted in Somalia which led to several deaths and destructions of towns and infrastructure. The conflict spread tremendously.

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[8] Holsti, K.J., *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. Prentice-Hall International Inc, 1988, pp. 396.
[9] OAU, *Resolving Conflicts in Africa: Proposals for Action*: Addis Ababa: OAU Pres and Information Series 1, 1992, pp. 3.

By the end of 1992, it was estimated that more than 500, 000 people had died in the war and famine in Somalia[10]. The majority of this total was women, children, and the elderly people. In such human tragedy, conflict parties and development partners alike always yearn for conflict management. The Somalia conflict and state collapse is often referred to as 'clan-based conflict', just as African economic and politically rooted conflicts are called ethnic conflict. However, reliable research in the area indicates that clan fighting played no part in its collapse; rather, "the dynamic Somalia's collapse was set in motion during a long period (1969 - 1991) of dictatorial rule and egregious economic mismanagement by Barre."[11]

Burton on the study of conflict demonstrates that even international crises and conflicts have domestic sources.[12] Mwagiru points out that the international human rights system is probably the most clearly internationalizing agent of internal conflict.[13] For this reason, Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) of which Somalia is a member, comes in directly to strategize on conflict management in the Somalia crisis. IGAD has been very instrumental in conflict management in the horn of Africa by spearheading the Sudan and Somalia peace processes. Its approach on conflict management is based on the peaceful resolution of conflicts. "Women have, and are still searching for ways to be part of the peace efforts in a bid to ameliorate the tragic effects of war".[14]

Several debates have emanated from different forums, scholars and researchers on the relationship between women and peace-building. Cherl Bernard is of the opinion that women should be accorded a greater role in the social, political, economic and cultural arenas so that

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[10] Prendergast, J., *Crisis Response: Humanitarian Band-Aids in Sudan and Somalia*. London: Plato Press, 1997, pp. 115.

[11] Ahmed I., "Understanding Conflict in Somali and Somali Land" In A. Adedeji (ed) *Comprehending and Mastering*, *African Conflicts* (London: Zed Publishers 1997) Pp. 236 – 256.

[12] Burton, J.W., Global Conflict: *The Domestic Source of international Crisis,* Brighton Wheat sheaf Books, 1984.

[13] Mwagiru, M., Conflict in Africa: *Theory, Processes, and Institutions of Management*.(Center for Conflict Resolution):Nairobi, 2006, pp.64

[14] UNIFEM, *Women at the Table-Peace Making a Difference,* UNIFEM, New York, 2000, pp.12

peace and security should increase in society. As members of society, women also lose in violent conflict like men. However, they are most of the time not consulted when the decision to go to war is made by men. It is important for women to be involved in the process when peace issues are being discussed for the benefit of the entire society. The role of women in peace-building is further validated by the United Security Council as captured in Resolution 1325 (2000).

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution, invites the Secretary General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls the role of women in peace-building[15]. If conflicts are inevitable in human relations, unmanageable conflicts - it is argued - undermine the enabling environment for development. Peace should be understood not simply in the terms of absence of conflict but the presence of structures, institutions and processes in the state that preclude violence as a means of conflict management[16]. Therefore, conflict management refers to steps that can be taken by individuals or groups and institutions to reduce the negative impacts of conflict. In this study, the term conflict management is used to refer to any management process by which parties to the conflict are encouraged to come together and do something about their conflict[17]. Some writers such as Zartman see conflict management as a separate process[18]. In this study conflict management is

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[15] UN, *United Nations Security Council Resolution 132, (2000).*

[16] Makumi, M., Human Security: *Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa*, Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum,2008, P. 38

[17] Makumi, M., Conflict Processes: *Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*: Centre for Conflict Research, Nairobi, 2006, pp. 43.

[18] Zartman, I.W., Ripe for Resolution: *Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

restricted to peaceful process of settlement and resolution to be inclusive enough to cover almost any management effort that third parties may resort to[19].

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Literature reviewed reveal that a number of scholars have written about the role of women in peace-building and peace-making in Somalia. A few have written about its management. The focus of this study is on local Somali women's roles and the support from IGAD-led women desk after the Arta Peace Conference which gave birth to the Transitional National Government (TNG) as a major gap of knowledge. Another gap of knowledge that this study fills is the solution to the challenges of the IGAD-led women desk in Somalia. This study critically, analyzes the role of local women in conflict management and establishes the extent to which the inclusion of women in peace negotiations in Somalia has contributed in conflict management within their communities and within the framework of IGAD. Above all this study examines how far the IGAD sub-region has supported local women in their quest for conflict management in Somalia after the Arta Peace Conference which made a remarkable step in the history of Somalia peace initiatives.

Having appreciated the role of women in conflict management, this study set out to analyze IGAD's support on the efforts of women in the Somalia conflict after the Arta Peace Conference. This is the main focus given that a gap of knowledge on IGAD's support on local women's efforts after the Arta Peace Conference exists. This is a point of concern because during this Conference which included women there was suddenly a big step towards the attainment of peace. There was a lot of hope which died shortly after. The reason why this gap of knowledge needs to be filled is because it is not clearly know why the spirit of peace initiative at

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[19] Makumi, M. Conflict Processes: *Theories, Processes and Institutions of Management*: Centre for Conflict Research, Nairobi 2006, pp. 43.

the Arta Peace Conference died shortly after. This study based on feminist theory for championing women's issues, strives to analyze women's efforts and the extent to which IGAD has supported them. The questions this study is trying to answer are: After the Arta Peace Conference how far has IGAD supported local women's peace initiatives in Somalia? Secondly, after the establishment of women desk in IGAD, what is the impact of local women in their cultural set up on conflict management in Somalia? These questions are intended to fill the gap of knowledge on the local feminist roles after the Arta Peace Conference, and solutions to the challenges facing the IGAD-led women desk in Somalia after the Arta Peace Conference.

The importance of these findings in the field of international conflict management is that conflicts are endemic and dynamic in nature and therefore, researchers need to be updated from time to time with the dynamisms of conflicts. Secondly, with time any conflict gets internationalized and as such becomes the concern of a region. Thirdly, the Somalia conflict is protracted, the social and cultural background is patriarchal, feminist theorists have done their part, it is important that the findings from this study inform the conflict managers of any other necessary step to be taken to bring peace to Somalia for the sake of international peace. Most importantly, the international community has invested a lot of resources in the peace processes in Somalia and this must not go to waste. The absence of peace in Somalia leads to greater harm such as insecurity, poverty, political tension, refugees and so on in the horn of Africa region and beyond.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective for this study was to determine the IGAD's support on the role of women in conflict management and their effectiveness particularly in Somalia after the Arta Peace Conference. Specifically, this study:

1. Analyses the impact of the local women in facilitating conflict management in Somalia within the framework of IGAD.

 2. Analyzes IGAD-led women desk's efforts in support of local women in conflict management in Somalia after the Arta Peace Conference.

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.0 Introduction

The literature of this study is derived from research that has been conducted by scholars, non-governmental organizations and international organizations on conflict and conflict management. The literature focused is both published and unpublished. The subject of conflict management is linked to the large subject of conflict. In this consideration, the literature begins with that of protracted conflict, literature on sub-regional organizations, literature on gender dimensions in conflict and the gender relations in Somalia, literature on women and conflict management in the framework of IGAD and finally, literature on feminism and feminist theory.

1.4.1 Literature on Protracted Conflict

Conflict is endemic in the human society and it cannot be annihilated without first annihilating the human society. As long as there will be people living in a society conflict will continue to be because different people have different perceptions about different realities. Different perceptions of people or groups of people together with their interests that they want to protect and promote will always lead to conflict in the society.[20]

Conflict refers to confrontation and disagreement. This means a negative situation or atmosphere. According to Morton, conflict is a disruption of formal, desirable social interaction,

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[20] P.L.K. Magero, "Obstacles to Peace in Africa: Actors, Interests and Strategies" (Conference Paper to the Catholic University of Eastern Africa-Nairobi, *Philosophy of War and Peace*, November, 2007).

a `dysfunctional` state of social relation[21]. In contextualizing conflict, Mwagiru argues that conflict relates closely to the cultural setting. What may be considered wrong and divisive in one culture may not be considered so in another[22]. Lederach agrees with Mwagiru`s position when he says that the problem of the different cultural perception about conflict has not been addressed satisfactorily[23].

Writing about conflict, War and Conflict Management in International Relations, Mitchell states that 'wars and civil wars may be the most obvious example of organized human behavior in situations where salient goals are perceived as incompatible[24].

Coser defines conflict as a 'contest over values and demands to limited states, power, and resources in which the aims of the rival are to offset, ruin, or get rid of their rivals[25]. He expands his definition of conflict by looking at the positive function of conflict which to him has been neglected. He states that "far from being only a "negative" factor which "tears apart", social conflict may fulfill a member of determined function in groups and other interpersonal relations. It may for example, contribute to the maintenance of group boundaries, and prevent the withdrawal of members from a group[26].

Commenting on the historicity of conflict, Bushara states that "any specific conflict should be understood in relation to its historical antecedents, and as moving towards a variety of potential outcomes"[27]. For Burton, conflict is a social phenomenon that can either lead to a

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[21] Morton, D., *Subjective Features of Conflict Resolution: Psychological, Social and Cultural Influences*; ed.,1991.
[22] Mwagiru, M., *Conflict: Theory, Process and Institution of Management*, Nairobi, (2000) Framework p 1.
[23] Lederach ,J. P., Beyond Prescription: *New Lenses for Conflict Resolution Training Across Culture,* Waterloo; Ontario, 1992.
[24] Mitchell, C.R., Conflict, War and Conflict Management in Light, M. and Groom, A.J.R. (eds), *Management Relations, A Handbook of Theory* (London: printer Publishers), 1985, pp. 121.
[25] Coser, L., *The Function of Social Conflict: New York*: The Free Press. 1956, pp. 3.
[26] Ibid pp 8.
[27] Bushara, J.E., Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes in Jacobs, S., Jacobson and March Bank, K.J. (eds) State of Conflict: *Gender, Violence and Resistance* (London: Zed Books Ltd), 2000, pp. 67.

peaceful and or degenerate into a destructive end[28]. He supports Zartman`s view that conflict is

an inescapable condition so far as human relations are concerned. Therefore, human beings must

team to live and cope with conflict since "conflict is endemic in society"[29]. The common ground

for all the above scholars' arguments is that conflict is bred in the human mind. It is an

individual issue.

Deborah Winter and Dana Leighton propose that the very structure in society that bread

structural violence could be used to encourage and empower citizens to develop systematically

ways to mitigate and reduce its effects[30].Structural violence and conflict is a situation in which

human beings are unable to realize their full potential[31]. The structural violence may not

necessary be intended, but influence against people`s realization of the full potential is the basis

of structural violence. Galtung moves further to demonstrate that structural violence is connected

with cultural conflict. For him, cultural violence refers to those aspects of culture, the symbolic

sphere of our existence. This is exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical

sciences and science (logic, mathematics) that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or

structural violence. Galtung [32] in two articles tries to demonstrate that the structure of

relationship, which may be deeply rooted in the minds and ways of people or even rationalized,

may render people incapable of realizing their full potential. To him this is a conflict situation

that needs to be addressed irrespective of it being manifest or not.

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[28] Burton, J. W., *World Society,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972 pp. 137-38.
[29] Webb, K., *Structural Violence and the Definition of Conflict in World Encyclopedia of Peace*, Vol. 2 (Oxford Pergamon: Press, 1986, pp. 431-34.
[30] Winter, D and Leighton, D; *Structural Violence Introduction*. http://www.peoplewhitman.edu/57 Eleghtdc/Svintro.html. Accessed on 22nd June ,2013.
[31] Galtung, J., "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" *Journal of Peace Research Vol. 27,* 1991, pp. 169-191.
[32] Galtung, J., "Cultural Violence": *Journal of Peace Research Vol. 291-305;*1991.

Structural conflict and violence has revolutionized the study of conflict and conflict management[33]. Mwagiru contends that conflict relates to cultural setting. What is considered in one culture to be wrong and divisive in one culture may not be considered so in another culture and conflict management methodologies differ from culture to culture. Conflict goes beyond the physical violence. The structures that underlie social relationships may be the source of conflict. This approach to conflict ignites a debate between the behavioral and the structural violence. Structural violence may be imbedded in structure of relationships and may not be immediately recognized by the actors. When structural violence becomes manifest, it is likely to lead to behavioral conflicts. Cultural perception about conflict has not been sufficiently addressed in most of analyses of conflict.[34] Mwagiru[35] observes that conflict may be violent or non-violent. Violent conflict is structural in nature and is usually not easily observable.

Unless people are given a chance to unleash their full potential, they may not be effective actors. The structure of relationships and culture may exclude or render some actors to act below their capacities, and may perpetuate or even aggravate such people`s suffering. This may be because of their cultural stereotypes[36] that may give dominance on some of the actors excluding some or giving them some lesser roles and significance in the structure of relationship. Among the issues that enter this debate of structural violence, structural conflict and cultural conflict is gender issues. Therefore conflict can be traced to the structure of relationship and culture, which are biased and exclusionary. The gaps of knowledge identified are that no literature review has exhaustively talked about women as conflict agents. Much of the literature talks about women as

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[33] Mwagiru, M., *Conflict: Theory Process and Institutions of Management*, Nairobi; Framework, 2000, pp. 24-35.
[34] Lederach, J.P., Beyond Prescription: *New Lenses for Conflict Resolution Training Across Cultures,* Ontario: Waterloo, 1992.
[35] Mwagiru M., Ibid. pp.35
[36] Galtung, J., "Cultural Violence": *Journal of Peace Research,* op. cit. pp. 291.

victims rather than perpetrators. Based on classical liberal feminist theory, this study calls for women's basic rights and non discrimination on the basis of gender.

1.4.2 Literature on Sub-regional Organizations

Sub-regional organizations are entities created by sovereign states to serve certain interests among them and operate within the framework of international law.[37] Related literature to this study in particular is quite vast. However, for purposes of the designated objectives, the literature here would be narrowed to demonstrate the emerging role of sub-regional institutions in the contemporary international community.

The composition of sub-regional institution is the amalgamation of states in a given geographical position with common interests and challenges. Frankel[38] observes that international organizations can be differentiated into various categories. The first distinction he makes is between universal and regional organizations. The former refer to the organizations whose membership encompasses the whole international community. The membership of regional organizations, on the other hand, is restricted to part, or the entirety of a continent. Frankel further notes that some regional organizations may be composed of member states that are not contiguous: what matters is that they have a common goal. The second category among international organizations can be made between multipurpose or political organizations and functional or specialized ones. Goldstein[39] observes that the latter organizations, which have specific functions, work better than those with broad purposes. Further still he notes that functional organizations tend to be more cohesive since they promote the national interests of their member states and therefore increase leverage for bargaining in the region where they are

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[37] Taylor, P. & A.J.R. Groom, (Eds.), *International Institutions at work*, London, Printer, 1988 pp.43
[38] Frankel, J., *International Relations in a Changing World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, pp.85
[39] Goldstein, J. S., *International Relations*, New York, Priscilla McGeehan, 2001, pp. 298.

formed. In this case, the potential functions of such organizations are political, economic or social in nature.

