UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 (2000) AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN KENYA

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REG: R52/ 68784/ 2013

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A RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

NOVEMBER 2015

DECLARATION

I **Millicent Achieng Omondi** hereby declare that this research proposal is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed………………………………………… Date……………………………………………

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This project proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed………………………………………… Date……………………………………………

Dr. Rosemary Anyona

DEDICATON

I dedicate this work to my loving husband and friend Alex Mwangi Muchangi. I couldn't have done this without you. Thank you for all your love and kindness.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the impacts of the implementation of UN resolution 1325 in Kenya on women and conflict management. The main focus of the study sought to find out the impacts of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 'Women, Peace, and Security' in Kenya. The objectives of the study were to determine the factors affecting the implementation of the UN resolution on the role of women in conflict management in Kenya and exploring the role played by women in conflict and conflict management in Kenya.

Women in Kenya played a significant role, and this is seen in the management of Post-Election Violence. The study also established that despite the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women Peace and Security more than a decade ago, there is still slow progress been made to increase women's participation in conflict prevention, peace processes and post conflict recovery. Among the factors that hinder the progress in the implementation and incorporation of SCR 1325 are due to a lack of resources, insufficient involvement of women in senior positions of peacekeeping operations, the tendency to focus on women as victims, neglecting their potential to act as key contributors and lack of political will.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
CSOs	Community Social Organizations
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against women
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EAC	East Africa Community
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IEBC	Independent Electoral Boundary Commission
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
KNAP	Kenya National Action Plan
KNCHR	Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission
LPC	Local Peace Committee
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
NSC	National Security Council
NSC	National Steering Committee
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGEC	National Gender Equality Commission
NPC	National Peace Council
NAP	National Action Plan
PEV	Post-Election Violence
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SADC	South African Development Community
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNFPA   United Nations Population Fund

UNDP   United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNSCR   United Nations Security Council Resolution

WPS   Women Peace and Security

1.0 Background to the Study

Conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Defined in broadest terms, conflict denotes the incompatibility of subject positions.[1] Most of today's conflicts take place within states. Their root causes often include poverty, struggle for scarce resources and violations of human rights. Conflict throughout history has had a disproportionately high toll on women and other vulnerable groups. While women endure the same trauma as the rest of the population; bombings, famine, epidemics, cleansing, threats and intimidation, they are also targets of specific forms of violence and abuse, including rape, forced pregnancies, sexual slavery, assault and exploitation.[2] Women have participated in different roles in conflict management at the household, community, national level and international level, such as being agents of destruction as well as an inspiring force that instigates transitions from violent conflict into peaceful negotiated settlements.[3]

Approximately 100 violent conflicts have occurred across the world since the end of the cold war.[4] State and non-state actors have made efforts towards addressing the issue of conflict management. Many parts of the world have moved toward greater stability but Africa remains behind in dealing with issues of instability. Africa has witnessed more conflicts than any other continent in the world, with half of all African countries, three quarters of all countries in sub-Saharan Africa and over one in three Africans affected directly or indirectly by conflicts.[5] The United Nations Security Council has spent 75% of its time and money resolving conflicts in Africa. This accounts as the most compared to any other part of the world.

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[1] Diez, Thomas, Stetter, Stephan. & Albert, Mathias, *the European Union and Border Conflicts: The Transformative Power of Integration'* International Organization 2006, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 563-593.

[2] United Nations. Women, Peace and Security: Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) (2002)

[3] Bangalie, F. *An Examination of the Role of Women in Conflict Management: Sierra Leone a Case Study*. Masters Dissertation, University of Malta (2011)

[4] Dercon, S. & Roxana, G*., Triggers and Characteristics of the 2007 Kenyan Electoral Violence*. University of Oxford: United Kingdom (2010

[5] Kimokoti, S., Matanga, F. &Odada, H.*A Review of the Integrated Post-Conflict Management Strategies in Kenya,* International Journal of Managerial Studies and Research (IJMSR) May 2014Volume 2, Issue 4, PP 68-75.

The United Nation Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was adopted on 31st October 2000 by the UN Security Council. The Security Council's primary responsibility is maintaining international peace and security. Resolution1325's main goals are to enhance women's roles and decision-making capacities with regard to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building. In addition, to significantly improve the factors that directly influences women's security.[6]For sustainable peace, United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 appreciates that men and women experience security matters differently. It reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflict and in peace building and emphasizes on the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security

Both the Government and Community Social Organizations (CSOs) are important actors in implementing Resolution 1325. However, at the end of the day it is Governments that bear the main responsibility for the security of their citizens. In Kenya, regional instruments created in Africa for promotion of gender equality and peace building bear more weight in the country context than, for example, UN Resolution such as 1325. In this case it is of utmost importance to link the Kenya National Action Plan for implementation of Resolution 1325 with already existing regional initiatives, and to incorporate regional peace building policies and practices into the Kenya National Action Plan (NAP) framework. Furthermore, because it is a UN Security Council Resolution and implementation of the Resolution is binding on the Governments of UN Member States.

Accordingly, the creation of a NAP should not be seen as an exercise separate from other government interventions, either strategic or practical. NAPs for the implementation of Resolution 1325 should be linked to the ongoing policies, programs and strategies of the Government agencies, departments and line ministries, which all should be proactively involved in the implementation of Resolution 1325. A country's NAP for implementation of Resolution 1325 should also be linked with other national policies and plans.[7]The 2007/8 post-election violence experiences in Kenya revived interest in the adoption and implementation of Security

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[6]Dr. Paula Banerjee Et al, *Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security: in the Context of Finnish Development Policy with case studies from Kenya, Nepal and North-East India. Finland*, Ministry of foreign affairs (2010)
[7]Ibid.

Council 1325. In June 2009, the process of developing the Kenya national action plan (KNAP) begun under the umbrella of the National gender and equality commission who were working closely with the government and the civil society. The Kenya national plan is built on four pillars, prevention, participation, relief and recovery. [8]This study seeks to assess the implementation of the UN resolution 1325 and its impacts on the role of women in conflict management in Kenya.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

When the Security Council adopted its landmark resolution (1325) on women, peace, and security, it provided a set of broad mandates for the United Nations system. Member States and civil society actors were called for action in areas of conflict prevention and early warning, peacemaking and peace building, peacekeeping operations, humanitarian response, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. [9]According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), more than 50 countries are undertaking programs related to Resolution 1325 even if all these countries do not have National Action Plans for implementation. Most of the interventions in developing countries are carried out by local NGOs and multilateral or bilateral donor agencies.[10]

There is little information on the role of the national, and particularly regional or local governments of developing countries in the implementation of Resolution 1325. This may reflect on the very few governmental programs focusing explicitly on Resolution1325 and the severe lack of monitoring and reporting activities regarding implementation of other government policies. Local governments (national, regional, local) and sectorial ministries are easily bypassed in discussions of international organizations and Community Social Organizations (CSOs) on partnerships for the implementation of Resolution 1325. Their exclusion from the discussions, information sharing, activities, etc. on Resolution 1325 at different levels of governance may undermine their efforts. Also, the over reliance on NGOs and CSOs as the main partners by donors does not strengthen the governments' capacities and may weaken the national

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[8]Wamai, N. *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Kenya: Dilemmas and Opportunities.* PhD, University of Cambridge (2013)

[9] United Nations, Women, Peace and Security Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) (2002)

[10] Thelma Ekiyor&L. Muthoni Wanyeki, *National Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) in Africa: Needs Assessment and Plan for Action United Nation*

ownership of projects and programs thus the potential for wider impact and sustainability of the activities.[11]

The significance of the message of UNSCR 1325 is that women's exclusion is affecting the society as a whole and that sustainable peace cannot be reached unless both women and men are heard. At the same time, it has been stressed that many women are already active in community peace building, though their skills are not formally recognized. However, despite the importance of the message of UNSCR 1325, ensuring women's participation in peace building often remains a political rhetoric with little impact on mainstream work and even though some progress is made, women, especially in conflict-affected areas, rarely see it. Adding to this dilemma there is also a reported lack of research looking at the factors contributing to women's poor participation.[12]

Women are more often than not excluded in conflict resolution exercises yet they are the ones who suffer most during conflict. Appreciating the need for women to be involved is one of the greatest steps to the women, security and peace agenda. This is because women can and usually play a big role since they are influential especially at the family level and they understand the losses since they are often the victims. There has not been a comprehensive study in Kenya that has analyzed the success levels of implementing such policies, nor the effectiveness of the government gender machinery, which should clearly indicate the activities, responsibilities, budget and the monitoring and evaluation system (qualitative and quantitative indicators) for the implementation to be a success. There is need however to access the Implementation processes in Kenya and its impacts on the role on women in conflict management.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to access the implementation of the UN resolution 1325 (2000) and determine its impacts on the role of women in Conflict management processes in Kenya.

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[11]Thelma Ekiyor&L. Muthoni Wanyeki, National Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) in Africa: Needs Assessment and Plan for Action United Nation
[12]Ida Dahlström, *Women's Recognition in Peace building: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1325in South Sudan,* Masters, University of Gothenburg November 2012

1.2.1 Specific Objectives:

1. Determine the factors affecting the implementation of the UN resolution in Kenya.

2. Explore the role played by women in conflict and conflict management in Kenya.

1.3 Literature Review

This section is a review of studies on the UN resolution (1325) of 2000 and its impacts as well as the role of women in conflict management. The goal of the review is to identify what has been done, methods used to study and identify the knowledge gaps in the subject. The review will focus on the UN resolution 1325, how it is implemented and its challenges as well as theories related to women and conflict management.

1.3.1 An Overview of the History and Types of Conflict in Kenya

Kenya has had unresolved conflicts since the colonial time. The situation has been getting worse over time following the five years electoral cycle, 1991/1992/1997/1998, all which culminated to the Post-Election Violence (PEV) in 2007-2008. These conflicts have been due to many reasons, including political repression to multiparty participation, impunity, ethnicity and polarization, the erosion of exiting mechanisms for conflict management, long standing land and identity disputes, administrative and boundary units related to resources and ineffective mechanisms for political and social dialogue.[13].