Ressett [40] perceives regionalism to encompass five aspects: social and cultural homogeneity; similar attitudes or external behavior; political interdependence; and geographic proximity. According to him, if a regional organization scores only in one of these factors then is weak and cannot sufficiently promote the interest of member states. He further says that on the other hand if it scores on all these categories then it is strong and it will demonstrate a strong ability to solve problems which states within the same region would not deal with at national level. This therefore, is seen to produce realistic results in terms of common security and the states within the region will not be expected to resort to the use of force in their interactions with one another.

Padelford [41] demonstrates that regional organizations can be defined on the basis of intermix of geographical and political elements. This therefore observes that regions are spatial areas, which come to be spoken of groups of states. It further includes the utterances of statesmen, or the terms of treaties or agreements between groups of states. Wallace and Singer[42] distinguish international organizations according to three criteria. First, criteria are that that the organization must consist of at least two qualified members of the international system and must have been created by a formal instrument of agreement between the governments of the national states. Secondly, the organization must hold more or less regular plenary sessions at intervals not greater than once a decade. Thirdly, the organization must have a permanent

[40] Russett, B., International Regions and the International System; A Study in Political Ecology, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967 pp.11
[41] Padelford, N., 'Recent Developments in Regional Organizations', *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law,* 1955, pp. 25.
[42] Wallace, M. and D. Singer, Intergovernmental Organizations in the Global System, (1815-1964), in *International Organization,* vol. 24, No.2, 1970, pp.239-87.

secretariat with permanent headquarters, which performs ongoing tasks. This definition then suitably describes the contemporary regional organizations present in Africa.

The IGAD was created by a formal agreement between national governments and it carries out its roles of regional security and development mandates through its secretariat and annual summit meetings. IGAD's role in regional conflict management emerges from the foundational framework and the mandate conferred upon it by its member states. IGAD covers the countries which are popularly known as the Horn of Africa conflict zone.

Since in other literature reviews it emerged that conflict is both a challenge and an opportunity, and that it is endemic in life, different sub-regions have come up to rise to the occasion of the transformation of conflict. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been formed to take care of the interests of the West African states. ECOWAS, through its Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) has intervened in the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s.[43]In its endeavor to bring peace in these countries, ECOWAS took military troops to those countries with regional support. ECOWAS has overtime developed its peace and security framework to have a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution and Security. In its operation, it is charged with responding to sub-regional conflicts ranging from fact-finding missions and diplomatic efforts to military intervention.

Through mediation efforts, fact-finding missions, ECOWAS has taken the lead in restoring peace in Ivory Coast and the Mano River Union. It has also majored in peacekeeping deployments across the region. Both the IGAD and ECOWAS security intervention in their respective regions demonstrate that sub-regional organizations can achieve peace goals hence create regional peace.

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[43] Saferworld International Alert, *EU Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa*, Rome, Saferworld International Alert, 2003, pp.44

For the case of the Southern African region, the Southern African Development Cooperation (SADC) was created.[44]SADC has managed to enhance peace and security among its member countries. It is doing this through its Politics, Defense and Security organ. This organ has the mandate to specify the type of intervention that needs to be adopted in different crises. Over time now, SADC has been involved in diplomatic and military interventions in DRC and Lesotho with considerable success. Just like any other regional organization, SADC has been faced with challenges emerging from unilateralism and the procedures to be used when intervening in times of conflict. However, the revision of the legal framework for intervention overtime, this problem has been addressed. The intervention is such that it prevents future loopholes for unilateral action. With this pace of steps taken, the future of ECOWAS in discharging its mandate in the region is promising.

Tunkin[45]notes that international organizations are permanent bodies which states create to handle matters entrusted to them and which result from international agreements. In this case therefore, any contemporary inter-governmental organization is created by respective states through the means of concluding an international treaty for a set purpose. The international organization assumes in a way the state of international legal personality. IGAD derives its mandate to manage conflicts in its respective region from the fact that member states recognize its ability as a basic factor in both social and economic development. While IGAD's original mandate did not include conflict management, the organization was interested in mediation as a way of strengthening its position as a sub-regional actor.[46]When it got involved into the Somalia

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[44] Saferworld International Alert, *EU Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa*, Ibid, 2003, pp.44.

[45] Tunkin, G.I., The Legal Personality of International Organizations in Osakwe, C., (Ed.), *International Law and International Organizations*, Leiden, A.W. Sijithoff, 1972 pp.24-42.

[46] Amoo, S. and Zartman, W.I., Mediation by Regional Organizations: The Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Chad in Bercovitch, Jacob and Robin, Jeffrey, Z. eds (1992), *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management*, Macmillan Press, London pp.131-148.

and Sudanese conflicts, this sub-regional organization did not yet have a mandate for conflict management. At that time, IGAD's regional profile was relatively low and mediation of the Sudanese conflict has raised it tremendously. Added to this was a certain feeling of obligation and duty: a member state made the request and the organization felt inclined to respond positively.[47]

1.4.3 Literature on Gender Dimensions in Conflict and the Gender Relations in Somalia

Mbote[48]considers gender to mean a state of being male or female, which is distinguishable physically by sex or reproductive differences. Gender in recent times has acquired a social and political meaning of relationship between male and female. She recognizes that both classical and behaviorist theorists of conflicts neglected the gender dimension in their analyses. Thus, excluding an important paradigm in the analyses of causes and impact of conflicts and the mechanisms used to manage conflicts. While Mbote considers gender to embrace the reproductive differences between male and female, as well as the role of male and women play in the society, the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy[49] makes a difference between sex and gender. Sex is the reproductive difference while gender is what the society makes of the sexual differences of men and women. Mbote concurs with the encyclopedia on sexual differences and roles taken. However, Mbote's way of approach is inclusive and does not distinguish between sex and gender. To her, gender expresses both sex and the gender roles. These gender roles contribute to the defining of relationships. These are relationships between sex and the sex, understanding, the use and sharing of power between men and women. Gender roles find themselves institutionalized at different levels of social and political relationships.

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[47] Deng, F., Negotiating a Hidden Agenda: *Sudan's Conflict of Identities*, pp.78.
[48] Patricia K. Mbote, "Gender, Conflict and Regional Security" in M. Mwagiru, *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2004), pp. 83- 94.
[49] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, (2003) "*Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy*" p.3 found in '*http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-epistemology/* accessed on 20th July, 2013.

Men and women take different roles during and in conflicts. Women may be involved in conflict either forcibly or voluntarily… Badri and her colleague recognize that women are concerned with a peaceful society. However, the society has marginalized them from effectively addressing peace issues according to the values they hold most dear[50].

Byrne recognizes that, male gender dominates in initiating conflicts and in fighting during conflict. The female gender on the other hand takes an active role in seeking peace. Byrne recognizes that the roles gender play in conflict can lead to more conflicts if the society is male dominated. Men have excluded women in almost all spheres of life.[51] This implies that if the patriarchal society can mainstream gender, then women participation is likely to lead to peace. As Burke and her colleagues contend, women maintain a community bond across political divide. Their vision grows out of the disastrous experience they undergo during the conflict. Therefore, they desire peace more than conflict. This can be achieved by positive discrimination in institutions to achieve gender balance, addressing the extent to which men and women can hold full range of social and political positions in governance and development.[52]

Literature has shown that men and women experience conflict differently. Most analyses of conflict are conspicuously un-gendered. "Most analyses of conflicts are largely un-gendered and fail to recognize the ways in which international and national structures of power and patterns of resource allocation are based on gender inequalities.[53] In this reflection, Mwagiru points out the negative effect of having structures of relationship that do not take into account

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[50] Amna E. Badri and I.I. Adel Sadig, *Sudan Between Peace and War: Internally Displaced Women in Kartoum and South and West Kordofan*, (Nairobi: UNIFEM,1998), pp.42-47.

[51] E.S. Burke, J. Klot and I. Bunting, *Engendering Peace: Reflections on the Burundi peace Process*, (Nairobi: UNIFEM,2001), pp.25-27.

[52] Patricia K. Mbote, "Gender, Conflict and Regional Security" in M. Mwagiru, African *Regional Security in the Age of Globalization o*p cit. pp. 89.

[53] E.S. Burke, J. Klot and I. Bunting, *Engendering Peace: Reflections on the Burundi Peace Process*, Ibid. pp. 23.

gender concerns, values and interests. What is seen is that women are the most marginalized in the conflict and they account as the majority of its victims.

Goldstein[54] points out that the attacks on women in Algeria, Rwanda, Burundi and Afghanistan pointed to a new positive trend toward women as military targets. For instance, systematic rape was used as an instrument of terror tactics in Bosnia, Rwanda and Japanese army in World War II operated an international network of sex slaves known as "comfort women". Jeong[55] concurs with Goldstein at the point that rape and other forms of bad treatment of women have been intentionally employed as tools of military strategy. The rape and consequent impregnation of women, especially Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, was a form of ethnic cleansing conducted by Serb national men. There are many reported and documented cases of assault of women by internal security forces in Peru, Columbia and in other countries that have suffered government insurgencies. During the Second World War, the Japanese men sexually assaulted young women at the war fronts. In July 1992, the Japanese government finally admitted that several tens of thousands were sent to military bases to provide male soldiers with sex. In this admittance, no commitments were made for redress or retribution by the Japanese government to this effect.

Understanding the effects of gender dimension of conflict on gender relation and also gender roles of women and male is the appropriate way to ensure that policies and programmes meant to implement peace will guarantee the protection, rehabilitation and the healing of the whole society. [56]Burke and her colleagues contend that, as peace processes are evolving quickly, there is need to put in place structures or institutions like parliament, government and local administrative institutions that will help place women in decision-making positions; failure to do

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[54] J. Goldstein, *International Relations*, London: Longman Publication, 2003, pp.36.

[55] H. Jeong, *Peace and Conflict: An Introduction*, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), pp.75-76.

[56] E.S.Burke, J. Klot and I. Bunting, *Engendering Peace: Reflections on the Burundi Peace Process*, Op. Cit. pp.24.

so, women will be left behind especially in the field of conflict management. Burke agrees with Mbote that gender equity and equality is essential in building of sustainable peace. Reflecting on the devastating effects of conflicts that have been inflicted in the Horn of Africa region, Abukashwa[57]notes that, it is worthwhile for women to participate more in preventing, managing and resolving conflict. This means that proportional representation if applied - as recommended - would bring many more women into public office. It has come out clearly from the literature review that in peace processes like that of Burundi and Somalia, women though they make the majority of the population of these countries, are minimally represented.[58]On the part of Sabine Sabimbona[59]on having participated in the Burundi peace talks comes out optimistic and says "Our voices may not have been heard during the negotiations, but we managed to make our presence felt." In this perspective, she seems to be optimistic to gender issues in the peace process. She simply implies that the women concerns, their interests and values were insignificantly represented.

ICG[60]recognizes women to have capacity to make peace agreements and post conflict efforts more viable, effective and practical. Even though the efforts of women have great potential on their own, women are indeed constrained. It is notable that women peace activists often expose themselves to personal risks and dangers in their daily work to make their environments safer. In most cases, they receive inadequate resources to support their efforts. Their experience, advice and predicament on peace building are somewhat ignored and even

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[57] Sumaia Abukashwa, "Integrating Gender Awareness and the Participation of Women in IGAD Issues on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution" in H. Houten and Z. Beyene (eds), *Placing Gender in the Mainstream*, (Djibouti:IGAD, 2002), pp.9-11.
[58] Ibid., pp.31.
[59] Ibid, pp.37.
[60] ICG, *Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peace building in Sudan, Congo and Uganda*, Africa Report No.112 of 28 June 2006.

downplayed by policy-makers. In this regard, top decision-making levels often are suppressed. Eventually, it means that the structure of conflict in the society is biased against women.

In its resolution - in relation to dealing with women, peace and security - the UN Security Council set to make a policy framework that includes women in wide range of issues related to peace and security.[61]However, no much fruit has been yielded out of this resolution especially in those countries where leadership remains hostile to a greater involvement for women in peace and conflict management.

1.4.4 Literature on Women and Conflict Management in the Framework of IGAD

In many developing countries, women constitute the majority of the adult population. There are accounts which see women as being acted upon by conflict, not as people who have a role in conflict. This category is the most dominant, and is informed by the Women in Development (WID) perspective. It focuses on women's experiences in isolation of the processes that render them victims[62]. Since women just as men are human and unique, their role in social issues cannot be ignored. This study is focusing on challenging the WID perspective which looks at women as helpless victims. The WID perspective portrays women's experiences of conflict.

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Draught and Development (IGADD) established in 1986 comprised of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda and was mandated to deal with ecological and humanitarian problems in the Horn of Africa. In March 1996, the organization was renamed the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). This led to the review of the objectives.

These objectives were broadened to include the promotion of peace and stability and the creation of mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of inter and intra-state

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[61] UN Security Resolution 1325 of 31 October, 2000.
[62] Ssali, S., 'Human Security, Conflict and Women in the Horn of Africa' in M. Mwaguru (ed) *Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa* (Nairobi: Africa Peace Forum 2008) P. 103.

conflicts within the sub-region.[63] IGAD has over the last 10 years evolved into a regional security institution boasting of a Conflict Early Warning Response Mechanism (CEWARN). IGAD has also been instrumental in the establishment of 3,000 strong Eastern Africa Standby Brigade (EASBRIG) for peace-keeping action under a unified command to respond whenever required for the restoration of peace and security.[64] In IGAD`s structure, a Gender Desk was created in 1999.

In 2004, IGAD embarked on a gender policy strategy to mainstream gender into all its activities. IGAD is the most established institution in tackling political security. For instance it has been assisting in the establishment of the interim government of Somalia, and was instrumental in the peace agreement between Sudan and the Sudan people`s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M), marking the end of African`s longest civil war[65].

For the case of Somalia, fifty women were selected to participate in the IGAD peace processes that began in 2003. Women were originally informed that they would have 12 percent chances.[66]IGAD has quite some time been active, albeit not entirely successful, in the Somalia peace process. Various mediation efforts have been undertaken by IGAD. They are intended to create unity among the rivaling clans and factions around the Transitional National Government (TNG) which was "elected" by the Art Peace Conference in Djibouti in 2000, attended by 200 delegates.

Peace and reconciliation initiatives in Somalia have involved the UN, the EC and the Djiboutian government. All these actors have facilitated peace and reconciliation efforts with the

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[63] Bekoe, D. & Omach, P., *A Strategic Conflict Analysis for the Great Lakes Region*: Nairobi: CIDA, 2002.
[64] Oloo, Adams., Regional Institutions and the Quest for Security in the Horn of Africa, in M. Mwagiru's *Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa*, Peace Forum, 1st ed, op. cit. 2008, pp. 208.
[65] Okoth, G.P.: *Africa at the Beginning of the 21st Century,* University of Nairobi Press, 2000, pp. 8.
[66] Mwagiru, M. and Kaguru, N.: *Women's and Property Rights in Conflict Situation*, (Nairobi: CCR-WLEA Publications), 1998.

majority baring no fruition although some have had a positive impact. The UN tried official diplomacy by targeting the direct warring groups mainly the warlords, while the EC and the Djiboutian government tried the un-official diplomacy by targeting members of the civil society. Amidst these actors IGAD stands out as an effective institution with structures that have engaged a relatively effective peace process leading to the transitional federal government where UN and the US had failed. UN representatives arrived in Somalia in1992 to initiate UN operations in the country[67].

The organization sought to reach a political settlement and national reconciliation through traditional elder-based structures and some progress was achieved after six months as most intractable issues were resolved. The ceasefire was largely respected; ports and airports were re-opened and a chain of solidarity had begun to materialize. In December 1992 the first military intervention arrived.[68] 'Operation restore hope' was active for three years until it left in 1995. Within that period the UN failed to disarm the militias and would not consult the local inhabitants about their plans to set up district councils. The failure of the UN to reinstate peace left a vacuum that would not immediately be filled by any stronger organization. If regional players were now to be involved IGAD was the most preferred in deciding the destiny of Somalia.

While these literature shows consistency with respect to the functional and role of sub-regional organizations in promoting regional peace, there have been some notable restraints on the part of IGAD. The restraints have arisen partly due to the competing interests from both within and without the region. It should be noted that these regional interests may either add

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[67] Mekenkamp, M., P. Tongeren & H. Veen, *Searching for Peace in Africa*: an Overview of Conflict Prevention and Management Activities http://www.Euconflict.org Accessed 24th Jan 2006.
[68] Ibid.

momentum to sustainable peace or impede the whole peace process. This literature review indicates that there is a gap in the analysis of regional and extra regional interests that had led to the internationalization of the conflict in their quest for peace in the horn of Africa. The crucial gap of knowledge is that there is no literature so far that has quantified IGAD's support on women apart from just creating the women's desk. This study seeks to fill the gap by suggesting the inclusion of women as an alternative mechanism other than the top down approach which will serve as a necessary restraint and moderating guide in disagreements and feuds between individuals and groups in the war torn nation. This theory is drawn from Helgesen's research and the work of Carol Gillgan (1982) to make the case that women tend to lead from the centre of an organization and therefore easily and directly receive information from the respondents. Males, by contrast, are more likely to form hierarchies and lead from the top[69] .

In the draft report of the Karamoja Women for Peace Building Networking meeting, it emerged that conflicts in the Karamoja Cluster are often amongst pastoralist communities spurred by competition over scarce water resources and pasture. These conflicts also have cross-border dimensions with serious consequences on women and children including rape, orphans, forced marriages to the male heroes and related trauma. This situation hampers development and scares away investors-leaving communities in chronic poverty. The Hon. Minister, Esther Murugi gave examples of some encouraging initiatives by women in Kenya such as that of Samburu women who have currently taken up farming for example use of green houses as opposed to keeping livestock only, in order to let go of what is causing conflict. She also raised the issue of women as proponents of conflict. She challenged participants by asking, "Who in our communities gives the blessing when the warriors are going to war? Who ululates most when

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[69] Arthur Shiriberg (et al), Practicing Leadership: *Principles and Application,* John Wiley & Sons. Inc., 1982.

the raided livestock is brought home?"[70] The Minister challenged the participants to examine their roles in conflict situations and concluded by citing a quote from the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan who said "women have a role as peace educators in their families and communities, they are known for building bridges and not walls."[71]

Women can contribute much in the informal processes among other actors. Women`s participation in the formal processes depend on whether they are part of the formal set up. Speaking on the peace negotiations in Israel, Sharoni stated that among the more general points addressed were the exclusion of women from the negotiation table and how ironic it was that "highly-ranking Israel generals, who spent a good portion of their lives waging war, have now become the ultimate voices of authority of peace while the perspectives and experience of women peace activities have been rendered trivial"[72].

The case of Somalia is different from that of Israel and Karamoja. The concept is the same. In an earlier peace conference in Mogadishu, the Somalia women were invited. The outcome has been promising. The gaps of knowledge that arise during this scholars' debate include; the efforts IGAD has made to support women's conflict management initiatives, women's participation in conflict management efforts within the framework of IGAD; women's place in conflict situations – they are seen as more of victims than actors.

1.4.5 Literature on Feminism and Feminist Theory

'Feminism', in the singular, might be defined as the belief that inequality between women and men should be eliminated…[73]Feminists are out to empower women through championing

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[70] Draft Report of the Karamoja Women for Peace Building Networking Meeting 25-26 June 2010.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Sharoni, Gender and the Israel Palestinian Conflict: *The Politics of Women's Resistance*, Syracuse, (New York), Syracuse University Press, 1995.
[73] Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, *The Elgar Companion to FEMINIST ECONOMICS*, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, Cheltenham, UK 1999 pp.347.

women's issues. They have held a variety of conflicting views on quite fundamental questions, from the nature of women's oppression to the goals of feminist political activity. For the purpose of this study, the varieties of feminist theory that are dealt with are three labeled as: 'liberal', 'socialist' and 'postmodernist'.

Liberal feminism is characterized by its acceptance of the basic institutional structures of capitalism and representative democracy… its goal is to obtain 'equal rights' and 'equal opportunity' for women within those structures. Just as the 'first wave' feminist of the nineteenth century fought for women's rights to own property and vote, 'second wave' liberal feminist campaign to end private-sector and government discrimination against women, so that women might have equal access to education, employment and political participation.[74]

Like their predecessors Mary Wollstonecraft (1792), Harriet Taylor Mill (1851) and John Stuart (1869), contemporary liberal feminists argue that the rights upheld by classical liberalism must be extended to women as well as men. Women should be as able as men to pursue happiness and to fulfill their individual potential; this requires that women have as much freedom of choice as men.[75] In practice, there is a contrary view whereby "social order required the subordination of women: rather, to the conservatives it required a *family structure* that involved the subordination of women."[76]

In her research findings Aileen Kraditor notes that even the modern nuclear family, with its unchanged and traditional division of roles, necessitates male supremacy by preserving specifically human endeavors for the male alone, while confining the female to menial labor and

[74] Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, *The Elgar Companion to FEMINIST ECONOMICS*, Ibid. pp.348.
[75] Ibid
[76] Aileen Kraditor, *Up From the Pedestal*, Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism (Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1968) pp.13.

compulsory child care. Differences in status according to sex follow inevitably.[77] On his standpoint, Adolf Hitler takes this debate to the extreme and demeans the women when he said that, "the German girl is a State Subject and only becomes a citizen when she marries."[78]Hitler's statement in Mein Kampf that the "aim of feminine education is invariably to be the future mother"[79] is indeed outrageous.

The Fuhrerin Frau Scholtz-Klink concurred with a docile definition that the only work of the German woman is to serve the German male – "to minister in the home" attending to "the care of man, soul, body and mind" continuously "from the first to the last moment of man's existence."[80]From the objectives of this study, this standpoint cannot be adopted for it leads away from the major questions that this study seeks to answer since it downplays the roles of women.

This study therefore adopts the classical liberal feminist theory which agrees that women are more vulnerable than men… but hold a range of views about how the state ought to respond.[81]In the debate on gender 'equality versus difference', this study adopts the view that gender should be irrelevant to the way individuals are treated by the law, employers, educators, and so on, and thus women should be treated just the same as men (see Scott 1988; Williams 1982).

The radical feminists' views are extremely feminine. The problem with the radical feminists is that their movement viewed man as their enemy as demonstrated in their manifesto[82] issued in the United States of America. Socialist feminist are women active in leftist, black civil rights – in the late 1960s and early 1970s – and antiwar movements in the USA and Britain.

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[77] Millett Kate, *Sexual Politics*, Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, Ney York, 1970. Pp.159.
[78] Adolf Hitler*, Mein Kampf*, translated by Chamberlain et al. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940) pp.659.
[79] Ibid. pp.621.
[80] Getrud Scholtz-Klink, *The German Woman* (Mimeographed leaflet prepared by the Reichsfraunfuhrung)
[81] Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, *The Elgar Companion to FEMINIST ECONMICS*, op. cit. pp.349.
[82] Tony Cliff, *Class Struggle & Women's Liberation 1640 to today*, Bookmarks, London, 1987 pp. 159-160.

Social feminists saw themselves as part of a 'woman's liberation' movement, in contrast to the 'women's rights' approach of liberal feminism.

Marx and Engels linked the subordination of women to the establishment of private property under men's control (see Vogel 1983 and Engels 1845). Marxist-feminist writers extended the analysis by focusing on the gender division of labor and paying attention to reproductive as well as productive activities. This trend of thought if followed, will no lead to the attainment of the objectives of this study. It leads to many debates narrowing down to economics and ignoring the conflict component that this study deals with. Debates over gender difference remain ubiquitous.[83]

Postmodernist feminism is the newest of the feminism… it is often rejected by the very scholars whom others view as postmodernism's exemplars… and it is often used interchangeably with 'post structuralism'.[84] 'Post structuralism' refers to a set of ideas drawn from the network of French philosophers and social theorists including Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and many others. They view language as not simply conveying meaning but rather as creating it, particularly through the construction of binary oppositions such as culture/nature, objective/subjective, male/female, sex/gender.

Postmodernists/post structuralisms are severely critical of universalizing generalizations (such as statements about 'women') and tend to emphasize difference.[85] Finally, postmodernists/post structuralism thought rejects grand theories about the nature societies and meta-narratives about the course of human history.[86] In the area of conflict management, the

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[83] Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, *The Elgar Companion to FEMINIST ECONOMICS*, op. cit. pp.353.
[84] Ibid. pp.354
[85] Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, *The Elgar Companion to FEMINIST ECONOMICS*, op. cit pp.355
[86] Ibid.

postmodernist feminism does not lead to the attainment of the objectives of the study. This study adopts the classical liberal feminist theory.

Although feminism has different strands, feminist theorists agree on many issues on the structure of relationship and gender inequalities and their effects on women in particular and the society in general. Feminism exposes biases and impartiality embedded in the patriarchal mainstream structure of relationship and epistemology.[87]Feminist theorists distinguish between sex and gender.[88]Gender is what societies make of the sexual differences like roles, norms, values and meaning assigned to each sex. However, sex is biological difference between male and female. This distinction is fronted by the feminist theorists. Feminism contends that conceptions of human behavior are frequently based only on observations of men.[89] Because societies are male-dominated, men contend that the legitimate way to resolve conflicts is the product of male values of aggression and dominance.[90]

Radical feminism counters this assumption by its observation that, since women are assumed to be less violent and less aggressive, hence if included in decision-making and in politics in general conflicts will be less frequent.[91] In this stand, feminism places gender inequality in the structure of the society that is patriarchal or given under participation and sexual discrimination. Feminism advocates for the re-evaluation of the structure of gender relationship and integrate women in the existing society.[92]

The argument the feminists are advancing is that women are oppressed in the patriarchal society. Therefore, based on their direct experiences of oppression both cultural and structural,

[87] Louse M. Antony, "Quine as Feminist: The Radical Import of Neutralized Epistemology" in Keith Lelier 9ed), *The Coherence Theory of Knowledge Philosophical Topics*, Vol.14 (1986) pp.539-573.
[88] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "*Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science*." 2003, op. cit. Pp.3.
[89] Stephen L. Spiegel, *World Politics in a New Era*, London: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1995. Pp.700-701.
[90] Ahmed G. *Omar: An analysis of the socio-political effects of the Somalia Conflict on Somalia Women, 1999-2005 o*p. cit. pp.19.
[91] Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1978.
[92] Stephen D. Tansey, *Politics: The Basics,* op. cit. pp. 87-88.

women have an interest in representing their social issues. History reveals that women have ascended to powerful political positions; some of their behaviors have been based on the social structure of male-domination, affecting them not to act according to female nature. Therefore, their behavior is the reflection of male domination rather than of an intrinsic female nature.[93]As women's oppression become socially unacceptable and is addressed, so will the subjugation of other less powerful groups of the society. Pre-occupation with power and conflict would be replaced by cooperation and collaboration, and by an ecological orientation, exemplified by the effort to save the mothers in society.[94]

1.5 Theoretical Framework

A theory provides the basis for explaining and predicting phenomenon and to make intelligent practical decisions. Theories are abstractions, representing certain aspects of the empirical world concerned with the how and why of empirical phenomena not with what should be[95]. They provide a structure for explaining empirical phenomena. A theory is a set of interpretative generalizations which explain particular texts ... theory can actually function as a methodology that contracts rather than expands the field of knowledge and the possibilities for political action.[96] In Karl Marx's suggestion, men make history and women make babies[97]seems to demean women as just objects of reproduction. In his theory analyses he locates the fundamental determinants of women's oppression in class relations, the capitalist system … understood in class terms. This idea is the view that 'women's liberation depends on the class struggle' because capitalism is the root cause of inequalities and class struggle against capitalists

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[93] Stephen L. Spiegel, *World Politics in a New Era*, op. cit. pp.700.
[94] Ibid. pp.701.
[95] Nachmias F.C. & C. Nachmias, *Research Methods in the Social Science,* (New York, St. Main's Press Inc, 1996) Pp. 36-43
[96] Elam, Diane, *Feminism and Deconstruction,* Rout ledge, London and New York, 1994, pp. 6.
[97] Sylvester, Christine, Ibid pp.9

is therefore primary. Cliff argues that there can be 'no compromise' between capitalism and feminism: the latter is a bourgeois deception of honest working women. [98] Lynne Segal convincingly argues that liberal attitudes to sex had helped to emancipate younger women despite the alienated sexuality and frequent selfishness of men.

Radical and cultural feminisms take feminist standpoint often understood in the limited sense of women's way, into the realm of practice.[99]Some form of this thinking has characterized contemporary feminism since the 1960s.[100]Alice Walker notes that a woman who "appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility… [but who is] to the survival and wholeness of entire people, female and male,"[101] is yet another form of cultural feminism which promotes peace in society.

Feminist theory is about studying gender – its stories, shapes, locations, evocations, and rules of behavior – usually in tandem with other modern subject statuses such as class, race, age, and religion and so on.[102] A significant debate has taken place within feminism as to whether 'women' is a category of gender or of sex... however, in this research - women would be understood to affirm their gender identity as a common experience of oppression and misrepresentation.

Feminism theory is concerned with political action, improving the economic status of women, education of women, raising the status of women's ... and ensuring that female voices

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[98] Connell, R.W., *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*, Stanford University Press, Stanford Califonia, 1987, pp.42.

[99] Sylvester Christine, Ibid. pp. 49

[100] Echols, Alice, Daring to be bad: *A History of the Radical Feminist Movement in America 1967-1975*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press also in Eisenstein, Zilla, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism*, New York, Longman, 1991.

[101] Alice, Walker, *In Search of our Mother's Gardens*, San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983, pp.xi

[102] Sylvester, Christine, *Feminist: Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.9

and experiences are treated as seriously as those of men[103]."Feminism" write Bonnie Anderson

and Judith Zinsser (1988: xvii), "originated as a rejection of traditions which limited women, and

... this process of rejection led to the creation of a feminist view of the world which is still being

elucidated and realized."[104] In her research, Helgesen concluded that both men and women

maintain a complex network of relationships with people outside the organization. She noted that

women tend to focus on long-term visions.[105] The ultimate conclusion is that, women have much

to offer to the organization and that they have traditionally had a difficult time having their

voices heard and respected. [106] Helgesen links leadership from the center to the formation of

interrelated teams linked by the central leader. The primary strategy of the web is drawing people

together; the primary strategy of hierarchy is looking out for one's own interests. Leading from

the center has the advantage of allowing the leader to solicit information directly, rather than

sending information through a chain, which carries a greater likelihood of distortion. In line with

this theoretical argument then women should be given a greater opportunity to participate in

conflict management forums.