The aftermath of the clashes in Kenya is immense and cannot be easily quantified. Most of the victims of these clashes are left homeless, landless, destitute, injured, dead, abused, to mention but a few of the atrocities resulting from the menaces. One of the long term causes of the clashes in Kenya is attributed to the colonial legacy, it is a historical fact that the indirect rule administered by the British colonialists later turned out to be the `divide and rule' strategy which polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya.  It was unfortunate that the early political parties in Kenya that championed them nationalist struggle against colonial establishments were basically `distinct ethnic unions'. The Kikuyu for instance, formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), the Akamba formed the Ukambani Members Association (UMA), the Luhya formed the Luhya Union (LU), the Luo formed the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the Kalenjin formed the Kalenjin Political Alliance (KPA), the Coastal tribes formed the Mwambao Union Front (MUF), Taita formed the Taita Hills Association (THA), in that order of ethnic conglomerations

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[13]Uwiano Platform for Peace: A Conflict Prevention and response Initiative: Strategic Leadership and Peace Agenda for 2012, and Beyond: Strengthening Coordination and Leadership Towards Peaceful Elections and Successful Political Transition in Kenya, A joint Initiative of United Nations Development (2012/2013)

The Kiliku Parliamentary Select Committee of September 1992 put the death toll of victims of clashes at 778, those injured at 654 and those displaced at 62,000. These figures exclude the number of persons who were killed, injured and displaced after September 1992. The Human Rights Watch/Africa estimated that the number of those killed by November 1993 was at least 1500, while those displaced was at least 300,000. However, with continued clashes in 1994 and 1995, the total number of those who died, were injured or displaced increased drastically, following the Enosopukia, Maela, Mtondia, Nyatike and Kibera incidence.[14]

The reintroduction of pluralist democracy in the 1990s has politically instigated ethnic violence that has resulted in considerable death, injury, human displacement, and the destruction of public land private property. Immediately post-1963, Kenya's political system was pluralist, with two dominant parties, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). Multi-party democracy lasted only one year, however, as the president soon consolidated his personal authority and created a government of national unity. In December 1964, Kenya became a de facto single-party state. Ideological differences led to a rift between Vice President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and President Kenyatta. Oginga Odinga broke away to form a new political party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU) in 1966. Apart from ideological differences, Oginga Odinga was displeased with the alleged rigging of a series of KANU elections. The resulting lack of political competition, years later, caused the conflict between the government and its opposition to escalate, thereby creating fertile ground for electoral violence. Studies show that between 1991 and1997, election-related clashes displaced more than 600,000 people in Coast, Central Rift Valley, Nyanza, and Western provinces [15]

Land is yet another source of ethnic conflicts in Kenya. For a long time, land has remained a thorny economic and political issue. The land issue has its origin also in the colonial history of Kenya, where the colonialists dreamed of making this part of Africa a white man's country. The colonialists established the Kenya protectorate and later on the Kenya colony with the finance that was to be generated from the white settler plantations which covered the highly potential areas of the country. History has it that large tracts of agriculturally potential land were alienated by the British colonial administration. As a result of the massive land alienation

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[14]Mohamed Adam , RutoPkalya edited by Elizabeth Muli, *Conflict management in Kenya:,* Practical Action (2012)

[15]*Manasseh Wepundi, Political Conflict and Vulnerabilities Firearms and electoral violence in Kenya: issue brief December 12,* pg. 2-4, small arms survey, 47 avenue blanc, Geneva

activities in the early period of colonialism, many of the hitherto cultivating populations were pushed into the `infertile' native reserves that were not conducive for arable farming. The displaced populations lived as farm laborers, casual workers, tenants as well as squatters. The process of land alienation was also extended to the pastoral ethnic groups like the Maasai, Samburu, Nandi, Pokot and other Kalenjin speaking communities.[16]

The land provisions of Kenya's 2010 constitution called for the establishment of a new National Land Board answerable to Parliament, and the enactment of sweeping parliamentary legislation to enact a National Land Policy that is based on principles of justice and equity. It is encouraging to view this as a clear advance over the highly politicized and often demonstrably corrupt land regime that has prevailed since the early 1960s. It's vast national constituency with a shared interest in disciplining a self-serving elite, and a common stake in the clean, fair, and transparent implementation of a democratically sanctioned set of laws governing access to and use of land. Yet even if all or most Kenyans would benefit in the long run from clean implementation of democratically chosen land laws, there is reason to believe that in the near future, highly politicized land conflict will continue[17]

The arid/semi-arid northern districts (Turkana, Baringo, Marsabit, Samburu, and Laikipia) are part of a conflict-affected region, ravaged by internal and cross-border conflict with raiders from Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Pastoralist groups in these areas (2 million people, 70% women and children) have highest poverty levels among 10 poorest Kenya districts, lowest education levels with large numbers out-of-school, highest food insecurity (crisis status on famine-index), and experience highest levels of civil insecurity. 90% are dependent on animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. Unreliable rainfall and cyclical drought impoverishes, causes food scarcity, malnutrition, and high child mortality. Competition over scarce pasture and water is often severe and violent. Cattle rustling, traditionally practiced, has become more destructive with increasing poverty and proliferation of illicit arms and the influence of external political and economic motives. Land grabbing and political incitement is contributing to

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[16]Barasa Kundu Nyukuri, *The impact of past and potential ethnic conflict on Kenyan's stability and development: a paper prepared for the usaid conference on conflict resolution in the greater horn of Africa,* university of Nairobi June, (1997)

[17]Catherine Boone, *Land Conflict and Distributive Politics in Kenya* African Studies Review, 3 African Studies Association Volume 55, Number 1, April 2012, pp. 75-10

growing ethnocentrism and violence. Lack of clarity and breach of rights related to boundaries, inheritance and land sales, user rights, evictions as the major concerns.[18]

In the pastoral areas, Turkana, Baringo, Marsabit, Samburu, Laikipia are part of a conflict-affected region. Competition for resources is also a leading cause of conflict—both pasture and water for livestock. Livestock production is the primary livelihood strategy in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs). Increased scarcity of arable land, due to droughts and demographic pressures, has contributed to civil violence, including insurgencies and ethnic clashes. Pastoralists move from one place to another according to rain patterns in search for the scarce resources for their livestock. These movements occasionally take them and their livestock into other communities' territories and if the rules of entry and sharing among the communities are not observed, conflicts erupt. During more severe droughts, as the number of available pasture and sources of water diminishes pastoralist communities are forced to congregate in fewer and fewer places, increasing the likelihood of conflict.

During droughts, pastoralists are mainly faced with two processes that adversely affect their capacity to support themselves and effectively raise the minimum herd numbers required to maintain their households: they face losses in their livestock capital from higher mortality rates and are forced to sell off their cattle rather than face losing them to starvation. This adversely affects their terms of trade and purchasing power, leading to serious livelihood implication. Due to the reduced purchasing power, periods of "restocking" are characterized by raiding other communities for cattle, and hence can result in conflict.[19]

Ethnic and political conflicts in Kenya have become more evident during elections, as reflected during the 1992 and 1997 general elections. The intensity of these conflicts following the 2007 General Election resulted in a shattered national fabric culminating in the loss of about 1,300 lives with over 350,000 people internally displaced. The conflicts adversely affected not only Kenya's economy but also that of the neighboring countries, namely Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan. The post-election violence and the form it took revealed that when differences arise, Kenyans are more inclined to retreat into their ethnic groupings rather than forge ahead as a nation with a common destiny.

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[18] Dr.Pragya Sharma, *A Perspective on Conflict Management Strategies in Organizational settings*, Journal Research (June 2014)

[19]ibid

Clan violence continued throughout 2008, causing at least 200 deaths in the Mt. Elgon district. Additional estimates by independent media place the death toll in the Mt. Elgon district upwards of 500. Although post-election violence largely came to an end in March, it spurred on old rivalries in the Laikipia district in the Rift Valley Province and also revived the Mungiki sect, an outlawed quasi-religious militia group operating mainly in the Nairobi slums. This continued violence which stemmed from the election violence in early 2008, resulted in a combined total of approximately 100 deaths. Finally, an additional 13 deaths occurred in various regions of the country as fighting over resources such as water continued in 2008. 2005: Inter-communal violence over natural resources, mainly land and water, escalated in northeastern Kenya.

Over 180 people were killed including 76 civilians killed in a single episode in July. 2004 Inter-communal conflict continued in several parts of Kenya at a reduced level. Clashes again were economic in nature, with land at the forefront. 2003: Inter-communal violence, fueled mainly by economic interests, continued especially in the north-west as Kenyan, Ugandan and Sudanese populations clashed with each other, often in cross-border raids. 2002 Clashes along ethnic lines in several districts of the country resulted in more than 100 deaths. There also was violence around presidential elections in December.2001, Conflict between numerous tribal groups continued through 2001, with an escalation in the fighting targeting non-combatants. [20]

1.3.1.1. The Post-Election Violence (2008)

Ethnic issues are so fundamental in Kenyan society that they seem almost an integral component. This seems to have come up even more clearly in the run up to the 2007 general election.[21] Kenya gained independence from the British in 1963 under a negotiated constitution at Lancaster House in London. Jomo Kenyatta, the first Kenyan President, inherited a flawed constitution which favored the post-colonial elite and the former colonial settlers and which laid a foundation for inequality and exclusion. When Kenya became a one-party state in 1969, the Late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta ruled the country with a clique around him mainly from his ethnic Kikuyu elites and business tycoons, who eventually alienated other groups in Kenya from the political and economic order for his entire reign (1963- 1978). Although Kenyatta did not instigate ethnic clashes, he targeted eminent persons from ethnic groups that he felt were a threat

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[20] Active Citizens, Ministry Of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs Conflict Mapping: An Insider's Perspective Report on National Conflict Mapping for the Active Citizens Programmed. British Council March, 2011.
[21] ibid

to his leadership. Many people were assassinated including Pio Gama Pinto (Kenyan Indian), J.M. Kariuki (Kikuyu), Tom Mboya, D.O Makasembo, ArwgingsKodhek (all Luo from Nyanza), Ronald Ngala (Mijikenda of Coast), Seroney (Kalenjin) among others. This was a strategy that the Retired President, H. E. Daniel ToroitichArapMoi also adopted at the height of his reign when prominent persons were assassinated or died in mysterious circumstances. They include, Hon. Robert Ouko, OwitiOngili, Otieno Ambala, Hezekiah Oyugi (all Luo), Bishop KipsangMuge, (Kalenjin), Tito Adungosi and MasindeMuliro (all Luhya,).