From these standpoints, a theoretical appreciation which considers key issues of peace

processes in conflict management is provided. This study adopts the classical liberal feminist

theory. In this perspective, the following issues are deliberated upon: participation of peace

processes in which particular emphasis is on women and by extension, the IGAD's support on

women's peace processes. This study utilizes classical liberal feminism in its analysis. Feminism

exposes biases and impartialities embedded in the patriarchal mainstream structure of

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[103] Delamont, S., *Feminist Sociology*, Sage Publications, London, 2003, pp. 3.
[104] Sylvester, Christine, *Feminist Theory and International Relation in a Postmodern Era*: Ibid pp. 23-24.
[105] Arthur Shriberg (et al), Practicing Leadership: *Principles and Application*: John Wiley & Sons. Inc.
[106] Ibid.

relationship and epistemology. [107] Feminist theorists distinguish between sex and gender.[108]Feminism puts gender inequality in the structure of the society that is patriarchal and sexual discrimination. Feminism advocates for re-evaluation of the structure of gender relationship and integrate women in the existing society.[109]Feminism is relevant in this study for it insists that, social and political dimensions must come under moral scrutiny. This theory exposes the plight of women in situations of conflict irrespective of the conflicting party they belong. Feminism seeks for human dignity, social and political justice and fairness. [110] It advocates for peace, harmony and togetherness rather than violence and division preferred by male gender especially during conflicts. Feminism addresses issues of women in conflict management situations and beyond.

A gender analysis of women`s experience of conflict shows that conflict and tension exacerbate them, transforming them to make women`s experience of conflict unique from that of men and with more consequences. Women`s active roles in war indicate that they should be involved as key stakeholders in reconstruction processes still generally tend to exclude women. Women continue to be excluded from most of peace initiatives. For example, the report of International Crisis Group (ICG) (2006) observed that despite women`s active role in conflict, they have been locked out of peace negotiation[111]. For the above reasons, the feminist theory necessarily has to be engaged so as to lead women to their emancipation.

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[107] Louise, M. Antony, Quine as Feminist: The Radical Import of Naturalized Epistemology, in Keith Lelier (ed), *The Coherence Theory of Knowledge Philosophical Topics, vol.14,* (1986), pp. 539-573.
[108] Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, "*Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science*," op. cit. 2003,pp.3
[109] Stephen D. Tansey*, Politics: The Basis,* London: Routledge, 1995, pp. 87-88.
[110] Jean B. Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War and Feminism in Nuclear Age"in R.Little and M. Smith 2nd Ed., *Perspectives on World Politics*, London: Routledge, 1991. Pp. 462-463
[111] Okoth, G.P., *Africa at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, University of Nairobi Press, 2000, pp. 9.

1.6 Justification of the Study

This study can be justified in both academic and policy level. The bottom line is that conflicts are witnessed in human society. These conflicts inconvenience the policy makers and there is need for them to be concerned for their management. From the wider perspective, the findings of this study are to add value to the researchers who wish to dig into the gender-based conflict management. In most of the literature reviewed, gender imbalance has been conspicuously noted in the structure of human relationships and peace processes. Gender inequality has ailed the human society, particularly with the insubordination of women. There are limited attempts that have been made to emancipate in socio-political arena. This study pursues the gaps of knowledge that view the women as not just victims but as also actors of conflict who also have a part to play in conflict management. However, the major gap of knowledge is that there is no reviewed literature that presents how IGAD has supported Somali women in their quest for conflict management in their country.

This study is important because it is finding out any other methodologies and considerations that can be engaged to effectively manage conflicts. Results of violent conflicts are devastating and cannot be hidden under cover from any one`s sensation and experience. Conflicts are of internal origins and have significant international dimensions; they bring about the downfall and total collapse of communities, nations and lose of human lives. Somalia is a case in point which tends to prove right the Norwegian feminist Berit who said: "A patriarchal state is one rehabilitating from war, presently at war, or preparing for war."[112]

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[112] Morgan, Robin, *The Word of a Woman: Feminist Dispatches (1968-1992),* Published by W.W. Norton and Company, New York, London, 1991.

Burton has made a significant contribution to the study of conflict by demonstrating that even international crises and conflicts have domestic sources.[113] Mwagiru points out that certain internationalizing agent of internal conflict include interdependence, human rights, the idea that International conflict has domestic sources, and the problem of ethnicity, especially the division of an ethnic group by international borders, and media[114].

For these reasons, Somalia conflict has been internationalized to cover IGAD region, the horn of Africa conflict system and even causing global concern. The Somalia conflict is one of the recently managed conflicts under IGAD. This means that, the Somalia conflicts continue to be of concern to scholars and researchers. This calls for the need for further research. Using the case of Somalia, the study assesses the role of women in the conflict management. Conflict is endemic in society. This means that conflict will always be an important part of human life. For as long as human beings exist in the world, there will always be conflict.

This study addresses the emerging gaps of knowledge. In this case, the emerging gaps of knowledge it addresses include, the importance of conflicts, the role of local women in the Somalia conflict management after the Arta Peace Conference. Another gap of knowledge that is addressed here is that which the feminist theory brings out that, women are not only victims of violent conflicts but also actors in the same conflicts.

Conflict is not only an important event, but also an ever present part of life in a society. For these reasons, conflict cannot be eradicated in the same way we can eradicate a disease such as smallpox or malaria. [115]Being endemic, conflict is an inalienable part of life. It is therefore

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[113] Burton, J.W., Global Conflict: *The Domestic Sources of International Crisis,* (Brighton: Wheat Sheaf Books), 1984.
[114] Mwagiru, M., Conflict in Africa: *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management,* Centre for Conflict Research, Nairobi, 2006, pp. 63.
[115] Mwagiru, M., Conflict in Africa: *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management,* Centre for Conflict Research, Nairobi, 2006, Ibid. pp. 6.

important to learn how to manage it properly and more so make advantage out of conflict situations. Hence this study is necessary.[116] At the policy level the study is justified in that, the study findings offer conflict managers, policy makers, gender activists, government machinery and individuals per se, modes of assessing the socio-political plight of women in conflict situation. This study offers insights on how conflicts have disadvantaged women on their quest for socio-political emancipation. This study also offers new strategies to deal with gender inequalities in conflict situations and conflict management processes. It therefore, helps the entire society to solve its conflict problems with ease hence adding value to human social life.

1.7 Hypotheses

The following assumptions guided the work of the study:

- Women`s active involvement in conflict management initiatives make an impact in conflict management within the framework of IGAD.

- IGAD-led Women`s Desk has had no support on women's active involvement in conflict management initiatives to restore peace in Somalia after the Arta Peace Conference.

- There is no relationship between women`s roles and peace.

1.8 Research Methodology and Data Collection

1.8.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to establish the IGAD's support on the role of women in conflict management after the Arta Peace Conference. The study adopted a qualitative methodology. This was determined by the background of the researcher and the environment of the research itself. This is because conflict management is a social science. As such, it does not deal with principles but with theories which constantly need verification. The researcher utilizes

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[116] Mwagiru, M., Conflict in Africa: *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management,* Centre for Conflict Research, Nairobi, 2006, op. cit.

this methodology for better results. The environment from which this research was carried out is a social environment, meaning it is a human environment which relies on tendencies that change from time to time – social, cultural, moral and behavioral tendencies. This section is about the sample and the sampling procedure, research instruments and the tools used - data collection procedure as well as the data analysis procedure.

1.8.1 Research Design

A research design is a scheme of work or model that is efficient in measuring, collecting and analyzing data in order to respond to the research questions. The research design adopted is regarded as an arrangement of conditions for collection and analyzing of data in the manner that will aim to combine relevance with the research purpose.[117] For the above reasons both qualitative and quantitative research methodology is used. It includes a systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of data in a manner that the final product will be descriptive. The study adopted a case design.

As a case study design it has qualitative investigations of respondents with a setting of over a single time period. This means the study has examined a "bounded system" or a case over time in detail, employing multiple sources of data found in the setting.

1.8.2 Target Population

The major target population was women from conflict areas, thus Somalia. However, to reduce gender bias, men were included in the sample. Different institutions dealing with conflict management were contacted. Scholars of international conflict management, as well as personnel from IGAD's women desk, were contacted. They all offered crucial information to this study.

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[117] Kombo, D.K. & Tromp, D.L.A.: Proposal and Thesis Writing: *An Introduction*, Nairobi: Pauline's Publications Africa, 2006.

1.8.3 Description of Sample and Sampling

The sample of the study was selected purposively. They included personnel from IGAD desk, personnel from NGOs dealing with conflict issues and Somalia nationals both male and female. The study spread across gender to avoid gender bias. The sample included conflict managers and conflict management scholars also.

1.8.4 Description of Data Collection Instrument

Research instruments used during this study included questionnaires, interview schedules, and observations and focused group discussions. All these instruments were used variedly and appropriately applied. They were first tested where applicable before they were engaged in their different purposes.

1.8.5 Observation Guide

This study used direct observation especially on the respondents from the Somali origin. This helped to provide information on behavior, as expressed from individual feelings. Direct observation gave the participants freedom to speak and remain in their natural emotional environment.

1.8.6 Interview Schedules

This refers to questions asked orally. There were open interviews to enable the researcher gain in-depth knowledge of the study. Interview schedules provided an opportunity for the researcher to solicit for more information as the respondent was ready to provide.

1.8.7 Questionnaires

Questionnaires help to gather data over a large sample in diverse groups. In so doing, it saves time. The questionnaires which were used had both closed-ended and open-ended questions. Before the actual research, the questionnaires were piloted with sample of similar

characteristics; this was not part of the main study. The pilot exercise was to ensure that the questions are intelligible and understandable, whether they would serve the intended purpose correctly.

1.8.8 Focused Group Discussion Guidelines/Guide (FGD)

Purposive group sampling was done. In the directorship of the researcher, discussions were held from which, the researcher recorded data in the form of statements. In this method, the researcher would get an opportunity to record feelings and attitudes of the discussants.

1.8.9 Document Analysis Guide

The research focused on relevant literature and the works that have been done by conflict managers and scholars.

1.8.9.1 Description of Data Collection Procedures

The data provided here is both primary and secondary as follows:

1.8.9.2 Primary Data

Primary data was collected from the field by face to face interviews. Open-ended questions were utilized during interviews. Probing skills were employed where necessary to obtain deeper information and clarify some of the issues that might not be clear during the interview. The sample of the study included personnel from IGAD women desk, personnel from NGOs dealing with conflict issues and Somalia nationals both male and female. Interviews also extended to conflict managers and scholars of conflict management.

The study sample spread across gender to avoid gender biases. Probing helped to get in-depth information that was not clear. Primary data provide an opportunity for testing the hypotheses in the field, and this is important. It also puts the researcher in touch with the reality

under study. This method of study is beneficial in that as a source of data it complemented the limited literature that exists in the subject matter.

This method of data collection presented limitations like respondent biases and non-respondent. This issue was addressed by having a large study sample spread across gender and geographical regions.

1.8.9.3 Secondary Data

Secondary data was obtained by critically reading and analyzing relevant materials that have been published like books, journals, articles, relevant papers presented at different forums, newspapers, print and electronic media. Internet materials were also sourced.

This method of data collection was relevant in this study since it examined what other scholars have done and built on their scholarly work instead of repeating what has been done already. This method of data collection critically evaluated works that have been published on the subject matter to show their strengths and weaknesses with a view of contributing to knowledge. It also critically analyzed works that have been published to explore their contribution to the area under study.

1.8.9.4 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed in the light of concept of peace processes and relevant literature in conflict reflection on the data collected. This was important as it incorporated the researcher's critical contribution to the study. This would also serve as a critical appreciation of prior studies that have been done on the areas related to the topic under study.

Both primary and secondary data were gathered. Primary data was obtained directly from the respondents while secondary data was derived from books, journals, magazines, newspapers, internet sources and other relevant sources.

1.8.9.5 Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This study is focusing on a specific group and institutions, thus women from across the border of Somalia and the IGAD. Given that Somalia is still experiencing a protracted conflict, it makes it difficult for respondents to cooperate for fear of being investigated. The time allocated for this study was less than a half a year which subjected the researcher to rely heavily on literature review rather than majoring in field work.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter One

Introduction

This section of the study serves as the introduction of the entire study and presents what the study seeks to achieve and how to go about in achieving it. It utilizes several tools in this endeavor as demonstrated below. The study seeks to establish the extent to which the IGAD has supported women in their conflict management initiatives in Somalia. This study utilizes the classical liberal feminist theory in its analysis.

Chapter Two

The Genesis and Management of the Somalia Conflict over time

This section of study presents the Somalia conflict with specific emphasis from 1992 to 2006. This chapter illustrates how the Somalia conflict has been managed over time and demonstrates how women have been conspicuously left out of the peace talks.

Chapter Three

Analysis of IGAD's Efforts to Support Women in the Somalia Conflict Management

This section of the study examines those efforts that IGAD has made as a mandated regional conflict management institution for Somalia and how it has facilitated the Somalia women during this conflict.

Chapter Four

IGAD-Led Women's Desk and the Local Women in Conflict Management after the Arta Peace Conference

This chapter analyses IGAD-led women's desk and the local women in the Somalia conflict management after the Arta Peace Conference. This section analyzes ways and means and to what extent IGAD has played its role in conflict management in Somalia. It also portrays how it has helped women find a place in conflict management and particularly in Somalia. It discusses IGAD-led Women Desk's challenges and its solutions to the posed challenges. It is worth noting that IGAD-led women's desk and IGAD's activities are intertwined.

Chapter Five

Recommendations and Conclusion

This section of the study makes a conclusion and recommendations based on the study findings and critical analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 The Historical Genesis and Management of the Somalia Conflict

2.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates that over a long period of time in the Somalia conflict management, women have not been involved as shareholders in this peace endeavors. Women have been deliberately left out. This study employs the classical liberal feminist theory which negotiates for equal rights to opportunities for women as much as men.

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the chronological attempts of peace initiatives in Somalia that saw no fruition until the inclusion of local women in voting and decision-making which made an instant positive impact at the Arta Conference.

During the scramble and partition for Africa, Somalia state was created by the partition of the Horn of Africa by Britain, Italy, France and the Abyssinian Empire. This exercise took place in the nineteenth century. In the colonial era, Somalia state did not exist as an entity but as a regional populace. It was divided between the British to the North and the Italians to the Southern part. On 26th June 1960, Britain granted independence to its colony while on July the same year, the people of the Northern and those of the Southern territories united to form Somalia Republic.[118]

According to Beurden, the Somalia conflict can be traced back to colonial era and the Cold War rivalry.[119]The Somali political process which followed after independence, especially during the tenure of General Mohammed Siad Barre polarized the country. Splits based on clanism

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[118] J. Garderner and J.E. Bushra, *Somalia: The Untold Story*, London, Pluto Press, 2004, pp.1-5.
[119] J.V.Beurden, "In a state of Permanent Conflict" in M. Mekenkamp et al (eds), *Searching for Peace in Africa: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Management Activities,* Utrecht: European Platform for Conflict prevention and Transformation, 1999, pp. 156-165.

started. Because of Barre's 'culture of militarism', these splits resulted to intrastate violence.[120]This violence was increased by scarcity of natural resources, lack of justice, poor governance and poor education. By 1990, the opposition teams grouped up and formed a coalition which started fighting Barre's government until early 1991 when Barre was finally defeated and went to exile. The opposition unfortunately due to clanism and individual rivalry were unable to form a government on their own. Instead they started fighting amongst themselves. Consequently, the conflict in Somalia became protracted.