Kenyatta died in 1978 and was succeeded by President Daniel Arap Moi (1978-2002). He institutionalized corruption and deepened competition over positions, political power, land, and opportunities, especially after the attempted 1982 coup. Public pressure on Moi's government led to an opening of political space and the first multi-party elections in 1992. Under Moi's regime a new phenomenon also emerged in the form of electoral violence in the 1992 and 1997 elections. Both elections were technically flawed and characterized by high levels of tension, violence and displacement. Furthermore the electoral system in Kenya is based on counties whose boundaries are congruent with the boundaries of tribal areas. These boundaries have been used to manipulate democratic outcomes. [22]

The 2002 presidential elections were considered a turning point in the country's democracy. President Kibaki won with an overwhelming majority against former president Moi. Moving into the 2007 elections and the political environment surrounding these, a number of reasons have been advanced for the causes of the 2007-2008 electoral violence. On governance, President Kibaki failed to address grievances over land as well as ethnic and regional exclusion during his tenure. Additionally, human rights violations and a culture of impunity within security forces, and other state institutions, may also have contributed to the 2007-2008 crises. The political system in Kenya also contributed, upping the stakes and heightening political tensions. These tensions only required a trigger; such as perceive rigging, to degenerate into a violent outburst. The experiences of men and women in the electoral process were not isolated but were rooted in unresolved grievances beyond the elections themselves, as outlined above. Unresolved ethnic and regional inequalities, or perceived inequalities, as well as the impunity of the security forces had a gendered impact on the violence meted on men and women during the elections

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[22]Chebet Getrude, *The Role of Women in Conflict Management in the Great Lakes Region: The Case Of Kenya's Post Election Violence,* Masters Thesis, University of Nairobi (2011)

crisis. Women were raped and subjected to other forms of sexual abuse, while men sodomized, forcefully circumcised to 'teach their ethnic groups a lesson'.

There were 108 parties vying for 210 seats at the parliamentary level, with three major candidates at the presidential level, Mwai Kibaki representing the PNU, Raila Odinga representing ODM, and former foreign minister Kalonzo Musyoka representing ODM-Kenya. When the presidential election results announced by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) indicated both a rapid disintegration of Odinga's large lead and a 2.5 percent margin between the two leading candidates, Odinga and Kibaki, suspicions of tampering were high, not least because the opposition had won ninety-nine seats at the parliamentary level to the PNU's forty three. While this was not the first time in Kenya's history that elections had been accompanied by violence, it was certainly the first time that the violence had been so severe, widespread, and with such devastating consequences.[23]

According to the Report by the Commission of Enquiry into the Post-Election Violence popularly known as the Waki Report, this led to the most violent conflict in Kenya's history, amounting to 1,133 deaths and the displacement of over 300,000 people.[24] This had disastrous consequences for the economy, especially the tourism industry that was then doing very well. While initially the perception was that those from Kibaki's Kikuyu ethnic group in the Rift Valley, especially in the town of Kisumu, were the main targets of the violence, victims came from at least four other ethnic groups, the Luo (in Nairobi), the Kalenjin (in Nakuru and Naivasha), and the Luhya and Kisii in less concentrated groups across the country. The violence often took on the appearance of being ethnic in nature, but much of the violence in the slums around Nairobi was also motivated by poverty and unemployment, and some may simply have been undertaken by easily manipulated young people and criminal groups that had nothing to lose from engaging in and sustaining the violence. The Nairobi Women's Hospital reported that they attended to 650 cases of gender-based violence (GBV). [25]

Thousands of people were killed and injured, and millions' worth of property was destroyed. It is necessary to scrutinize the root causes of such developments. Causal factors contributing to disruption may play out at the national and local levels and at times, both. Present

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[23]Elisabeth Linden Mayer and Josie Lianna Kaye, "*A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya,"* New York International Peace Institute (2009)

[24]Report by the Commission of Enquiry into the Post Election Violence, , Government Printers Nairobi (2008)

[25] Ibid

political dynamics remain influenced by ethnic affiliation, arousing concerns among community members regarding the impact of national politicians' statements on local, inter-ethnic relations. [26]The main effects of the conflicts in Kenya include: divided and a polarized society along ethnic and regional identities as opposed to shared national identities, common values and aspirations, Exclusion and marginalization of certain sections of the society from state governance and economic development especially ethnic minorities, women and youth and slow economic growth and opportunities for meaningful employment of large sections of the population especially the youth.[27]

Despite tough responses from state security agencies and the criminalization of such groups by the 2010 Prevention of Organized Crime Act, these groups, which accounted for an estimated 333 reported deaths per year between 2000 and 2014, include the Mungiki, SunguSungu, Shinkololo, Bagdad Boys, 42 Brothers, the Sabaot Land Defense Forces (SLDF) and 27 others operating. Between 2011 and 2014, 686 reported activities of these groups cumulatively resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1 262 people. This is an average of two deaths per reported incident and 27 deaths per month. There was a drop in reported incidents from about 237 in 2008 to 64 in 2009, but the numbers have since risen. In 2010, 60 reported cases resulted in 114 deaths, in 2013 there were 273 incidents in which 470 people were killed. In 2014 154 incidents accounted for 262 deaths.

The groups operate throughout Kenya with the Rift Valley Province having experienced the highest percentage of incidents (34%) since 1997, leading to about 2 428 deaths. Inter and intra-communal violence, low-intensity conflicts and cattle rustling incidents, the gangs and armed groups make their presence felt largely during times of intense political competition. (Armed groups, as used here, refer to various forms of militias and community-based vigilante groups.) Since 2007 about 56 lives have been lost in 50 reported MRC incidents. The activities of the group and the security forces' response to its activities remain a key cause of insecurity in the coastal strip of Kenya, with enormous potential for widespread destabilization. Insecurity

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[26]Yieke, Felicia, *Ethnicity and Development in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007 General Elections*. Kenya Studies Review: 3, 3, 5- Copyright © Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA)(2010)

[27]Edited by Johannes Michael NebeTrier, *Civil Conflict Management of the Post-Election Violence 2007/2008 in Kenya: Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward*, Carried out by students from the Kenyatta University Nairobi/Kenya and the University of Trier/Germany, University of Trier Faculty of Political Science Campus I54286 Trier/Germany October (2012)

resulting from the cross-border activities of armed groups and ethnic militias based in Kenya's neighbors are also important source of insecurity. Since 1997 an average of 14 such incidents has been reported each year. An estimated 1 438 people have been killed in 255 incidents in that period. Many of the clashes have centered on cross-border cattle rustling by groups based in South Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, who are particularly active in the Rift Valley and the North Eastern and Eastern provinces, where about 99.5% of all cases have occurred.

1.3.2 Role of women in Conflict and Conflict Management

Gender is a social construct associated with being male or female, defining the roles of males and females in society and how the two interact. Mediation as a form of peacemaking has largely been informed by the stronger position that men have in society, especially where peace and security matters are concerned. Since the shaping of values and norms in society is normally influenced by the male bias, peace processes have often diminished the agency of women. This is done by ignoring their views in the substance of the peace process and by inadequate representation of women in the peacemaking process. Justice calls for inclusion of gender issues such as affirmative action for women and gender mainstreaming in decision-making within conflict situations.[28]

Women's roles vary in every conflict, women as agents of change, active participants (combatants), supporting participants or shields (forced or voluntary camp followers, cooks, wives, slaves,), victims and spoils of war and newly responsible care providers. Women must be involved in conflict prevention, resolution and management efforts at all levels. When they are not active participants, the views, needs and interests of half of the population are not represented, and therefore interventions will not be as appropriate or enduring. Women often play decisive roles in negotiating the peace process. To do so effectively, they must be empowered politically and economically, and must be adequately represented at all levels of decision-making. Despite the difficulties conflict-affected women face, their role in peacemaking has steadily grown over the past several years. In Liberia, the Women's Peace Initiative made major strides towards a peaceful resolution of the 14-year conflict by pushing for disarmament of the fighting factions before the signing of a peace accord. In some war-torn countries -

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[28] Meredith Preston McGhie& E. NjokiWamai, *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation In the Kenya* National Dialogue and Reconciliation Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2011)

Guatemala, Burundi, Cyprus, Bosnia, and South Africa, among others - women's peace organizations and coalitions have played a crucial role in helping to bring about peace. [29]

International commitments provide the normative basis for women's level of participation in peace and security. Women have a right to participate on equal terms in political, civic and family life, including in conflict-affected countries. However women can only exercise this right in practice if they can alter the gender hierarchies that deny them power and choice. Women's participation in the economic development of families and communities should be the cornerstone of their participation in development and peace initiatives. Women have the right to take part in designing and managing local development projects, formal peace and reconciliation initiatives and local governance structures.[30]

The concept of protection includes three important dimensions: legal protection, social security and economic security. These dimensions are interdependent because in principle, the recognition of women's rights (legal protection) should act as a safeguard for the social and economic security of women. Legal protection should also guarantee the socio-political rights of women, including the right to participation and representation. Prevention is the inclusion of women and women's interests in decision-making processes related to the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The preventive pillar measures progress towards the prevention of conflict and of violations of women and girls' human rights, including sexual and gender-based violence. Indicators under this pillar respond to call in resolution 1325 (2000) for the regular monitoring of the situation of women and girls, the development of specific guidelines and protocols for justice and security actors, as well as the development of systems for reporting abuses and ensuring accountability of both international peacekeepers and national security actors.[31]

1.3.2.1 Structures of Conflict Management in Kenya

Conflict management refers to actions taken to contain, or at the very least mitigate, ongoing violent conflict by limiting the scale of destruction and suffering, or any potential spillover effects into other geographic areas.[32]Violent conflict remains one of Africa's dominant

[29]USAID, Women & Conflict (2007)

[30]Njambi, E. Women *Level of Participation in Peace and Security in Northern Kenya.* International Peace Support Training Centre Nairobi, Kenya. Occasional Paper Series 5, No. 4. (2014)

[31]UN Women. *Women Participation in Peace Negotiations*: Connections between presence and influence,28-28 (2010) http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/03AWomenPeaceNegtiations

[32] Feinstein International Center Conflict Management and Disaster Risk Reduction: A Case Study of Kenya, Tufts University Kenya Red Cross Society Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa July, 2013

challenges to sustainable peace, security and development. Due to the threats that conflicts pose, The UN and African Union (AU) have continued to prioritize conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building on the continent by establishing peace and security institutions and frameworks that attempt to address conflict in the region. These frameworks guide debate regarding conflict in Africa and are critical in charting the course and furthering the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Regional mechanisms have also been instrumental in driving the agenda of UNSCR 1325 and influencing member states to implement the resolution, at national level, government departments, community-based groups and civil society.[33]

Although Kenya is considered to be a peaceful country, a closer scrutiny reveals an unprecedented wave of internal and cross-border conflicts. These conflicts, mainly manifesting themselves as political, economic, environmental conflicts, conflicts over natural resources, land and tribal clashes and lately terrorism have joined in the list. [34] Kenya is a country that faces multiple hazards. Drought has been the dominant hazard, affecting large parts of the country in 2000, 2005-6, 2009 and 2011. Floods and other natural disasters have been a frequent occurrence in some parts of the country. Conflict and human-made crises are also present, both pastoral and election-related violence are common forms of conflict in Kenya. In the aftermath of very closely contested elections in 2007 (the results of which, many observers and citizens thought, were not adequately verified) there was widespread violence, killing and displacement and the destruction of livelihoods that accompanied these. There had been election-related violence in Kenya before, but the extent of the violence in early 2008 was unprecedented. Over 1,000 people were killed, with estimates of the number of people displaced running as high as 300,000-400,000.[35]

In 2001, Kenya established the National Steering Committee (NSC) on peace building and conflict management. The NSC's vision is a peaceful, secure and prosperous Kenya, with the objective to formulate a national policy on conflict management and to provide coordination to various peace building initiatives, including the local peace committees.[36]

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[33] Civil Society Advisory Group to the UN on Women, Peace, and Security , Working Paper on Advancing National Action Plans, Regional Action Plans, and Twinning on Women, Peace, and Security. (2010). New York.7

[34]Mohamud Adan &RutoPkyala, *Conflict management in Kenya: towards policy and strategy formulation* Practical Action 2006

[35]Feinstein International Center Conflict Management and Disaster Risk Reduction: A Case Study of Kenya, Tufts University Kenya Red Cross Society Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa July, 2013

[36]GOK. Final Draft of the National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management, December, 2011 Government Printers

The peace infrastructure and institutional framework in Kenya is a top to bottom approach comprising the National Peace Council (NPC), County Peace Secretariat and Local Peace Committees (LPCs). The NSC recognizes the UNSCR 1325 and seeks to increase representation of women at all levels in national, regional, international, and institutional mechanisms for prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts and reaffirms the important role that women play in these realms including peace-building processes. NSC policy states that it will ensure the implementation of SCR 1325 in all matters of peace and security in partnership with other national policies and strategies that address human security issues in the nation. This includes national policies on Vision 2030, youth land, gender and development, education, food security and nutrition, drought management, HIV/AIDS and climate change. NSC is based on six pillars namely: institutional framework, capacity building, conflict prevention, mediation and preventive diplomacy, traditional conflict prevention and mitigation, post conflict recovery and stabilization. [37]

However, the process of developing the Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP) for Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security started in 2009 through a consultative process between an inter-ministerial secretariat and civil society groups. The Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP) is premised on four pillars: prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. KNAP is unique compared to other NAPs because it is premised on a human security framework in an attempt to address the root causes of the economic and social-political issues around peace and security facing Kenyan women. KNAP also promises to deepen understanding of the multiple roles and concerns that women have in peace processes while mainstreaming them by creating accountability from different actors responsible for its implementation through resource allocation and policy development.[38]

1.3.3 UN Resolution 1325: Impacts and Challenges

The conceptual roots of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 1325) lie in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action signed by 189 countries and specifically its chapter on women and armed conflict. Conflicts during the 1990s prompted further global policy developments including the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of

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[37]Njambi, E., *Women Level of Participation in Peace and Security in Northern Kenya*. International Peace Support Training Centre Nairobi, Kenya. (2014) Occasional Paper Series 5, No. 4.
[38]Wamai, N. *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Kenya: Dilemmas and Opportunities*. PhD, University of Cambridge (2013)

Action. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, then Minister of Women's Affairs in Namibia, initiated the Resolution when the country took its turn chairing the UN Security Council.[39] With the passage of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 1325) in 2000, for the first time in its history, the Security Council appreciated that threats to individuals, specifically women and girls constitute a threat to international peace and security. Since then, non-traditional security threats such as sexual violence in armed conflict, human trafficking, and the disproportionate vulnerability of women and children to humanitarian crisis are increasingly recognized as highly relevant to international security and rule of law.[40]

The resolution is an extremely useful policy and practice tool that seeks to address the diverse challenges confronting women in different contexts, particularly in conflict-affected situations. The UNSCR 1325 has made the involvement of women in peace processes possible, thereby strengthening efforts towards the achievement of durable and sustainable peace; it has also transformed the international law arena by facilitating the prosecution of perpetrators of acts of rape and sexual violence against women. [41]

UNSCR 1325 has 18 paragraphs that can be grouped as follows, Paragraphs 1-4 focus on women's participation and representation in decision-making and all aspects of conflict resolution and peace processes, paragraphs 5-7, 8, 15 deals with the inclusion of a gender perspective, gender sensitivity training, and support for these initiatives, paragraphs 8-11, 15 aim at the protection of women's rights, paragraphs 8a, 12-14 highlight the special needs of women that need to be considered during planning and design of refugee camps and settlements, resettlement and rehabilitation and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, paragraphs 8b and 15 encourage consultation and involvement of women's groups (local, regional and international) in peace processes and Security Council missions, paragraphs 3-4, 16-17 promote gender mainstreaming in UN implementation mechanisms and reporting systems and paragraph

[39]Barbara Miller, Milad Pournik, and Aisling Swaine, *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation*. Institute for Global and International Studies, May 2014

[40]Sahana Dharmapuri , *Global Responsibility to Protect: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution1325*4 241–271.2mattinusnijhoff publishers (2012)

[41] Dr. Grace Maina*, Resolution 1325 in 2020 looking forward looking back*. A report based on a High-level Seminar organized by ACCORD, together with the African Union Peace and Security Council, at the International Conference Centre, Durban, South Africa on 8 and 9 October 2010 Fishwicks, South Africa   www.operaionspaix.net/.../5159~v~Mediating_Peace_in_Africa-security

18 is a standard ending of Security Council resolutions whereby the Security Council is officially informing the UN General Assembly that it is engaged with the issue at hand.[42]

There are other resolutions that were made after the UNSCR 2000 whose intention was to fill the gaps in the main one (UNSCR 1325) as well as to propel the Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda forward. UNSCR 1820 (2008) focuses on the need for protection of women from gender-based violence, UNSCR 1888 (2009) promotes accountability mechanisms complements Resolution 1820 on gender-based violence in conflict, UNSCR 1889 (2009) builds on the theme of increased implementation measures, complementing Resolutio1325, UNSCR 1960 (2010) emphasizes on need to address sexual violence during conflict , UNSCR 2106 (2013) addresses impunity and operationalizes guidance on sexual violence in conflict and UNSCR 2122 (2013) builds on the participation elements of the women, peace and security agenda and furthers implementation of UNSCR 1325.[43]

These resolutions are based on four pillars which are women's participation in all peace, security and conflict-related matters, inclusion of women and a gender perspective in the prevention of conflict and of gender based or sexual violence, protection of women and girls and their rights in peacetime and during conflict and inclusion of women and a gender perspective in relief and recovery activities.[44]Member states were called upon to develop National Action Plans to that suit their country's needs for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. A National Action Plan (NAP) is a specific plan developed by a UN member state to nationally implement UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions that promote women's protection, participation, and leadership in the full spectrum of peace building processes. It is an official government document that includes plans to mainstream gender into peace and security operations within a country. It provides the opportunity for governments to initiate strategic actions, identify priorities and resources. It includes time frames for implementation and, ideally, benchmarks and accountability mechanisms.[45]

There are several challenges in implementing the UN Resolution 1325, arguments of how best to integrate SCR 1325 national action plans, to either mainstream the SCR within other

[42]Jasmine Nordien. *Resolution 1325: A Resolution for Peace* Operation 1325 Swepografiska Sweden (2008).
[43] Swaine Aisling, *Assessing the Potential of National Actions Plans to Advance the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*in the Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law Vol. 12, pp.403-433 (2009)
[44]Prof. Dr. Melanie Sully et al**,** *OSCE Study on National Action Plans on the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* OSCE Secretariat, Ferdinand Berger & Soehne © OSCE 2014
[45] Civil Society Advisory Group to the UN on Women, Peace, and Security Working Paper on Advancing National Action Plans, Regional Action Plans, and Twinning on Women, Peace, and Security. (2010). New York.7

government or development policies or to treat it as separate and distinct national action plan that is well resourced. Another challenge is the question of which ministry or which government institution should host the NAP is critical to effective implementation. In Europe most ministries of foreign affairs have taken the lead while in most African countries with NAPs gender ministries seem a popular place to house the SCR such in Liberia and Uganda as observed by various scholars.[46]

This positioning dilemma is a challenge in the Kenya as well. Initially the Kenyan National Action Plan development process was hosted by the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development. After further consultation with the stakeholders the KNAP leadership was considering it to be hosted by any of the two ministries of defense and foreign affairs which are better re-sourced. It is has been observed that the action plan implementation has been most successful when hosted by either of the two ministries in western countries such as in Finland. Nonetheless, each country is unique and there is need for careful scrutiny to who hosts the CSR depending with the country's unique context.[47]