From the time Siad Barre was overthrown in 1992, Somalia state has been in constant disintegration; hence their conflict has been internationalized. The conflict has been internationalized in very many ways. In the first place, the Somali refugees have camped in large numbers in the neighbouring countries. Kenya has an overwhelming number of these refugees from Somalia. The refugee camps of Ifo and Dadaab have been put up by the UNHCR to respond to these crises. These populace camps have strained Kenya in terms of resources such as financial, security, and medical, environmental, socially and politically.

Numerous attempts have been made by the neighboring countries and IGAD in particular to bring peace to the Somali state but to no avail. These efforts have been thwarted by the clanical related interests at the dawn of the slightest of calm. This has become a routine for Somalia peace processes for some time now. The patriarchal nature of the Somali society has been noted as another reason for the derailment of peace processes. This cultural lifestyle has excluded women from the decision-making bodies in peace processes. This section of the study presents the historical background of the Somalia conflict to the year 2006.

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[120] B. Mark, *The Somali Conflict: Prospects for Peace*, Oxford, Oxfam Research Paper No.9, 1994, pp. 7-15.

2.2   The Genesis and Management of the Somalia Conflict

By the partition of the Horn of Africa by Britain, Italy and France and the Abyssinian Empire in the nineteenth century, Somalia was created. After independence, the republic of Somalia remained isolated from its nearest neighbors.

In 1977, Siad Barre invaded with no success, the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. He had attempted to regain people and land separated from the Somali state by the colonial treaty. The Soviet Union which initially supported it shifted its support to Ethiopia. This led to the defeat of Somalia heavily. At this point, there followed an emergence of armed groups of opposition within Somalia. The first was the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) which was formed in 1978 by military officers from the Majeerteen clan. These had their base in the north east of Somalia region. In 1990, the Somali National Movement (SNM) which had its support from the Isaaq clan in the north-west region was formed. To counteract these groups, Siad Barre applied a scourged-earth policy against the Majeerteen and increasingly repressive policies and human rights abuses against the Isaaq. Consistently, Barre consolidated his clan and manipulated the rest of the Somali clans to his own political advantage. He spent nearly three quarters of the government budget to sustain his military base. Consequently, the Somali economy ran down tremendously.

The proliferation of the clan militias across the different clans led to the growth of the intensity of clan disputes and deteriorating reciprocal distrust. By extension, the bases of Somali unity were affected. Cold war rivalry intensified during Siad Barre's regime among the Somali communities. By 1991, Barre was overthrown marking the end of his regime. At this time, various clan militias were already heavily armed. They were so intact and prepared to take up power. Previously in May 1988, the SNM attacked the main two towns in the north-west, that is,

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Burao and Hargesia. These towns were briefly captured. The government responded by relentless aerial bombardments destroying most of the buildings in both towns and forced thousands to flee.[121]It is reported that by March 1989, an estimated 50,000 people were killed in the North West by their own government. These deaths were termed by the international community as a massacre. This spectacular happening, led to the withdrawal of assistance from the international community. Somalia whose economic state was struggling, found itself bankrupt. The start of the civil war was led by General Mohamed Farah Aideed the leader of the opposition groups called United Somali Congress (USC). The attack took place in December 1990. This is viewed as the mother of the unending war in the southern part of Somalia. The three armed groups' attack, led to the downfall of Siad Barre's government.

The loose coalition of the three forces disintegrated sooner than later. This led to the creation of new power zones led by militia groups under warlords as their commanders. These zones were clan-based militias. The USC split into two power blocs. These blocs were headed by one General Mohammed Farah Aideed and the other by Ali Mahdi. The major reason for the split of the USC was that they lacked a common agenda after the removal of Siad Barre. Instead, after the removal of Siad Barre from power, the coalition partners started to compete for political powers and even resources; these resulted to continued conflict.[122]From 1990 to 1992, when the United Nations eventually brokered a ceasefire, there was almost continuous warfare in the South as clans fought to control power and resources, especially land and water.[123]The coastal towns of Kismayo, Merca and Brava suffered from pangs of war greatly. The inland towns of

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[121] I.Q. Farah, *Dual Diplomatic Approaches in Conflict Management: The International Peace Initiative in Somalia 1991-1999*, (M.A.Dissettation Submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi, 2000 pp.50-60.
[122] M.O.Omar, *The Road to Zero: Somalia's Self Destruction*, (New Delhi: Everet Press, 1992), pp.216-220. See also O. Kamudhayi, "The Somalia Peace Process" in M.Mwagiru, *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004), pp.108-109.
[123] O. Kamudhayi, Ibid, pp.108-109.

Baidoa, in the country's most fertile areas suffered a lot of war invasions by fighters of the different clan-based warring factions. Many civilians were killed in the first four months. Alongside, there were widespread cases of rape of women, mass executions and destruction. Looting of grain stores and livestock and destruction of water sources and even homes of people led to the displacement of many of them into various parts of Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Yemen. At the end of 1992 when the United Nations took action, several hundreds of thousands of people had been killed, and others had died of starvation and hunger-related diseases.

The act of Union which had formally united the British and the Italian territories in 1960 into the republic of Somalia was in May 1991. This was when the people of North West regions of Somalia had announced secession. This move was a decision of the clan conference in Burao at which the Isaaq and non-Isaaq clans (Darod and Dir) who were living in Somaliland reconciled after a long period of Civil War. The planned secession was a move meant to distance the north from the factional fighting and animosity in the south. It implied that the northerners had no territorial claims on the southern part. It was realized that this secession decision meant to declare independence from the rest of Somalia was made without consulting Somalia's several political factions.

On the 23rd of July 1998, the political and traditional leaders of Somalia's north eastern parts declared the autonomy of Puntland State of Somalia under the presidency of the former SSDF chairman Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf. He made a cabinet of nine appointees, and a 69 member parliament which was composed of five seats reserved for women. Its charter read that Puntland was a first step towards rebuilding and re-uniting Somaliland. This government was faced with non-political challenges such as poor infrastructure with economic and security systems. In a short while, this government realized the formation of a police force. In June 2001,

this administration's three year term power expired. The failure to agree a transfer of power led to a constitutional crisis. This threatened the region's security greatly.

The Arta Peace Conference which led to the formation of the Transitional National Government (TNG) in August 2000 led to a significant development in the politics of Somalia for a decade. The TNG was the outcome of a length of public open dialogue. This was a negotiation which put more emphasis on civil society involvement rather than factional representation. This was the first Somalia peace conference that included women and minor clans among the voting delegates. This conference attracted participants from the wider Somalia's regions. However, some prominent faction leaders chose not to participate. The Somaliland authorities and the formal Puntland representatives also did not participate. The politico-military leadership of the sub-clan of the Rahanweyne clan under the umbrella, the Rahanweyne Resistance Army (RRA) took part but withdrew its support soon after the end of the conference. In this respect, Kamudhayi[124]notes "The results of the Arta Peace Conference could not be implemented because actors who were excluded, the armed faction, effectively blockaded and confined the activities of the new government to a section of Mogadishu". Arta Peace Conference was ignorant of the interest of regional actors like Kenya and Ethiopia.

The TNG, which was established in October 2000 in Mogadishu, had 245 members in the Transitional National Assembly. Of the, 25 seats were reserved for women, and a president and a prime minister. These executives were supported by a 25 member cabinet selected from the 75 ministerial posts. This move, enjoyed international acceptance in the UN's General Assembly, the Arab League and the African Union. This peaceful move gave Somalia formal representation in these international bodies for the first time in a decade. Unfortunately, this took a slow pace to acquire support within Somalia. In October 2001, with the increasing peaceful moments and

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[124] O. Kamudhayi, op.cit. pp.109

increasing conflict in Somalia, the IGAD launched a 14th internationally sponsored peace process which was held in Kenya.

In January 2002, the member countries' Heads of States of the IGAD came up with the new initiative for national reconciliation in Somalia. In good faith, the coordinated efforts of Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia, under the supervision of IGAD chairman and Somalia National Reconciliation Conference was held in Kenya with president Moi of Kenya as the coordinator. The conference opened its doors at Eldoret – Kenya with 600 Somali representatives. On 27th October, 2002 Somali leaders signed the Declaration on the Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and the Principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process [125] (S/2002/1359.annex).

The problem now became the nature of the future transitional federal government. Therefore, armed clashes continued between rival militias. There was continued controversy among the Somali participants in the Conference. By mid September 2003, Kenya created an impasse over the adoption of the charter. At this time round, the venue of the Conference had shifted to Mbagathi. The next problem which rose is that the "Somaliland "administration refused to participate in the Mbagathi Conference. This precipitated tension between the "Somaliland" and the "Puntland" administration over the disputed regions of Sool and Sanaag.

At the 10th IGAD summit held in Kampala – Uganda on the 24th of October 2003, Heads of State focused their attention on ways of getting the Somali national reconciliation process back on the right track. This was under the chairmanship of Yoweri Museveni, the president of Uganda. The chairman of the African union and that of the Commission of the African Union,

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[125] Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, *The Rules of Procedure*, Adopted by the plenary (Eldoret) on 26th October, 2002.

President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and Mr. Alpha Konare respectively, participated in the summit.

As the Somalia conflict was getting more and more internationalized, the IGAD Heads of State then decided to expand the membership of the IGAD Technical Committee. This was to include Uganda, Eritrea and Sudan. This membership supplemented that of Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti and hence renamed it the IGAD Facilitation Committee.

In so doing, on 29th January 2004, Somali leaders signed a document entitled "Declaration of the Harmonization of the Various Issues Proposed by the Somalia Delegates at the Somali Consultative Meetings from 9th to 29th January 2004".[126] This document proposed that there should be an amendment to the transitional federation charter adopted at the plenary of the Conference which was held on the 15th of September 2003. The then leaders agreed that they would call the charter the transitional federal charter of the government of the Somali Republic. They further agreed that the name of the government would be the transitional federal government. This government would have a five year term. The transitional federal parliament would have 275 members of whom 25 per cent would be women. This document also called a national census to be undertaken. During that time round, the national constitution was being drafted. The constitution was to seek an internationally supervised national referendum. The challenge which rose was the controversy over the selection of members of parliament.

Finally, an agreement was reached over this issue. This was during July 2004 after concerted efforts by the IGAD's Foreign Ministers. The following Somali clans were asked to submit a list of 61 MPs: Hawiye, Darod, Digil, Mirifle, the Dir and the Allied. The allied on their

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[126] Declaration on the Harmonization of Various Issues Proposed by the Somali Delegates at the Somali Consultative Meetings, 29[th]2004.

part, were asked to submit a list of 31 MPs. Finally, their parliament was inaugurated formally on the 29th of August 2004 by the then Kenyan Vice President.

On the 10th of October 2004, with 189 votes, the President of "Puntland", Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, was elected the president of the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG). The runner up was Mr. Abdullahi Ahmed Addow who received 79 votes. Before voting, there was a swearing ceremony in which all the presidential candidates were sworn on the Koran and signed a declaration, pledging to support whoever would be elected the president. They also vowed to demobilize their militia.

At this time round, the IGAD Ministerial Facilitation committee urged the international community to support the TFG with diplomatic recognition. In this direction, a peacekeeping force and prompt financial support were also part of the IGAD's appeal. The TFG Ministers said that they had the intention to visit AU, EC, LAS, OIC and the UN Headquarters. They would be accompanied by the TFG president and the speaker of the parliament. It must however, be noted that the driving force behind the formation of the TFG was an Ethiopian-backed coalition. This was the Somalia Restoration and Reconciliation Council (SRRC), of which Yusuf was one of its senior-most figures. Alarmed by the TFG's predecessor, the Transitional National Government (TNG), Addis Ababa gave the SRRC both political and military support. This was between 2001 and 2004 in order to cripple and finally replace the interim government.[127]IGAD-led peace talks to reconcile the SRRC and TNG were finally launched in Kenya in October 2004. The Ethiopian influence within the Facilitation Committee steered the process with partiality in favor of the SRRC and against the TNG. On the grounds that they were "Islamists", individuals considered loyal to the TNG leadership were denied accreditation. With the exception of the traditionalist

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[127] "The TNG existed between 2000 and 2003. See O. Kamudhayi, "The Somali Peace Process" in M. Mwagiru, *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, op. cit., pp. 109.

umbrella organization - ahlu – suma wa – Jama'aa, members of the Islamist groups were also denied accreditation. The traditional umbrella organization had branded other Islamists as "terrorists". The consequence was that a government from which core TNG supporters and Islamists groups were in effect discarded.

Many observers, including the International Crisis Group, worried that Yusuf intended to govern from a narrow, SRRC factional base rather than a government of national unity.[128]Yusufu's choice of Prime Minister thus, Ali Mohamed Geedi, a veterinarian with no political background and visible constituency within his Hawiye clan, was seen by many as an attempt to sideline the Hawiye. The cabinet was a narrow circle mainly of pro-Ethiopian allies from the SRRC, at the expense of the clans and movement from the purported failed TNG.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter illustrates several attempts of conflict management in Somalia. Before the inclusion of women in these attempts, no progress was noticed in the peace talks. However, for close to a decade, there was relative peace after women were given an opportunity to make decisions through voting.

From the presentation above, it is worth noting that women were not included in decision-making in the conflict management in the history of Somalia before the year 2000. Until the Arta Peace Conference which was chaired by Djibouti that women got the opportunity to vote and hence make decisions on the way forward for the Somalia peace talks. However, there is no deal yet because they were not included as women per se but as a clan of women. This calls for the classical liberal feminist theory that calls for the respect for women and provision of all rights and privileges just like their male counterpart.

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[128] International Crisis Group Africa Report No.88, *Somalia Continuation of War by Other Means*, 21st December, 2004.

This chapter provides part of the answer to one of the objectives of this study which is to analyze the impact of local women in facilitating conflict management within the framework of IGAD.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 IGAD's Efforts to Support Women in the Somalia Conflict Management

3.1 Introduction

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Draught and desertification (IGADD) was established in 1986. It initially focused on issues of draught, desertification and food security. In March 1996, sub-regional leaders transformed IGADD into the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). IGAD's mandate includes conflict management, prevention and resolution. It has a conflict early warning and response mechanism (CEWARN) whose strategy is to pro-actively prevent and respond to conflict. The other mandate of IGAD include environmental protection, agricultural research, water resource management, communication, transport, and man power development. The founding members of IGAD are Somalia, Djibouti, Federal Republic of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. This means that the IGAD region comprises countries with marginal economic growth characterized by low industrialization, resource-based, political, religious and ethnic conflicts.[129]

In the inclusion of women in IGAD's mandates, it established later a women's desk to address women's issues in particular. IGAD has been on the centre stage in bringing peace in the region of the Horn of Africa. This is evidenced at the efforts it has forwarded towards the resolution of conflicts in Sudan and Somalia.

The challenge is that IGAD states themselves are faced with internal problems which attract internal attention than interstate attention. The formation of regional inter-state organizations dates back to the 18th century.[130]At that time, many states learnt that the welfare of the state could be better achieved when cooperation with other neighboring states was due. The

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[129] John Koech: 'Emerging Challenges of Security in IGAD' in M. Mwagiru's *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization,* Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004, pp.126-7.
[130] Archer, C., *International Organizations,* London, George Allen & Unwin, 1983 pp.3.

concept of common security approach was viewed as the easiest alternative to dealing with regional challenging issues.

3.2 Analysis of IGAD's Efforts to Support Women in the Somalia Conflict Management

From 1991 to date, Somalia has been the focus of several peace and reconciliation efforts. Yet, none succeeded in resolving the issue until the year 2005 when the IGAD - mandated negotiations finally led to the signing of an agreement and the creation of the Transitional Federal government (TFG). Even this latest round of negotiations took over two years due to strong differences that emerged between the fighting factions on issues of wealth and power-sharing.[131]Prior to that, the international community had carried out a number of unsuccessful peace and reconciliation efforts between 1993-1989.[132]

Before the Arta Peace Initiative, several initiatives and efforts have been going on for years in pursuit for peace and reconciliation in Somalia. By the year 2000, peace initiatives had moved from national to regional levels. This became a preferred step because Somalis felt, "regional cooperation coexistence, would possibly lead to a federal state based on several clan-based states." [133] Following unsuccessful attempts by different bodies – the Arab League, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations - to stop the fighting, "over twenty clans signed the Cairo Declaration to establish a 13-person Council of Presidents, a Prime Minister, and the National Assembly."[134]

In this first phase, the conference was attended by traditional and clan leaders from all over the country. They represented most of Somalia's clans. In addition to that, there were also

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[131] Daudi O. Abdi, The role of sub-regional organizations in the management of internal conflicts: *A Case Study of IGAD in the Somalia Peace Process, 1999-2005*, Nairobi, M.A. Dissertation submitted in Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies at the University of Nairobi, September, 2007. pp.2.

[132] Lind, J. and S.K. Strurman, *Scarcity & Surfeit*, Pretoria, Institute of Security Studies, pp.322.

[133] "*Women's Activities*" http://www.fasngo.org/en/activities/Burundi.htm Accessed on 22nd October, 2013.

[134] "Rebirth of Somalia State" http://www.peace.ca/somalia-rebirth.htm Accessed on 23rd October, 2013.

representatives of business interest, political factions and civil society. At this conference, the agenda leading to the second phase and system of representation of Somalia's various clans was adopted. The Somalia four major clans (Hawiye, Dir, Darot and Digil/Mirifle) were accorded 180 delegates each. Each clan allotted 20 seats for women. The alliance of minorities was accorded 20 seats (including 10 for women).[135]Those clan elders who participated in the first phase were allowed to participate in the capacity of members of their clan delegates, however, without voting rights. It is worth noting that "despite the initial calls for the inclusion of civil society groups and these groups' euphoric advocacy for the peace initiative, the delegates agreed to make clan affiliation the sole basis of participation in the conference."[136]

On 17th June 2000, the second phase of the SNPC began with six thematic committees and adopted: "Charter Committee, Economic and Social Affairs Committee, Education Committee, Security Committee and the Agriculture and Fisheries Committee." [137] A month later, deliberations were made in the respective committees and plenary sessions, "the conference adopted a National Transitional Charter, a form of constitution for a three-year transitional period to be followed by general elections."[138]

A Transitional National Assembly (TNA), of 225 members was elected in August 2000. This was done on the basis of clan nomination and quota with Mr. Abdulla Deerow Issaq elected as Speaker of TNA. In the same month, on 26th August, the TNA elected Mr. Abdikassim Salad Hassan as President out of 16 finalists. After his election, between September 2000, "the newly elected President visited several countries and participated in various regional and international events including a ministerial meeting of the League of Arab States, the millennium summit and

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[135] Excerpts on the Arta Peace Conference from the United Nations Political Office of Somalia.
[136] Ibid.
[137] "Somali National Peace Conference: Peace Plan" http://www.banadir.com/what is there.htm Accessed on 26th November, 2013.
[138] Ibid.

the UN General Assembly meeting, the Summit of the League of Arab States, the summit conference of the organization of Islamic Conference and the IGAD summit. In October, he appointed Mr. Ali Khali Galaydh as Prime Minister. The latter appointed an all-male cabinet of 22 ministers representing all major clans. Subsequently, he appointed 45 assistant Ministers five Ministers of state and a governor for the Banadir region. Of these, four were women. The Transitional National Government (TNG) and the Transitional National Assembly moved into Mogadishu in October and continued to discharge their functions from there."[139]

Irrespective of all these efforts of success done by the Somali National Peace Conference (SNPC), internal political forces have refused to recognize the TNG's legitimacy. These political and military forces include the break-away self-styled "Republic of Somaliland", the administration of North Eastern Somalia (Puntland), the Rehenweyne Resistance Army's (RRA) leader, Shatigudud (with strong support from some segments of the RRA power-base, the Digil/Mirifle) and the various Mogadishu-based warlords (including Hussein Aideed, Misa Sudi Yalahow, and Osman Ali Atto). Also there are external forces which were/are opposed to the TNG, for example Ethiopia, Somalia's stronger neighbor, who had initially welcomed the TNG's formation, reportedly opposes it today and instead backs factions which are challenging its authority.

In the planned strategies of the TNG, participation and representation was inclusive of all legitimate groups of Somalis such as the elders, intellectuals, the civil society, religious groups, the business community among others. This composition was different from the previous arrangements which focused on "power sharing among faction leaders, based upon clan hegemony."[140]With the protracting conflict in Somalia, the IGAD launched a 14th internationally

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[139] Excerpts from the Arta Peace Conference, op.cit.
[140] 'Somalia National Peace Conference' http://www.banadir.comwhatisthere.htm accessed on 20.03.2011

sponsored peace process held in Kenya in October, 2001. The heads of states of IGAD region, decided on a new peace initiative for national reconciliation in Somalia. This was in January 2002. Under the supervision of the IGAD chairman, Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti coordinated their efforts which led to the initiation of a Somalia National Reconciliation Conference held in Kenya. President Moi of Kenya was its coordinator. The conference composed of 600 Somali representatives opened in Eldoret, Kenya. This led to the Somali leaders signing the declaration on the Cessation of Hostilities and structures and principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process, (S/2002/1359.annex). This was on October, 2002. [141] The IGAD Ministerial Facilitation Committee urged the international community to support the TNG with diplomatic recognition, a peacekeeping force and prompt financial support.[142]

3.3.0 An Overview of IGAD and Management of Sub-regional Conflicts, 1992 - 2006

3.3.1 Introduction

This chapter links IGAD's activities in the Horn of Africa to that of conflict management. It seeks to establish the institutional structures necessary for the successful conclusion of conflict management through peace-making initiatives.

3.3.2 IGAD and the Management of Sub-regional Conflicts

Since its inception in 1993, IGAD's peacemaking activities have increased its impact on the ground in the Horn of Africa Conflict Zone. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the major mandate of the formation of IGAD was to address the perennial issues on draught and desertification in this zone. Credit has been accorded to this organization especially on its approaches in the Sudan and Somalia peace processes. The peace process for Sudan was

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[141] Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, *The Rules of Procedure,* Adopted by the plenary (Eldoret) on 26th October, 2002.
[142] Ahmed G. Omar: *An Analysis of the Socio-political Effects of the Somalia Conflict on Somali Women (1999-2005)*, M.A Project Paper submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, the University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 2008. Pp. 34-35.

exclusive and involved only the government of Sudan (GoS) and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A).[143]What makes it distinct from other approaches in the recent past in IGAD's peace processes in Somalia is a variety of actors including factional leaders, civil society organizations and observers were included from the very beginning. May be the fact that the nature of the conflicts and the differences in their actors necessitated that IGAD had to employ different approaches in each case. But at the close examination of the approaches applied, it emanates that they were the choice of the principal conflict parties. Through consultative process, IGAD simply confirmed the selected approach especially in the Sudan conflict and through continuing and expanding upon Arta Peace Process in the case of Somalia.

Deng observes that IGAD possesses two important elements of leverage in its potential to deliver one side's possible agreement. The second one is the threat to end the mediation through withdrawal or by taking sides.[144]The likelihood of the coalition with the opposition can confer a certain degree of leverage. However, the changing intra-regional relations in IGAD essentially reduced this tremendously to read an unreliable and short-term source of leverage. This is one of the major challenges to the ability of regional organizations to meet their set objectives. In spite of this major challenge, the proximity factor and the element of coalition gained some strength and despite frustrations or lack of linear progress, parties kept returning to the negotiating table.

The use of threats have shown minimal yield on the dispositions of parties to a conflict. In the case of the Abuja Sudan Peace talks, for instance, the threat to withdraw from the negotiating

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[143] Nyariki, D.M., Strategic Resources and Management of Internal Conflicts: A Case Study of Sudan, M.A. Dissertation presented at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2005, pp.143.
[144] Deng, F., *Negotiating a Hidden Agenda: Sudan's Conflict of Identities*, op cit.

table was rebuffed because at the point at which it was invoked, the military fortunes of the government of Sudan had improved and had resulted in a deepening interest in mediation.[145]

The threat by Kenya's then president Moi was in the IGAD mediation to call off the mediation at its outset resulted in some shift in Sudan's position. The shift allowed mediation to commence. In a similar attempt to use threats to withdraw later on had no effect and the peace process went into a stalemate. These experiences comparatively brought out critical information that the use of 'threats' in the Sudan Peace Act and the combined pressure by the International Partners Forum (IFP) in the peace process, was unnecessary. It demonstrates that threats from powerless mediators are unlikely to be effective in conclusively influencing and or changing the positions of the parties in conflict. It can be argued therefore that IGAD, in mediation efforts should be wary of applying threats to withdraw from the peace processes. Sometimes that is the excuse that parties need to avoid commitment or concessions that seem relevant to mediators like IGAD.[146]

The IGAD mediation has raised a significant point with regards to the acceptability and suitability of mediators.[147] In the evaluation of the IGAD mediation in Sudan there is suggestion that an abandonment of the process, when parties are not ready to discuss certain key issues would not foster the good of peacemaking. Indeed, parties would just then keep moving from one mediator to another, seeking a situation where only their preferred issues would be addressed.[148] As suggested above, this problem can best be addressed by developing capacities

[145] Odera, J. A., *Intervening in African Internal Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era, 1990-1999: A Case Study of IGAD Mediation of the Sudan Conflict*, PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 2002.
[146] Stein, K. W. And L. Samuel, W. Mediation In The Middle East In Crocker et al (1996)
[147] Odera, J. op cit. pp.145
[148] Nyariki, D. M., op. cit. pp.188 – 9

for conflict management to enhance the skills for mediation so that its conduct is not held captive by the whims of the parties to a conflict.[149]

Regional stability and relations between countries of the region have suffered as a result of intrastate wars in Somalia and Sudan.[150] It is observed that at a time when on the one hand, Africa is being further marginalized and falling deeper into economic crises and on the other regions of Africa having emerged from wars and secured peace, are laying the groundwork for comprehensive co-operation that would free them from poverty and deepening the conflict in south Sudan. This remains an obstruction for regional development as a whole. Under such circumstances the region and interventional community have a responsibility to ensure that fundamental human rights are enforced.[151]

3.3.3 Conclusion

This study observes that peace efforts in any situation must be carried out by a variety of actors and at a number of levels. However, successful peace initiatives can be realized only when several actors play their respective roles in complementary rather than in competitive approach.[152]

The advantage of proximity on its own is of limited leverage and only serves as a constraint on the parties to continue a process even if no real progress is being made. Mediators must be in a position of being able to offer genuine inducements to peace and genuine sanctions for not achieving it.[153]However, as several experiences have shown in Africa, regional conflict

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[149] Daud Omar Abdi, *The Role of sub – regional organization in the management of internal conflicts. A case study of IGAD in the Somalia Peace Process,* 1999 – 2005. P.48

[150] Claphan C., Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa, London: Vermont company, 1994 p.114

[151] Daud Omar Abdi op. cit. pp.48

[152] D. M. Tutu, *Ecumenical Collaboration for Peace and Justice in the Sudan*. Project Document; Nairobi, January 1994 pp.1.

[153] Stein Kenneth, W & Lewis S.W. Mediation in the Middle East, "The Varieties of Intervention: Conditions for Success", in Crocker, Chester A. et al, *Managing Global Chaos, Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995, pp.463-473.

management could not "represent a panacea for all difficult problems. As Annan rightly warns, that not only because regional organizations can face political, structural, financial and planning limitation, but also because the impartiality or neutrality of their member states may be questioned, for historical reasons or for political or economic reasons"[154].

Regional actors have great interest in the management of conflicts in their respective regions and they can provide legitimacy, environmental understanding and experience. They can also provide resources such as personnel. To encourage the parties towards negotiation requires action on multiple fronts within and beyond the region.[155]

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[154] Annan Kofi, The causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa", Report of the Secretary –General. In http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninf/afrec/sgreport/report.htm accessed on 20.7.1998.

[155] B. Kiplagat, "*The Sudan Peace Process: An Overview*", Nairobi: AACC Document File, from November 15th 1994 to December 31st 1995: (October 1995) pp.2.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 IGAD-Led Women's Desk and the Local Women in Conflict Management after the Arta Peace Conference

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes IGAD-led women's desk and the local women in the Somalia conflict management in the light of the classical liberal feminist theory. It must however be noted that this study captures those activities which span from the time frame of the research which is from 1992 to 2006. IGAD-led women's desk was inception in 1999, therefore this means that the activities captured and analyzed in this study, span a period of seven years.

The international community and more particularly the United Nations' body UNIFEM and the IGAD women address their social and political plight.[156] UNIFEM and IGAD women desk recognized the challenges facing women in the process of conflict and peace making them to participate less in the process. The involvement of UNIFEM and IGAD women desk as a result of recognition that the structure of gender relationship in Somalia is asymmetrically titled against women denying them a significant chance to address to their own plight and contribute to other aspects of life like peace that are of significant to the society.[157]

4.2 Analysis of IGAD-Led Women's Desk and the Local Women in Conflict Management after the Arta Peace Conference

Women desk is consistent to the peace research paradigm which recognizes it and women's efforts on peace processes regardless of some members' views that the asymmetrical

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[156] M.G. Gechaga, "The Impact of war on African women" in M. N. Getui and Hazel Ayanga, *Conflicts in Africa: A woman response*, Nairobi, Ruaraka Printing Press, 2002, p.78

[157] Omar G. Ahmed, *An analysis of the socio-political effects of the Somalia conflict on Somali women (1991-2005)*, M. A. Dissertation submitted in the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, UON 2008 p.67

relationship[158]has denied them a chance to address their own plight. Although women - just like children - are typically excluded from decision-making forums where peace accords are negotiated, their position within the clan system gives them the ability to bridge clan division and to act as a first channel dialogue between parties in conflict. In 2000 Asha Hagi, a woman who had founded Safe Somalia Women and Children (SSWC) by 1991 declared that womanhood was her only clan. Asha`s organization put pressure on clan elders, Islamic scholars and politicians to put women at the negotiating table as equal partners and decision-makers. Asha fought for women to have a voice, but with the constant threat of violence hanging over her[159]. The SSWC helps women overcome violence and poverty and gives them a voice in their own country. The achievements of this organization include:

1. - securing a sixth of seats for women in the Transitional Federal Parliament.

2. - helping to reconcile the President and the Prime Minister in 2006.

3. -getting rid of many roadblocks simply by getting food supplied to the young men who manned them.

4. -taking part in high-level negotiations and continued educational programs for girls.

A number of programs have been initiated with a potential impact on peace and security issues. Among the implementable ones are the national ministries in conflict prevention, management and resolution, initiatives to curtail illicit trafficking of small arms[160].

In Hussein Adam and Richard Ford`s book, "Removing Barricades in Somalia" they mention that:

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[158] A. J. R. Groom, "Paradigms in Conflict: The Strategist, the Conflict Researcher and the Peace Researcher" in J. Burton and F. Dukes (eds) C*onflict reading in Management and Resolution*, London, MacMillan, 1990, pp.92-95, see also M. Mwagiru, C*onflict:Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, op. cit. pp.7-9

[159] Mwagiru, M., Conflict Management in Africa: *Lessons Learnt and Future Strategies*. Nairobi: Views Media, 2001, pp. 20.