As of September 2013, the Kenyan NAP process was still shopping for an appropriate ministry to house it while facing the dilemmas mentioned.[48]Other challenges include, lack of consistent funding for gender units to fulfill their mandates, the challenge to sustain the momentum in favor of democracy. This cannot be achieved if civil society in general and community organizations and women's groups in particular, are not empowered to act as social transformation agents. [49] Lack of an effective accountability mechanism at the international and national level is also another big challenge facing the implementation of the resolution 1325 as well as the lack of coordination and cooperation

The 2007/8 post-election violence (PEV) experience in Kenya renewed interest in the adoption and implementation of Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820. Before the 2007/8 post-election violence the process of adoption was slow. In June 2009, the process of developing the Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP) started under the leadership of the National Gender and Equality Commission under an inclusive and participatory process between the government and

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[46] Swaine Aisling, *Assessing the Potential of National Actions Plans to Advance the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution* 1325in the Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law Vol. 12, pp.403-433 (2009)

[47] Wamai, Njoki (2011), '*UNSCR 1325 in Liberia, Dilemmas and Challenges* in Barnes teal. eds. in UNSCR 1325 Translating Policy into Practice (London: Rutledge

[48]Ibid

[49]Françoise Nduwimana, *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security : Understanding the Implications, Fulfilling the Obligations* , United Nations (2014)

civil society. The Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP) is premised on four pillars: prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery. The KNAP is unique compared to other NAPs because it is based on a human security framework in an attempt to address the root causes of the economic and social-political issues around peace and security facing Kenyan women. Additionally, the proposed KNAP promises to deepen understanding of the multiple roles and concerns that women have in peace processes while mainstreaming them by creating accountability from different actors responsible for its implementation through resource allocation and policy development. KNAP appreciates the multiple roles women in Kenya played during the Kenyan peace process known as the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Process and it seeks to coordinate different actors responsible for its implementation.[50]

There is a need to ensure that UNSCR 1325 is given the political and financial support needed for it to become a truly transformative action plan despite the current political situation with the country's leadership. The KNAP is premised on the human security concept which promises to be transformative for women, peace and security concerns coupled with the female employees in leadership in the Defense and Foreign Affairs ministries. Review of the state of these developments after some time might provide answers to the extent these opportunities will transform the state of women, peace and security in Kenya.[51]

1.4 Justification of the study

Not enough progress has been made since 2000 in regards to the country adoption of a 1325 NAP and implementation of its principles worldwide.[52] As of 2013, 13 years since UNSCR 1325 was passed, less than one-fourth of UN member states have adopted a 1325 NAP. As the years go by, in the absence of local studies, we are losing valuable information that could show patterns and lessons to guide future adoption and enhanced implementation. Western Europe is the region with the largest number of countries with NAPs. It is home to 22 of the 42 countries with NAPs, half of the total. Fifteen of the countries in Western Europe with 1325 NAPs are members of the European Union (EU). Developed country NAPs are mainly outward looking,

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[50]Wamai, N. *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Kenya: Dilemmas and Opportunities*. PhD, University of Cambridge (2013)
[51]Ibid.
[52]Swaine Aisling, *Assessing the Potential of National Actions Plans to Advance the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* in the Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law Vol. 12, pp.403-433 (2009)

focusing on how foreign aid should support the four pillars of UNSCR 1325 in developing and conflict-torn countries. In 2007, Cote D'Ivoire was the first developing country to adopt a 1325 NAP. A conflict-affected country, Cote D'Ivoire focuses in its 1325 NAP on support of peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction efforts within the country. Following Cote D'Ivoire many other post-conflict countries in sub-Saharan Africa have adopted a 1325 NAP. In 2010, the first non-African developing country with a NAP was the Philippines. [53]

According to Winnie Lichuma chair The National Gender and Equality Commission, "country specific context must be taken into consideration while developing a National Action Plan because even though policies and legislations exist, they are fragmented. In the Kenyan National action Plan, though in it a development stage, attention has been paid to rural women because they are at high risk of being violated. Those to be taken into consideration include the elderly, disabled and youth. Kenya's framework will check government commitment to gender equality," Lichuma told a Practitioners Conference dubbed Best Practices Women, Peace and Security Interventions that was held in Nairobi recently.[54]

Since the adoption of Resolution 1325 by the UN Security Council in 2000, international, regional, national and civil society players have endeavored to implement it. Commitments were made on a formal level and corresponding declarations of intent given, however the practical implementation of the Resolution still represents a challenge for all the players involved. In terms of sustainability, the implementation of Resolution 1325 is a joint, long-term task for the players operating in conflict countries. Further studies are needed regarding successful strategies for the coherent and sustainable implementation of Resolution 1325. Such analyses should not just be restricted to the measures and programs implemented by a specific player, but should also examine themes that are relevant to the implementation of Resolution 1325 (for example, the planning, design, mandating, implementation and evaluation of disarmament, demobilization and combatant reintegration programs.[55]

There is still very slow progress on the implementation of the UN resolution 1325 in Kenya. The study's objectives are to find out the specific actions taken in the country regarding

[53] Barbara Miller, Milad Pournik, and Aisling Swaine, *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review*, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation. Institute for Global and International Studies, May 2014

[54] Jane Godia. *Where are the women? Kenyan Woman*, (Nairobi) October 2012 pg1.

[55] Jeannette Boehme. Literature research on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 'Women, Peace, and Security. Heinrich BöllStiftungwww.gwi-boell.de/sites/default/files/.../291009_synopse_eng_final_kl.pd

the implementation of the Kenya national action plan, the challenges and the opportunities that the process is presenting. This study endeavors to provide information on the state of affairs related to the UN resolution in Kenya, the challenges faced and ways to overcome them, the developments achieved since the country started the process of adopting the KNAP as well as the specific ways on how this tool (UNSCR 1325) has been used in conflict situations as well as giving recommendation on the weaknesses found after the research.

1.5 Theoretical framework

This study will base its arguments on the feminist's theory. Gender is a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with masculine and feminine characteristics. Feminists can approach global politics and international relations from a number of different perspectives, including realist, liberal, and constructivist, critical, post structural, postcolonial, and ecological. These perspectives yield different, and sometimes contradictory, insights about and predictions.[56] Feminist theories are common in that they seek to understand power relations between men and women and how masculine and feminine identities are constructed This study will especially emphasize the concept of feminism in terms of liberal feminism. Liberal feminism point to the similarities between men and women and find explanations to gender inequalities in discriminating legislation and institutions that hinder women's entrance into the public sphere changing these laws would thereby give women more influence in the conflict arena.[57]

Liberal feminists argue that women have been excluded from many of the most important public spheres of modern social, political and economic life. Liberal feminists have sought to draw attention to the legal barriers to women's participation in the public world, and overcome these barriers. Regarding the studies of peace and conflict, the activities of women in war has been the object of research. Important tools for the operationalization of women's rights have been in the United Nations for human rights. Women continuously suffer from economic, social and political discrimination. An important aspect in most feminist approaches to International Relations (IR) is the demand for a broader definition of security, which incorporates the aspects, which currently leaves women insecure.

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[56] Laura Sjoberg, Rourlege Taylor & Francis, *Gender and International Security: Feminist perspectives*, Kronsell, (2009)

When discussing women's security, the UN discourse on women and security is of interest. However, SCR 1325 is an example of a new approach that suggests an enlargement of the concept of security. The resolution, includes gender aspects in deliberations on peace and security, and thus matches feminist demands for a broader definition of security. [58]Women are often viewed as victims of conflict, but this view masks the important roles women play as leaders, especially in helping end conflict, developing post conflict reintegration efforts and economic life, and even in leading the organization of camps for internally displaced persons. In conflict zones, women are active participants in the conflicts that affect their countries. They may become combatants. They may become the sole providers for their families, more active in the informal or formal sectors of the economy, or more active in peacemaking groups as a result of conflict. They also suffer disproportionately from sexual violence and displacement, yet during war and in its aftermath, women too often are excluded from activities aimed at resolving the violent conflicts that so deeply affect them.

Those conflicts cannot be brought an end without making women's lives more secure, and it is women who are best positioned to determine how that security is achieved. The resolution calls for increased representation of women at peace negotiations and at all levels of decision making regarding security; inclusion of women in post conflict reconstruction efforts and in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration efforts; increased protection from sexual violence; and an end to impunity for crimes affecting women. This study uses the liberal feminist approach since it advocates for freedom, which is an essential aspect in conflict resolution as well as in the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. Liberal feminism insists on freedom for women in the areas where for a long time they have been shut out, such areas such as in conflict resolution, representation in critical area such as in politics, employment as leaders among others. Liberal feminism is however important in this study since its argument and rationale resemble those outlined in the UNSCR 1325, which is the very thing, the study is accessing.[59]

1.6 Hypothesis

The following are this study's hypothesis:

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[58]Spring, *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: How does Women's groups and activist in Uganda engage in the implementation of UN SCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security*? Thesis university of Oslo (2006)

[59]Valerie Norville ,*The Role of Women in Global Security* United States Institute of Peace Washington, DC (2011)

1. Proper implementation of the UN resolution would greatly improve conflict management in Kenya

2. The slow adoption and implementation of the UN resolution may affect the role of women in conflict management in Kenya

3. Under representation of women in decision making processes may stagnate the state of conflict management in Kenya

1.7 Methodology

This section describes the research study design, the study population, sampling method, sample size, and criteria for inclusion in the study. It further, describes the process of data collection, instruments used, enumerator's selection and training, pre-testing of the instruments, data quality control methods, processing, entry and data analysis and ethical considerations.

1.7.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in Nairobi County, this is because it is the country's capital city and it harbors most women organizations, both governmental and non-governmental that is our main source of information. Furthermore, the Ministry of Devolution also controls devolution in the Nairobi.

1.7.2 Study Population

This study population was comprised of key informants from women's group and non-governmental organizations and the main ministries. These organizations are the UN (UNIFEM), Kenya Women Parliamentary Association **(KEWOPA),** Ministry of Labor, Social Security and Services.