[160] Mwagiru, M., Towards a Regional Security Architecture in the IGAD Region in M. Mwagiru's (Ed) Africa: *Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, Nairobi, Heinrich Boll Foundation), 2004.

"In Mogadishu, Committees of women are leading NGOs and other groups toward reconciliation. They have organized committees for improved health and education services, some of which have been collaborating across the Green Line. They are among the most visible articulate, energetic and respected of the groups working to eliminate barriers such as the Green Line. They have been able to win the support of groups of elders of all political, clan and factional perspectives. Their persistent efforts, complemented by other domestic and external pressures, have helped bring about the present situation in which the barricades are being removed. Today, Mogadishu is largely unified on a day-to-day, operational level"[161].

By engaging in business, women who sell in the market from sun-rise to sun-set just trying to make a meager living and avoid the widespread poverty and starvation that has gripped the country-side in a way play a role to reducing aggression which leads to conflicts. Women of Somalia contribute to the peacefulness of society by meeting some of their primary needs that otherwise their scarcity would lead to increased or even complex conflict. Women have assumed the reigns and have done an excellent job in performing some of the jobs that men have traditionally done. The SSWC (Save Somalia Women and Children) put together a convention that brought together 120plus NGOs all championing Women`s Rights and Peace negotiations within Somalia in 2001.The National Organization for the Development of Women and Children (NOW) advices the Transitional National Government (TNG) on gender specific issues as well as discusses policies that could promote peace[162].

Sarah Ssali says that there is a recent trend of women advocates claiming a say in peace negotiations, this has often stopped at justification for their participation, which in turn focuses

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[161] Hussein, A and Ford, R., Removing Barricades in Somalia: *Options for Peace and Reconciliation* Washington D.C., Peace Works, 1998 pp. 56.

[162] Graney, W. David: *Women's Rights in Somalia: Women's Role in Conflict Resolution*; Utah Valley University: Orem, Utah, 1990, pp. 42.

on women as victims of war[163]. Marian Hussein, a human rights activist, widow of the human rights lawyer Ismail Jumale, founded the Ismail Jumale Centre for Human Rights to monitor and record human rights violations so that perpetrators   could be brought to justice once proper institutions were in place[164]. This is an example, of how women can assume active roles in conflict management and get full participation.

In some regions in Somalia, older women who could no longer conceive were used as peace envoys. In times of war women were the only one who could move across the zones of conflict freely and without much danger. It was the women who studied the situation, assessed the prospects for peace, and facilitated contact and communication between the warring parties[165]. Their facilitation of contact and communication is a form of acting or being direct actors in a conflict.

Anderson in her view of women and conflict management states that projects should be established which should include non-violence training for grassroots women`s groups and regional consultations which bring women from opposite sides of conflicts to dialogues and deepen the understanding on conflict management[166].

In line with former scholars of feminist theories, Cindy contends that: "Today the vast majority of armed conflicts take place within state borders. Such internal conflicts have a history of making devastating effects on the civilian population. Notably, women are targets of armed conflict just because they are women".[167]These women are raped in order to humiliate, scare and

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[163] Mwagiru, M., Human Security: *Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa,* Africa Peace Forum, 2008,pp. 103.

[164] Mohammed, A.M., The Role of Somalia Women in the Search for Peace. *In UNESCO War and Peace in Africa.* (pp. 75-110). Paris: UNESCO Workshops, 2003.

[165] Ngongo-Mbede, V., The Traditional Mediation of Conflicts by Women in Cameroon: *In UNESCO*, *Women and Peace in Africa*. (pp. 22-24) Paris; UNESCO Workshops, 2003.

[166] Anderson S., *Review of Women and Peace-Building,*1999. op. cit.

[167] H. Cindy, *Transitional Nomads: How Somalis Cope with refugees' life in Dadaab Camp of Kenya*, (PhD thesis 2000).

inflict pain both directly and indirectly to defeat the opponent. The Somali society and the political set up are patriarchal. Greater symbolic value is placed on male children than on female ones. This practice is evident as two animals are slaughtered when a male is born and one animal – if any – is slaughtered if a female is born.[168] Because the Somali society is patriarchal, traditionally inferior roles are assigned to women while superior ones are assigned to men. The society has strict division of labor which confines women to domestic chores. This denies the Somali women a chance to engage in community decisions and even education. From the traditional perspective, Somali women do not own means of production and are not allowed to engage in business activities outside the homestead. This led to making Somali women highly dependent of their male counterpart. These cultural practices are part of the structural violence on women. It is part of the reason why the feminist theorists have to empower women.

Gender inequalities are most evident in the relative privacy of the family; this is an area usually out of public scrutiny. But it is the public measures, legislative prescriptions, service provisions and income support that mitigate these inequalities. The diminution of the role of the state in any or all of these areas is damaging to feminist objectives.[169]

UNIFEM and IGAD's women desk having taken a lead in empowering women to take up significant positions in the social and political spheres in Somalia leave the critical challenge to the Somali women to take a significant role to sustain their empowerment in the Somali society. The strive for both social and political emancipation of the Somali women was as a result of external support system rendered by UNIFEM and IGAD women desk.[170] The challenge is that

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[168] J. Gardener and J.E. Bushra, *Somalia: The Untold Story*, London, Plato Press 2004.
[169] Georgina Ashworth, A Diplomacy of the Oppressed*: New Directions in International Feminism*, Zed Books Ltd, London and New jersey 1995 pp.170.
[170] Omar G. Ahmed op cit.p.68

the support system of this nature needs to be nurtured by the internal forces so that they can survive for long enough to make positive impact in the society.

This is not became these support system are not permanent. In this direction, the Somali women have been presented with an overwhelming opportunity that they should seize and address their concerns, interests and values that are to improve gender relationships in Somalia.[171]While women empowerment has been central in Somalia male disempowerment is also another approach that could be employed to correct the structure of gender relationship in Somalia. Given that men disempowerment has not yet been embraced whole heartedly one critical issue is on the empowerment of the Somalia women in that the end result of the process is not determined.[172]

Women are perceived to have more orientation to peace than men. The conflict in Somalia persisted since the Somalia culture is patriarchal in setting and men are actively engaged in the social and political structure of domination and in subordination.[173] Having been directly affected by the internal conflict in their country, the Somali women took a significant role in the search for peace in their country. Women were marginalized during the conflict yet they account for the majority victims.[174] While men remained divided along clan basis, women however, remained united based on the suffering experience they faced during the long conflict irrespective of their lead to women solidarity and search for peace in Somalia.

Somali women representation in the Somali National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) was referred to as the participation that made a significant contribution to success.[175]Women

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[171] M. Mwagiru, op. cit., pp.30-34
[172] Ibid, pp.30-31
[173] B. Byrne, *Towards Endangering Peace*, (IDS) Bulletin, 1996), p.30
[174] E.S. Burke, J. Klot and I. Bunting, *Endangering peace: Reflection on the Peace Process*, Nairobi, UNIFEM, 2001, p.23.
[175] E. Brusset and E. Visman, *preventing violent conflicts and the coherence of EU policies towards the horn of Africa countries,* save world February 1998.

have the capacity to deal with and make peace agreement effective and practical.[176] Although the efforts of women have great potential in terms of peacemaking and consolidation of the community, women are seriously constrained by the social, political and the cultural setting in Somalia. Women peace activists often expose themselves to personal risks in their daily work to make their communities safer. Often they do not receive enough resources in order to support their efforts with once their experiences, advice and suggestions in peace building are ignored or downplayed. By policy makers, then it means that their efforts go to waste. This has been the case in patriarchal communities, Somalia included.

In 1992, the Somaliland Women Development Association (SOWDA) was formed in the north-west part of Somalia. This, in collaboration with other NGOs, established a police force with the goal of "creating a peaceful and secure environment for the public to conduct their daily affairs without fear of being robbed or attacked by armed militia on the prowl for their next victim."[177]

The Somali women for a long time lobbied to ensure that their participation in the search for peace in Somalia was fruitful. They insisted that men should not take into account the significant contribution that women brought in the peace processes. With this constant attempt, they were finally included in the peace processes. After this step, there came about the engendering of both social and political spheres of Somalia.

Women have organized demonstrations against war and its consequences. For instance, during the International Women's Day celebrations in 1995, the women held a peace

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[176] ICG, *Beyond victimhood: women's peace building in Sudan, Congo and Uganda*, Africa report No. 112 of 28 June 2006.

[177] A. Warsame, *The Civil War in Northern Somalia (Somaliland): Its Impact on Pastoralists, Especially Women and Children,* paper prepared for the Institute of Social Studies and NOVIB project on pastoralist and resource conflicts in Eastern Africa, Uppsala, 1996.

demonstration during which they sang slogans such as "Somali women want peace not war."[178]In the north-east of Somalia, specifically in Bosaso, the Hufan initiative was born. This initiative was named after the woman who fought single-handedly and lobbied "to secure a monthly allocation of funds from the Bosaso Port helped to create and manage a police force and a prison to ensure prevalence of peace and security in the town."[179]

With the Arta Peace Conference of the year 2000 where women were apportioned space for participation in decision-making, they took a significant position in the search for peace. The Arta Peace Conference was crucial for the Somali women and their contribution in the peace process.[180]This was the first time when the Somali women's voices were heard from an official delegate's perspective. They had a chance in the Arta Peace Conference which they utilized by lobbying to ensure that the peace process did not collapse and contributed to break deadlock in the peace talks. Through the Arta Peace Conference therefore, women found it easy to be accepted in the IGAD peace talk in Kenya. The IGAD peace process on Somali hence forth, continued to support Somali women in their search for peace and rebuilding post – conflict Somalia. During this process women who were formerly viewed as just women, were now given positions to represent themselves as the sixth clan and set to discuss different issues in the conflict and post conflict Somalia arrangement. The end result was the allocation of a certain given quota of seats which showed that women were not only important and actually significant action in the peace process but also had an overwhelming role ahead of them in the rebuilding of their war – torn country. They ensured that their concerns, issues and values were addressed properly. In so doing, it is notable that the IGAD peace process in Somalia contributed to set

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[178]F. Jama, *Somali Women's Role in Building Peace and Security*, paper presented at the United Nations Security Council Arria Formula Meeting on Women, Peace and Security, October, 2000.
[179] Ibid.
[180] IGAD women desk*, Heading Women's Voices: The story of Somali women's Historic role in the peace process,* Djibouti, IGAD, 2005, p.16-21.

rolling both political and social emancipation of the Somali women in that given time. Even when these efforts were made, the Somali women still suffered consequences of patriarchy by being ignored or even downplayed during the peace process.[181] This initiative reduced drastically the crime rate in Bosaso community.

The southern region thus, Merca, had another initiative. There was the launch of a demobilization project in 1997 by the Women Development Organization with the objective of "offering education, housing and the alternative income opportunities for one hundred and fifty boys and men who were part of the militia. They exchanged their guns for a higher future."[182]

In Mogadishu the capital city, women took upon themselves to challenge the civil society "to play a more proactive role in promoting peace after warlords failed to reach agreement after 12 reconciliation meetings."[183]Different sectors of society such as media, sports groups, youths, women, traditional leaders and ex-militia all led by the Coalition for Grassroots Women's Organizations (COGWO) and with the support of Peace and Human Rights Network (PHRN) they were brought together. Their purpose was to coordinate, establish and strategize for peace-making. The major goal was to develop a culture of peace and human rights in the capital city and the region as a whole.

Following the above numerous initiatives, the Djibouti Conference took place uniquely granting women the active roles in the mediation discussions unlike the Mogadishu Peace Conference of 1995. In this Djibouti Conference, "women were recognized as the 'sixth clan' since Somalia has five major clans. This sixth clan was formed as a result of the discussions and

[181] Stephen D. Tansey, P*olitics: The Basics*, London, Routledge, 1995, pp.87-88.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.

agreement that resulted from the Djibouti Symposium."[184] With this trend, it means that a lot needs to be done in order to socially, culturally and politically emancipate the Somali women and provide them with the necessary support they need in order to achieve their goals.

During the IGAD peace talks Somali women had a significant role to play in the peace processes since for the first time, they were given voting rights in the peace process through the aspect of being considered as the sixth clan. This spirit demonstrated a positive effect of the Somali conflict on the recognition of the unbalanced gender relations in Somalia that had consistently affected women by excluding or marginalizing them in social and political spheres. Therefore the conflict helped in recognition of structural and cultural violence or conflict that existed in Somalia.[185] The structural and cultural violence, and conflict in Somalia, inhibited women's capacities to contribute to the social and political affairs of the Somali society and country at large. On the other hand, the conflict helped to cement and protect the victims when the international community set in to support their welfare.[186] This propelled women activism more from within Somalia with the support of external actors such as UNIFEM and IGAD women desk together with a considerable number of NGOs. The purpose was to help in emancipation geared towards the search for peace process and see the Somali women take significant political positions in the Somali government with a promise of gender mainstreaming in both the social and political arrangements of the Somali republic.[187]

It is with the external support systems that women have had a significant support for both social and political emancipation. The major challenge that the local Somali women are faced

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[184] A. Hagi Elmi, "*Women Participation in Peace-building and Mediation Process*: The Sixth Clan: Somali Women's role in the Arta Peace Process" paper presented at a seminar on Gender Mainstreaming in IGAD Peace Building and Conflict Resolution Programes, 15-16 October, 2001.
[185] J. Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research*" Journal of Peace Research vol.3*, (1969), pp.167-191. See also J. Graltung, Cultural violence, *journal of peace research,* vol. 27, 1991, pp.291-305.
[186] Omar G. Ahmed, op. cit. p.71
[187] Ibid p.71

with is to adopt and mainstream the external support system to internal self support system. This calls for issues like education and democracy to be given precedence. While education would transform the people, it would also address the cultural issues that limit women's potentials. Democracy would ensure the rule of law and social political inclusive participation of all. This would create a space for women to prevail and be observed objectively. Again on education, women would be educated to face both social and political challenges with an objective mind; they would be able to handle cultural and tradition challenges that seem to alienate them from the public decision making system. Education would also contribute to make socialization to root out traditional patriarchal mindset in the society that advance gender stereotypes that ultimately, socially and politically hurt the Somali women.[188]

It is realized that as much as women suffered in the Somali conflict, men equally suffered a great deal. Because of structural and cultural gender imbalance that affects the social political and economic setting of the Somalia society, women suffered more.[189] The Somali women became vulnerable to several and different dangers that resulted from the armed conflict and distortion of their traditional set up. The positive thing for women in the Somali conflict is aggravated plight of women in Somalia during the gender emancipation which took place during the period of 1992 to 2006.

The discussion above provides prove of the fact that women are indispensable in matters of peace processes up to post-conflict recovery and in rebuilding of war-torn societies. IGAD-led Women Desk carried out their activities in Somalia through its main sponsor, IGAD. It is noticed that IGAD's intervention in Somalia peace process is clear illustration of how effective these

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[188] M. G. Gechaga, "The Impact of war on African women" in M. N. Getui and Hazel and Ayanga, *conflicts in Africa: A women response* op.cit. p.66
[189] H. S. Mohammed, "The Somali refugee women's experience in Kenyan camp and their plight in Canada" in H. M. Adam and R. Ford, M*ending Rip in the Sky: Option for Somalia Communities in the 21ˢᵗ century*, op.cit. pp.432-433

institutions can be if they carefully engage in dialogue. IGAD-led Women Desk is an institution founded on the premise of peace and security not only for women but for the entire region.