1.7.3 Data Collection

This study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data will be done through administration of questionnaires to women at UNIFEM, KEWOPA and the Ministry of labor and social services. Secondary data will be retrieved from published books, papers, journals, Internet and unpublished works, government reports and websites, previous research done by civil society organizations among other sources.

1.7.4 Sampling Procedure

Since my population comes from different viewpoints, Stratified sampling method will be adopted to determine the sample size; the population will be divided into three groups, namely key informants, women leaders and members of women groups. 20 key informants will be

chosen from the host ministry (Ministry of Labor, Social Security and Services) 5 women leaders within women organization (KEWOPA) and 5 members of women organization, a total number of 30 people will be interviewed. Simple random sampling technique will be used to select the number specific people out of a certain number acquired.

1.7.5 Data Collection Tools

Quantitative data will be collected using a semi-structured questionnaire. Qualitative data will be collected through key informant interviews (KII) using an interview guide. Respondents to the KII tool will include community women group leaders.

1.7.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative data will be obtained from the key informants while quantitative data obtained from the structured questionnaires. A three-step data analysis will be used in the analysis of focus group discussion themes. Step one will involve documentation of all the issues as will be recorded during the various key informants interview sessions. Step two will involve clustering of all the issues under specific thematic areas. Step three will involve development of meanings and conclusions from the thematic areas in relation to the key study objectives. Issues emerging from the key informant interviews will be clustered into thematic areas upon which interpretation and conclusions will be drawn. The interpretation will use the qualitative data to support the quantitative findings.

1.8 Chapter Outline

The study will constitute five chapters;

Chapter one will look at the introduction of the research topic, statement of the problem, objectives, hypotheses, justification, literature review, theoretical framework, and research methodology.

Chapter two provides the history of the UN and how the UN resolution 1325 came about, other treaties and resolutions that have played a role in fighting for the rights of women and thus UN resolution 1325, the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in other African countries namely Uganda, South Sudan and Rwanda and the challenges facing the implementation.

Chapter three discusses the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and its impacts on the role of women in conflict resolution in Kenya, its critiques and challenges. It gives an

understanding of the nature and context within which the UNSCR 1325 can have a greater impact in Kenya and Africa as a whole.

Chapter four is a critical analysis of the impacts of the UNSCR 1325 on women and conflict management in Kenya

Chapter five presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION (1325)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the history of the UN and how the UN resolution 1325 came about, it also discusses other treaties and resolutions that have played a role in fighting for the rights of women and thus UN resolution 1325, the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in other African countries namely Uganda, South Sudan and Rwanda, this helps in comparing the experiences in terms of their impacts which will further inform the study and the challenges facing the implementation.

2.1 The Road to the UN Resolution 1325

The consequences of conflict vary in scope, intensity and nature. Conflict has taken an immeasurable toll on human lives, leaving people dead, maimed, and displaced. In such calamities, women and girls are often exposed to acts of violence, which seriously undermine their human rights and deny them opportunities arising from gender inequality.[60] There is also a growing recognition of women as agents of change skillfully reshaping and rebuilding communities affected by conflict. Women worldwide act as government representatives, activists, leaders of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and women's networks, and other concerned citizens have persevered through threats and conditions of violence to initiate transformative processes within conflict and post-conflict societies. Over the past decade, the importance of women's engagement in peace processes has been recognized through numerous international institutions, resolutions and state commitments.

In October 2000, the UN Security Council through its resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) formally recognized the relationship between women, peace and security, and the critical importance of women's participation as reflected in leadership, empowerment and decision-making. SCR 1325 provided the first international legal and political framework recognizing the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women as well as the pivotal role of women in peace building. The resolution provides both a broad "blueprint" and concrete suggestions to

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[60]El-Bushra J "*Transformation conflict: Some thoughts on a gendered understanding of conflict processes.*" (pp. 66-83). London: Zed. (2000).

help the international community incorporate gender perspectives into the women, peace and security agenda.

The years 1900 – 1945 were decades of articulation of the problematic women's subordinate social and political status, and in the years preceding both world wars, women's lack of political power was an obstacle to regional peace initiatives. From 1945 – 1970, attention was then focused on the ongoing subordination of women and the limitations on their legal rights that existed, in some cases, even where women had the vote. The United Nations then established a Commission on the Status of Women and later a more proactive agency, the Division for the Advancement of Women. From 1970 – 1985, the activism of women directed toward the realization of equality in all spheres, both public and private, energized the United Nations to launch efforts to set standards and goals for women equality. These efforts were significantly advanced by the International Decade for Women (1975 – 1985) and the three international conferences held in 1975, 1980 and 1985, organized around the themes of 'Equality, Development and Peace'. A major landmark of the period was the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000), addressing the protection of civilians in armed conflict, were also central to the foundations of UNSCR 1325, and, crucially, functioned to suggest that the UN Security Council recognizes the protection of civilians as an issue that falls under its remit. The UN Secretary-General produced Reports in 2000 addressing not only the issue of children and armed conflict, but also the role of the UN during periods of disarmament and reintegration. Both of these Reports focus in part on the importance of displaying a gendered sensitivity to the issues of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. The Presidential statement of 13 March 2000 states that: the Council stresses the importance of providing attention to all those in need, with particular emphasis on women and children and other vulnerable groups. The UN Security Council enjoys considerable institutional privilege within the United Nations system. In part due to the historic foundations of the United Nations, ''[t]he Security Council has primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is so organized as to be able to function continuously, and a

representative of each of its members must be present at all times at United Nations headquarters''.[61]

As mentioned above, one of the earliest efforts to address women in conflict is the 1974 Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict. Building from this starting point, the UN held four world conferences on women: Mexico in 1975; Copenhagen in 1980; Nairobi in 1985; and Beijing in 1995. The 1985 Nairobi World Conference addressed women's contributions to peace building and the need for greater gender equity. It was not, however, until 1995 that the focus of the discussions on women and peace shifted from overall political considerations to the specific impact of war on women and girls and their direct roles in conflict with the aid of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The principles in the outcome documents marked a significant departure from traditional understandings of women's experiences. In May of 2000, norm and policy developments on women and conflict reached critical momentum.

In Windhoek, Namibia, participants of a review panel on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations', organized by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, completed a review of gender issues in peacekeeping and established concrete recommendations. The resulting Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action mapped out the issues to be addressed in multidimensional peace operations. The twenty-third special session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century" reaffirmed the commitments made in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Following a thorough review of all UN peace and security activities, the momentum culminated in the landmark unanimous approval of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, Women, Peace and Security (2000). [62]

Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, then Minister of Women's Affairs in Namibia, initiated the Resolution when the country took its turn chairing the UN Security Council. Three other Security Council member countries at the time, specifically Namibia, Jamaica, and Canada, played supportive roles as did the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Various NGOs followed what Cohn calls "an extremely sophisticated strategy" to educate members of the Security Council. She emphasizes the key role of the Non-governmental

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[61]Laura J. Shepherd, *Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, University Of Birmingham, International Studies Association. Blackwell Publishing (2008)
[62]Ibid

Organization Working Group on Women Peace and Security (NGO WG).[63] Peace building is a pivotal period in the peace process. It offers a unified and coherent framework in which peace promotion, the sustainability of measures taken to end the crisis, and the preservation of positive outcomes from political negotiation constitute a set of interdependent goals. From this point of view, peace building is both about resolving and preventing conflict.[64] United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is a landmark international legal framework that addresses not only the inordinate impact of war on women, but also acknowledges the pivotal role of women in conflict management, conflict resolution and sustainable peace. It is an internationally recognized legal framework for promoting gender equality. Resolution 1325 is an eighteen-point resolution with an agenda for women, peace and security. It was passed unanimously under Article 25 of the UN Charter which states: "Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with its present Charter."[65]

The Resolution 1325 contains stipulations by the Security Council on the following key points: Involvement of women in peace and security decision-making processes (Articles 1-4 S/RES/1325), Incorporation of a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and field missions together with gender-sensitive training for mission personnel (Articles 5-7 S/RES/1325) Incorporation of a gender perspective when negotiating and implementing peace agreements (Article 8 S/RES/1325) Protection of women and their rights during and after armed conflicts (Articles 9-15 S/RES/1325) Incorporation of a gender perspective in United Nations measures, reports and processes (Articles 16-17 S/RES/1325). Without doubt this represents a milestone in the fight for women's human rights and is an important instrument for advocating and protecting women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations. However, although solution 1325 is international law, Chapter VII of the UN Charter does not cover it; consequently, its implementation cannot be enforced or non-compliance penalized [66]

The member states of the United Nations are urged in Resolution 1325 to: Ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of

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[63]Jeannette Boehme. *Literature research on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 'Women, Peace, and Security.* Heinrich Böll Foundation (2010) www.gwi-boell.de/sites/default/files/.../291009_synopse_eng_final_kl.pd

[64]SARSWP (South Asia Regional Network of Women Parliamentarians), *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Its Implementation:* Technical Paper 4. Center for Gender and Social Transformation February (2013)
[65]Ibid
[66]Ibid

conflict; Increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programs (e.g. UNIFEM; UNICEF; UNHCR). Resolution 1325 also: Calls upon all parties of armed conflict to fully respect international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls1, especially as civilians. It Calls all parties to take measures to protect women and girls from gender based violence, particularly rape and other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict. It emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls and even stresses the need to exclude these crimes from amnesty provisions.[67]

In recent years, the UN Security Council has adopted other Resolutions related to women, peace and security, they include UNSCR 1820: Passed on 2008 to address the gaps not identified in UNSCR 1325 which included protecting women against sexual violence during conflicts, despite repeated condemnation, violence and sexual abuse of women and children trapped in armed conflict situations were not only continuing but in some cases had become widespread and systematic as to reach appalling levels of brutality. This resolution demands all parties to armed conflicts to immediately cease acts of sexual violence against civilians and take appropriate measures to protect women and girls from such violence in the context of armed conflicts.

UNSCR 1888: Passed in September 2009 calls for a special representative to the Secretary General on ending sexual violence in conflicts. This was to further strengthen the ability of the UN to address the problem of sexual violence particularly its use as a weapon of war. UNSCR 1888 builds on 1820 and calls for the appointment of the Special Representative on sexual violence in conflict; Establishment of Women Protection Advisers within peacekeeping missions; A Team of Experts meant to rapidly deploy to situations of sexual violence. UNSCR 1889 Passed in October 2009 calls for immediate measures to ensure the physical safety and security of women in order to enable women to meaningfully participate in all phases of the peace process. It is focused on post-conflict peace building and in particular calls for, the development of indicators to measure the implementation of UNSCR 1325 within the UN system

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[67]Dr. Paula Banerjee Et al, *Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security: in the Context of Finnish Development Policy with case studies from Kenya, Nepal and North-East India. Finland*, Ministry of foreign affairs (2010) www.peacewomen.org/.../1325_implementation1325finnishdevelopment

and by member states. UNSCR 1960 Passed in 2010 in recognition that sexual violence during armed conflict remains systematic, rampant and widespread. This resolution creates institutional tools and teeth to combat impunity and outlines specific steps needed for both prevention of and protection from sexual violence in conflict. It has a naming and shaming listing mechanism mandated in the resolution as a step forward in bringing justice for victims and a recognition that sexual violence is a serious violation of human rights and international law. However, listing for now is only limited to situations on the Security Council agenda. The core mandates of these resolutions are condensed into 4 Ps which are: Participation of women in the peace processes; Protection of women in war and peace Prevention of conflicts and Prosecution of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence.

UNSCR 2106 (2013) addresses impunity and operationalizes guidance on sexual violence in conflict; no new concepts addresses areas of justice, women's empowerment, arms, women's human rights, and civil society engagement. UNSCR 2122 (2013) builds on the participation elements of the women, peace and security agenda and furthers implementation of UNSCR 1325 substantially addresses issues of women's empowerment, access to justice, information and documentation of human rights violations, civil society engagement and requests more briefings for the Security Council from various entities on issues of women, peace and security [68] In April 2010, the Security Council published 26 global indicators10 for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 which are organized into United Nations pillars (prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery), the overall strategy for implementation of the policy built on a six-track approach, mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 into policies, programs and documentation, cooperating with international organizations, NGOs and civil society, operations, education and training, public diplomacy and national initiatives.[69]

Discrimination of women has been fought since time immemorial. Many conventions had been formed to fight for women before the UNSCR 1325. All of these contributed positively and with purpose as well as prepared the way for the UNSCR 1325. Understanding the journey for the fight for women is crucial for this study since it lays a good foundation as well as putting the women, peace and security agenda into perspective. Discussed below are the conventions before and after UNSCR that work hand in hand with UN resolution 1325.

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[68]WANEP, *Development and Implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions: West Africa Network for Peace Building* WANEP. (2012)

[69] Ibid

2.1.1 The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in 1979

Adopted by the UN General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The Convention defines discrimination against women as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

2.1.2 Beijing Declaration Platform of Action, 1995

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, signed by 189 countries identified women and armed conflict as an area of critical concern, and highlighted the role of social inequalities and gender roles in contributing to the marginalization or exclusion of women from decision-making positions, and contributing to gender-based violence in times of conflict. The declaration states in part that,' in a world of continuing instability and violence, the implementation of cooperative approaches to peace and security is urgently needed. The equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Although women have begun to play an important role in conflict resolution, peace keeping and defense and foreign affairs mechanisms, they are still under-represented in decision making positions. If women have to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace, they must be empowered politically and represented adequately at all levels of decision making.' This declaration underscores the need to have women represented in the peace process so as to include women's views and perception of peace.[70]

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[70] Lauren Rutherford, *Women, Peace and Security; Examining the Impact of Resolution 1325 on UN Disarmament and Demobilization Programs* Queens's review policy *Volume 1, No. 1 (2010)*

2.1.3 The Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003)

Article 10 of the protocol of the African charter on human and peoples' rights on the rights of women in Africa (2003) states that women have the right to peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace and requires that state parties take all appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women not only in programs of education for peace and a culture of peace but also in the structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels.

2.1.4 African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa

At the Third Ordinary Session of the African Union (AU) Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in July 2004, the Heads of State and Government adopted the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA). The Declaration is an important African instrument for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment as it strengthens African ownership of the gender equality agenda keeps the issues alive at the highest political level. They reaffirmed their commitment to the principle of gender equality as enshrined in Article 4 (l) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as well as other existing commitments, principles, goals and actions set out in the various regional, continental and international instruments on human and women's rights, including the Dakar Platform for Action (1994), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW - 1979). [71]

National governments are a central actor as far as the implementation and supervision of practices and policies related to UNSCR 1325 are concerned, consequently, national level of the implementation process is critical to successfully address women and peace and security issues as framed within the UNSCR 1325. [72]Among the different ways in which countries operationalizes the resolution1325, there are two distinct approaches that can be highlighted, the integrative approach, which can have three different expressions, to include provisions of the Resolution on National legislation (e.g. Israel, Serbia, Colombia, Fiji), mainstream gender perspective into different aspects of their peace and conflict policies (e.g. Argentina), combine

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[71]AU Summit, *Solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa,* working paper (2010)
[72] Ibid

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the implementation of multiple resolutions on the topic in a joint plan (e.g. Uganda) and the other is national action plans (NAP) approach which has been the most frequent option so far and the one strongly emphasized by the UN.[73]

A NAP is a specific plan developed by a UN member state to nationally implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889 that promote women's protection, participation, and leadership in the full spectrum of peace building processes. It is an official government document that includes plans to mainstream gender into peace and security operations within a country. A NAP provides the opportunity for governments to initiate strategic actions, identify priorities and resources, and determine responsibilities among different actors. It includes time frames for implementation and, ideally, benchmarks and accountability mechanisms.[74]

As of the end of 2013, the number of 1325 NAPs has doubled, to 42. While that number is encouraging, it nonetheless indicates that fewer 25 percent of the 13 U.N. member countries have adopted a 1325 NAP. Yet, the pace is quickening, and several 1325 NAPs are under discussion and in progress including in Jordan, Iraq, Japan, Argentina, and South Sudan. In August 2013, Nigeria became the most recent country to adopt a 1325 NAP. [75]Civil society organizations or women's groups have also collaborated with their counter-parts across borders to encourage or pressure their individual governments to develop NAPs, or to push them to formulate regional action plans. Discussed below are a few of the civil societies that are working together to push the Women, Peace and Security agenda forward while making sure its objectives are met.

The first is the European Union, which in December 2008, the Council of the EU adopted two documents that together comprise the pillars upon which the EU's common strategy for advancing the women, peace, and security agenda is erected. The first is the comprehensive approach to the EU Implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace, and Security while the other focuses on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 as Reinforced by UNSCR 1820 in the Context of European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). The document focuses on ensuring that women's representation is increased at all decision-making levels and that gender

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[73] Ibid

[74] Civil Society Advisory Group to the UN on Women, Peace, and Security Working Paper on Advancing National Action Plans, Regional Action Plans, and Twinning on Women, Peace, and Security. New York.7 (2010).

[75] Ibid

perspectives, including information on sexual and gender-based violence and women's roles as actors in peace building, are included in all planning, conduct, and review activities associated with security and defense missions.

The other is The African Union, the AU Gender Policy, released in 2009, draws upon international gender equality instruments including UNSCR 1325, as well as African instruments, such as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, (The Maputo Protocol) which was endorsed by the Organization of African Unity in June 1995. The Maputo Protocol contains specific provisions protecting women's right to peace, which include obliging the state to take all necessary measures to increase the participation of women in all processes of conflict prevention, management and resolution, and in planning and implementation of post-conflict reconstruction. The Maputo Protocol also contains a specific provision protecting women in armed conflict.

The Maputo Protocol Article 10: Right to Peace, Women have the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace, States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women, in programs of education for peace and a culture of peace, in the structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels, in the local, national, regional, continental and international decision making structures to ensure physical, psychological, social and legal protection of asylum seekers, refugees, returnees and displaced persons, in particular women, in all levels of the structures established for the management of camps and settlements for asylum seekers, refugees, returnees and displaced persons, in particular, women and in all aspects of planning, formulation and implementation of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation, States Parties shall take the necessary measures to reduce military expenditure significantly in favor of spending on social development in general, and the promotion of women in particular.

The Maputo Protocol Article 11: Protection of Women in Armed Conflicts. States that parties to The AU Gender Policy contains eight commitments, the last of which is to promote the effective participation of women in peacekeeping and security including efforts aimed at reconciliation in post-conflict reconstruction and development. In order to fulfill the latter commitment, the organs of the AU, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and member states agree to, Integrate gender in policies, programs, and activities on conflict and peace by

applying the framework of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820, Create regional consultative platforms on peace to exchange knowledge and information and harmonize strategies, Apply the Paris Principles and guidelines relating to armed forces or armed groups in planned interventions in Africa, mobilize and include female leaders in mediation processes and reflection groups, as well as post-conflict actions by working with the competent networks on the continent, work jointly with competent UN bodies and other AU organs to create and manage truth and reconciliation structures to bring to the fore violations against women and girls during conflict, accelerate the admission of human rights violations; and find lasting solutions, including by providing psychological support,

The states also agree to guarantee that country reviews and reports on conflict situations presented to ambassadors underscore the problems affecting women and children, and that these issues are incorporated into the mandates of humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping missions and to Ensure that the Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees and Displaced Persons (HARDP) Division facilitates gender sensitization amongst peacekeeping forces and civilian humanitarian agents, and addresses violence against women and children.

The South African Development Community (SADC), SADC is comprised of 15 member states: Angola, Botswana, Congo, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Its mission is to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security. The SADC Organ on Politics, Defense, and Security Co-operation is one of the institutional mechanisms for promoting and maintaining peace and stability in the region and the objectives and functions of the Organ are contained within the Protocol on Politics, Defense, and Security Cooperation, signed in 2001. The Protocol does not once mention the role of women's participation in any stage of peace building, or refer to the different experiences of men and women in conflict-affected situations. The SADC does however, have a Protocol on Gender and Development, which references UNSCR 1325 and other instruments protecting women's rights.