4.2.1 Conclusion

In this chapter, this study concludes that it is the Arta Peace Conference that women representation found acceptance in the IGAD peace talks which were held in Kenya. However, it is regrettable that women were not invited as women but as a 'clan of women'. The feminist theory spirit is justified to inform the authority in governance that women's issues have not been properly addressed. The entire peace process is clan-based rather than all encompassing.

It is notable that the IGAD Peace Process on Somalia continued to utilize women in their pursuit for peace. In this process, the women who were recognized as the 'sixth clan' were merged in all the committees that were set to discuss in the conflict. At the end of it, there was the allocation of a certain quota of seats to women in the government and particularly the parliament. The allocation of the seats to these women meant that women were not only actors in the conflict but had an important role to play, thus rebuilding their country and taking care of their interests and issues. In this forum, women's issues and interests found a channel through which they would be addressed in Somalia.

The positive aspect of the Somali conflict is that the conflict helped in recognition of structural and cultural violence or conflict that existed in Somalia[190].

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[190] See J. Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" *Journal of Peace Research vol.3,* (1969), pp.167-191. See also J. Galtung, "Cultural Violence" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, 1991, pp.291-305.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Recommendations and Conclusion

Somalia is one of the countries in the Horn of Africa that has had continuous conflict. Consequently, it has contributed to define the region as the Horn of Africa conflict zone. While conflicts have been considered not to be absolutely negative in human relations [191], their dysfunctional effect especially as demonstrated in Somalia poses a critical question on the positive effects that have been associated with conflict. This is especially when the conflict gets protracted as in this case study. Women have played significant role in the quest for peace and security in Somalia to the extent that they are often referred to as the "social and economic back-bone of Somalia." [192]

The Somali women were able to put their direct input into the Charter, especially on issues dealing with human rights, women's rights, women's participation in government and all decision making processes and minority rights. [193]

The conflict in Somalia has claimed numerous lives, led to mass dislocations of populations and exposed the indigenous people to untold suffering. This conflict has destroyed human relations, economic and human development, and threatens to destroy the existence of the state as a unifying entity. This study as presented in first chapter set out to assess the impact of the role of local women in conflict management within the framework of IGAD. It also set to analyze IGAD-led women Desk's efforts in support of women's participation in conflict management after the Arta Peace Conference. Having done the above objectives, this chapter is meant to give conclusions and recommendations on the same.

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[191] M. Mwagiru, Conflict: *Theory Process and Institutions of Management*, op. cit. pp. 6-7
[192] Life and Peace institute: '*We Cannot Have Peace, We Also Have to Live' in People Building Peace 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World* (Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 1999, pp.201
[193] UNIFEM Narrative Report on the Regional Peace Project, 2000, pp.6.

This study was guided by the feminist theories which focus and give visibility to women's status and their role especially in male dominated fields, like the field of dealing with conflicts. This study appreciates the role of women in society as partners with their male counterparts to take care of the environment both human and material. Guided by the feminist theory, this study found Somalia a patriarchal society. In this sense, it is a male dominated society where men are final in decision making. However, according to Robin Morgan, "A patriarchal state is one rehabilitating from war, presently at war, or preparing for war".[194] With this view, it means that a patriarchal state cannot stop war, nor can it recover from it. It cannot simply avoid being in war just because it is patriarchal. In this argument them it means that in order for peace to come, women have to be provided with a space in matters of not only conflict, but in all issues in society. In another finding, this study established that women are more peaceful than men. This is from their socialization that has made them acquire traits that do not agitate for competition and extreme reactions. In their nature, they are 'incapable' of brooding war per se or protracted conflict. It is argued that when women's perspectives are incorporated into the political process, politics will be "more effective of the society with which it deals and less bias toward the perspectives and behaviors of only one segment."[195]More still, "women should be included on negotiation tables because their experiences, values and priorities, as women, can bring a perspective that can help find a solution to the conflict."[196]

This study set out to analyze the role of local Somali women after the Arta Peace Conference in their pursuit to manage the conflict in their region. It is prove enough that the Arta Peace Conference was the first conference of its kind to include women as the delegates for

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[194] Morgan, Robin: The word of a woman: *Feminist dispatches* (1968-1992) W. W. Norton & Company, New York, and London.
[195] D.R. Marshall, Women in War and Peace: *Grassroots Peace-building*, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, 2000.
[196] Harris and Reilly, op. cit.

peace. It is at this point that the Transitional National Government is born. During this time round Somalia experienced relative calm. Had it not been for the external influence, and lack of their support, Somalia would likely be at peace. So, shortly after the formation of the TNG, things did not work out as designed by the TNG's top organ of operation. From the interviews contacted, the respondents place the blame the blame is put on Ethiopia which failed this process by supporting the opposition instead. At this point, there are several questions which need to be answered.

These questions are about the role of women and the role of IGAD after the Arta Peace Conference. The management of the conflict started to show positive signs since the year 2000 with the public dialogue under the Transitional National Government involving civil society and more particularly women. Though this was quite an inclusive government, results did not endure. The IGAD peace process on Somalia since the year 2002 realized positive signs of which in 2004 there was an inauguration of the Somalia parliament. This was done in its neighboring country, Kenya.

Later President Yusuf was sworn in as an interim president of the Somalia Federal Government. Through IGAD, women found favorable forums to address critical issues of their concern during this time round. Through the political positions they held during this time round the women transformed women's devastating experiences into lessons that can be learnt and be avoided or discouraged by all means now and in future. The consequences of gender exclusion and marginalization subjected the Somalia women into significant contribution in their social and political welfare in their own country.

With the support of UNIFEM and IGAD, women started to take positive role in peace processes hence addressing the social and political concerns through their interests and values.

The critical presentation of this study is the revelation that conflict can act positively or negatively in the society.[197]The Somalia conflict was a double edged sword to the Somali women.[198]Truly, women suffered significantly by being targets of warfare. The conflicts also aggravated the already existing gender violence in the structure of relationship. Women were made to feel as inferior humans among the male dominated society.

The study finds that the pre-occupation of the institutions that engage themselves in peace processes is to settle the conflict peacefully as espoused in the UN Charter.[199]This serves as a major recommendation in this study. This has been arrived at after singling out TNG from the political factions to non-political clusters. It led to the establishment of a Transition Federal Government. Again, sub-regional organizations serve as instruments for meeting the goals of their respective member states[200]. IGAD in this case has to consolidate its region so as to gain mandate from each of them. More so, as a sub-regional organization, it is esteemed to be objective. For this reason it has been able to hold talks for negotiations.

Sub-regional organizations and in this case IGAD through its extended structures like Women Desk could carry out conflict management initiatives at a lower cost than non-regional initiatives.[201]Prior to IGAD's involvement, various rounds of Somali peace talks had been unsuccessful since they failed to reach a conclusive peace agreement. Previous mediators lacked neutrality in their negotiation role and were seen as partial. They therefore were unable to come up with a unanimously acceptable agreement. At this particular time, it expressed neutrality and was acceptable to the parties in the conflict. The provision of resources to the conflict especially

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[197] Harris and Reilly, op. cit. pp.6
[198] See Chapter Two and Four.
[199] UN, UN Charter, Article 2(4)
[200] Archer, C., *International Organizations*, London: George Allen & Irwin, 1983, pp.130
[201] M. M. Monde & Margaret A Vogt, *An Assessment of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution*, (International Peace Academy 2000), pp.14.

sponsoring the delegates' accommodation was a big contribution through institutions such as UNIFEM and IGAD.

However, IGAD has to fight the hegemonic character of Ethiopia which in a way seems to rival Kenya's peace efforts for Somalia. Sub-regional organizations serve as forums within which interstate actions take place.[202]They provide meeting places thought to be neutral for interaction and discussions. The sub-regional organizations play the role of independent actors in the international system. In line with this finding, the Horn of Africa could be more peaceful if hegemonic forces between Kenya and Ethiopia could be put to rest. Besides the external support that Somali women got which helped them to mainstream and emancipate in their social and political plight, the Somali women need more diversified means. The government and the development partners should strive to building up a self support system in the institution of social and governance to ensure that gender violence be it structural, cultural or overt is not perpetuated in Somalia.[203]There is a need for mainstreaming gender through evaluation of several current structures. Education should be the major instrument in carrying out this agenda. Men should not be left behind in this educational endeavor. When both genders go through similar educational training on this matter, it makes the dominant male get inclusive, understanding and accommodative.

Women should be helped directly by the state, NGOs, the civil society organizations to find their place in society and identify their roles as meaningful so that they can be valued. Women should be equipped with skills that would enable them be at the centre of solving their issues. Women's efforts for peace initiatives should be supported by building their resources and capacities and supporting their projects "for rebuilding is important and necessary to avoid their

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[202] M. M. Monde & Margaret A Vogt, *An Assessment of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution*, (International Peace Academy, 2000), pp.136
[203] See J. Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research* op.. cit. pp.167-191.

marginalization, but it cannot be done without a view to the wider conditioning and constraining processes of rebuilding society after civil war."[204] Despite these efforts, the existing social and cultural structure impedes the feminine initiatives of peace in their war devastating society. For instance, in Somalia, the recommendation to include at least one woman to the Transitional National Council was out-rightly rejected by many clans who belief a woman belongs to her father's clan. Appropriate measures have to be taken for Somalia to come up otherwise it continues being "afflicted by ethno-nationalist and secessionist movements, which challenge diverse forms of government and generate particularly virulent and atavistic nationalisms."[205]

Feminism seeks to emancipate women for they are subjected in gender bias socio-political relationship in the society. Feminism also exposes the plight of women in conflict regardless of the conflicting party they belong. Feminism advocates for human dignity, social and political justice and fairness.[206]Feminism is relevant for this study for it advocates for the recognition of women and their political rights in society. It seeks integration of feminine approach in issues that touch them. Conflict is an issue that definitely touches them.

The question that this study poses at the hypotheses level is: How come women are down-trodden from their rights to their roles in society? This can be answered by this literature that, "People conform to traditional behaviors and expectations because they are exposed to a limited array of information and few opportunities for alternative action. Available role models consistently repeat behavior that has been defined as appropriate. Conformity is positively re-enforced, while attempts to try new roles are negatively sanctioned. When social behavior is so

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[204] UNRISD, *Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*: Issues and Sources (http://www.unrisd.org/wsp/op3/op3-12.htm accessed on 28th November, 2013.
[205] K.P. Clement, '*Peace-building and Conflict Transformation*' http://www.gmu.edu/acdemic/pcs/clements.htm accessed on 26th September, 2013.
[206] Jean B. Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism Just War and Feminism in Nuclear Age" in R. Little and M. Smith 2nd ed, *Perspectives on World Politics*, (London: Routledge 1991, pp.462-463.

rigidly defined that alternative options are rarely expressed, it becomes internalized as a non conscious ideology, an ability to imagine that life could be any other way".[207]

This study found out that during the Arta Peace Conference, Djibouti was the mind behind the success of the conference. It comes out that peace efforts in any situation must be carried out by a variety of actors and at a number of levels.

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[207] Albert Bandura, *Psychological Modeling*: Conflicting Theories, Chicago, Aldine-Atherton, 1971, pp.89-99.

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_____ Interview with Dr. Ibrahim Farah, University of Nairobi, December, 2012.

_____ Interview with Dr. John Tenamwenye, Institute of Regional Development Nairobi,

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_____ Interview with Ms Ssali Mohammed, IGAD Women Desk Nairobi, June, 2012.

_____ Interview with Leo Kamau, UNIFEM Nairobi, March, 2013.

_____ Interview with Dr. Ochieng Kamudhayi, University of Nairobi, June, 2012.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Questionnaire for Individual Participants

My name is Julius Oino an M.A in International Conflict Management student at the University of Nairobi P.O BOX 30197Nairobi –Kenya. I am carrying out a study entitled: Women`s participation in Conflict Management in IGAD sub-region: A case study of Somalia

Purpose of the study: The purpose of the study is to determine IGAD's support on women`s participation in conflict management in Somalia. Kindly fill in this questionnaire as honestly as possible. Your identity will be treated with confidentiality.

Instructions: Please tick in the bracket [ ] in front of the most appropriate response. Where explanation is required use the space provided. If you need more space to write, use a separate paper. You are free to use extra paper if you so wish.

Section A

1. Gender: Male ( ) Female [ ]   2. Marital Status: Married [ ] Divorced [ ] Single [ ] Separated [ ]

3. Religious Affiliation: _____   4. Age: Below 18 years [ ] Between 18-35 years [ ]

Between 36-60 years [ ]   Above 60 years [ ]

5. Nationality: _____

Section B

6. Do you think women should be included in decision-making pertaining security matters? Give reasons for your answer. YES [ ]   NO [ ]

7. What is your opinion about the inclusion of women in conflict management team?

8. What is the impact of women in peace processes?

_____

Section C:

9. Does your culture have a role to play in peace negotiations in relation to gender?

Specify _____

_____

10. To what extent can women be involved in regional security matters?

11. What do you understand about human security? _____

_____

12. How best can the stakeholders be involved in conflict management initiatives?

_____

Section D:

13. In peace process what do you suggest shall be female percentage in the initiating team?

14. Cite any individual or group efforts you have seen in conflict management initiative for

Somalia. _____

_____

15. Do you belong to any conflict management group for Somalia? Explain

_____

Appendix II

<u>**Oral Interview Schedules**</u>:

Section I: On Introduction

1. What is your name?

2. What is your nationality?

3. Kindly give your level of education.

4. What is your career?

Section II: On Conflict Issues

1. What do you understand by the term conflict?

2. In the context of National Politics, do women have issues to be addressed? Give reasons for your answer.

3. In your opinion are women accorded equal opportunities when it comes to mediating in peace processes? Give reasons for your answer.

4. Have you ever experienced violent conflict? What is your experience about it?

Section III: On IGAD Sub-Regional Institution

5. One of IGAD's mandates in the horn of Africa is to make peace in the region. Is it doing enough according to your view? Give reasons for your answer.

6. Is IGAD-led Women's Desk making an impact in the Somalia conflict management? Give reasons for your answer.

7. Which efforts has IGAD put in place to support local women in conflict management? List them.

8. What recommendations can you make for IGAD in its support for women who are trying to manage the Somalia conflict?

Section IV: On Somalia Conflict

9. What is your general opinion on the future of the Somalia conflict?

10. It is after the Arta Peace Conference the Somalia conflict management showed positive results. Is this true? Give reasons.

11. List the main challenges facing the local Somalia women in their conflict management initiatives.

12. Give the sources of information that you have provided.

Appendix III

List of Interviewees:

1. Dr. Ibrahim Farah: Lecturer at University of Nairobi and advisor to the current government of Somalia.

2. Dr. John Tenamwenye: Institute for Regional Development Eastern Africa Chapter.

3. Dr. Ochieng Kamudhayi: Lecturer of International Conflict Management at the University of Nairobi, and writer on Somalia Peace Processes.

4. Fr. Major Makau: Kenya Defense Force, Operation against Al-Shabaab Somalia Chapter.

5. Ms Ssali Mohammed: IGAD Women Desk.

6. Patrick Leo Kamau: Peace worker at UNIFEM.