Article 28 specifically requires states parties to endeavor to introduce measures to ensure that women have equal representation and participation in key decision-making positions related to conflict resolution and peace building, in line with UNSCR 1325. It also requires states

parties to take steps to prevent human rights violations of women in situations of armed and other forms of conflict and to prosecute perpetrators of such violations. It is important that SADC incorporates the clauses of its Gender Protocol into the functioning of its Organ on Politics, Defense, and Security. Like many states and regional organizations, SADC treats women's rights and gender as a separate and distinct issue from peace and security. Means of addressing the intersection of both these sectors must be created, recognizing that they are intertwined. The International Conference of the Great Lakes Region has had some success integrating UNSCR 1325 into security sector mechanisms.

The International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). The ICGLR was formed in 2004 when the Presidents of Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia signed the Dar-es Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy, and Development in the Great Lakes Region, and expressed their collective determination to transform the region into a space of sustainable peace and security. A security cooperation agreement, the Declaration integrates women's rights into its provisions. It specifies states' commitment to protect vulnerable populations, including women, involve them in peace efforts, address issues of sexual violence, and adopt deliberate policies and mechanisms for promoting gender equality at all levels and in all sectors, at the national and regional levels, in accordance with UNSCR 1325, the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and other legal instruments.

In addition, the Declaration advocates developing policies to promote the employment of women and develop mechanisms to provide them with access to investment opportunities, land, and capital. States also agree to establish a Regional Inter-Ministerial Committee mandated to prepare draft protocols and the Declaration stipulates that at least one third of the Committee's members will be women. In December 2006, the ICGLR member states adopted the Pact on Peace, Stability, and Development in the Great Lakes Region, which implemented the Declaration, as well as ten Protocols, four Programs of Action, a Regional Follow-up Mechanism, and a Special Reconstruction and Development Fund. The Pact came into force in 2008.[76]

Amongst the Protocols adopted were the Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Violence against Women and Children, which seeks to prevent, criminalize, and punish acts of

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[76] Ibid

sexual violence, as well as the Protocol on Property Rights of Returning Persons which protects the property and inheritance rights of women, amongst other provisions. In 2008, the ICGLR, along with civil society organizations, and UN agencies, organized a consultation with the aim of developing a regional action plan to domesticate and implement the ICGLR Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children in the Great Lakes Region. The result was the Goma Declaration, in which the ICGLR member states committed to a wide range of actions to prevent and punish sexual violence. Some of the states, such as Uganda, have already adopted NAPs that incorporate the Goma Declaration commitments, while others are in the process of doing so. The ICGLR provides an excellent example of how a security focused cooperation agreement can integrate UNSCR 1325 and women's rights protections into its very core.

The Economic Commission for the Great Lakes Countries, CEPGL is a sub-regional body comprised of three countries, Burundi, Rwanda, and the DRC, which supports the development and implementation of UNSCR 1325, amongst other development initiatives. In a bid to deepen regional cooperation on the development and implementation of NAPs on UNSCR 1325, a regional consultation was held in Bujumbura, Burundi in August 2009. The consultation was attended by Burundi's Vice President, and brought together representatives from the three states as well as officials from UN agencies. The consultation was organized by the ICGLR, the ministries responsible for gender issues, and networks of women parliamentarians. It also involved collaboration with women's civil society organizations and was supported by Femmes Africa Solidarity and the Finnish Government. The consultation culminated in the commissioning of a baseline study in the three countries and the creation of a regional steering committee.

The outcomes of the consultation included: the adoption of a regional plan for action for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the three countries; formation of a regional steering committee comprised of steering committees from the three countries; and recommendations for the harmonization of the NAPs across Burundi, Rwanda, and DRC. In addition to the regional baseline study, which presents findings relating to cross-cutting issues in Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC, baseline studies have been conducted in each country to assess the status of women, peace and security; current actions to support UNSCR 1325; as well as the challenges involved in implementing the resolution. Furthermore, each country has formed a steering committee

responsible for following up on actions for developing and implementing NAPs at the country level.

The Mano River Union, The Mano River Union is a regional cooperation framework between Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire. In May 2000, under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States and the AU Commission, women from Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone established a sub-regional program to complement national level actions to prevent future conflict and to build confidence to restore lasting peace in the sub-region. The program was supported by the African Committee for Peace and Development, UNDP, and various civil society organizations. Cote d'Ivoire has since joined the Mano River Union. The contributions of a network of women to the formation of the Mano River Union, illustrate the leadership of women in peace building initiatives in the region.

The four countries of the Union have already developed their individual NAPs (although Guinea's has not been finalized). Femmes Africa Solidarity and other institutions, with assistance from the government of Norway, are supporting a mapping/baseline study to assess issues affecting the four countries. The results of the study will contribute to developing a regional action plan for the Union states. At a Regional Conference on implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Mano River attended by government representatives, civil society members, and UN agencies in July 2010, it was agreed to work towards establishing a steering committee to develop a regional action plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 within the Mano River Union.[77]

All these forms of regional cooperation are valuable in advancing implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions, but the benefits of creating a regional or sub-regional national action plan that is more than the sum of its member states' individual NAPs should be highlighted. Regional or sub-regional NAPs can build on the comparative strengths amongst states while compensating for individual state weaknesses; pool both financial and human resources; facilitate sharing of knowledge, experience and best practices; streamline the planning process by developing common standards, practices and timelines; and exert positive peer

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[77] Civil Society Advisory Group to the UN on Women, Peace, and Security, *Working Paper on Advancing National Action Plans, Regional Action Plans, and Twinning on Women, Peace, and Security*. New York.7 (2010)

pressure as neighboring states rely on each other to achieve progress in implementation and thus push each other to reach collective goals.

NAPs can serve a critical role in improving implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions. They can facilitate the development of a comprehensive approach to women, peace, and security and promote coordination by bringing together all actors working on these issues, including various government ministries, civil society, and regional and multi-lateral partners. This cooperation reduces duplication of efforts and optimizes the use of scarce resources. The development of NAPs, if conducted in a participatory manner, contributes to awareness raising and capacity building of actors through skill building and sharing of information; increases understanding of women, peace, and security issues; and instills a sense of ownership in the Plan by state institutions and broader society. Increased ownership is associated with greater accountability for ensuring the success of the Plan.[78]

2.2 Overview of CSR 1325 in Other Countries
2.2.1 Rwanda

Historically, even as the UNSCR 1325 was being adopted by the UN Security Council, Rwanda was already on the path of recognizing the rights of women emerging from conflict with the passing of the 1999 Inheritance Law [79] During the Rwandan genocide many women were raped. A large number of them were also left widowed. Women had to contend with negative traditional customs in the aftermath of the genocide, in addition to having little or no means to earn an income. The Government however, has since instituted the Fund to Assist Genocide Survivors (FARG). This is in addition to civil society organizations that assist genocide survivors, widows and spouses of prisoners in jail for crimes related to the 1994 genocide. While the post-genocide challenges have been addressed through income earning activities and gender-sensitive legislation such as the 1999 Inheritance Law, sexual and gender-based violence persists as a problem. This is despite the 2008 Law on gender-based violence. On the whole, there have been three major peace negotiations in Rwanda, namely, the 1993 Arusha Peace Accords between the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and the then Government of Rwanda, the 1999 Lusaka Peace Agreement and the 2005 Rome peace negotiations. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is a woman and features prominently brokering peace in the region.

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[78] Natalia Zakharova, *Women and peace and security: guidelines for national implementation. United nation for gender equality and empowerment for women* (UNIFEM) (2011).
[79]Republic of Rwanda, *National Action Plan 2009-2012: The United Nations Security Council Resolution*, (2010)

Immediately post-conflict, Rwanda's particular experience of armed conflict, its changed demographics post-conflict, the presence of united women's organizations and the political commitment of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) all combined to ensure post-conflict reconstruction in line with SCR 1325 (2000). In some ways, "Rwanda is unique because of the magical coalescing of top-down and bottom-up support and involvement of women, the returnees, and the magnitude of the conflict and gender sensitive men in key political positions." Rwanda's priorities with respect to protection were clear: providing care and assistance to survivors of GBV and sexual violence. Rwanda's dedication to participation is evident in that Rwanda now has the highest number of female parliamentarians in the world. As concerns post-conflict reconstruction, Rwanda rebuilt homes on lands to which female heads of household now had titles, providing livelihoods for women and shelter for those orphaned by the genocide. Where peacekeeping missions are in place, a third factor effects the utility of SCR 1325 (2000): the extent to which the peacekeeping missions themselves embrace SCR 1325 (2000), while actively seeking out and engaging with not only the host government, but also civil society and the women's movement.[80]

2.2.2 Uganda

In the past three decades, several parts of Uganda, including Northern Uganda, Karamoja region, West Nile, Luweero Triangle and Kasese have experienced violent civil and armed conflicts. The most devastating conflict has been in Northern Uganda, for over two decades, resulting in hundreds of thousand people dead, over 60,000 children abducted and close to two million people internally displaced. Over twenty years of armed conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the government of Uganda has turned northern Uganda into mayhem of human suffering. For years the LRA has terrorized the local population, abducting children, killing and torturing of men and raping of women and girls. putting in place specific policies and actions to enhance women and girls' development and measures to enable them enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms in their private and public life, in peace time or during situations of armed conflict. [81]

UN Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820 and the Goma Declaration jointly serve as the basis for the Ugandan NAP. The Ministry of Gender Labor and Social Development

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[80]Thelma Ekiyor & L. Muthoni Wanyeki, *National Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) in Africa: Needs Assessment and Plan for Action Needs Assessment Report*.Prepared by Executive Kenya Human Rights Commission (2014).
[81] Ibid

(MGLSD) act as the national machinery responsible for initiating, implementing and coordinating policies and program that support women's empowerment and advancement, with the support from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), it developed the National Action Plan and Reporting Framework as a guide for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 & 1820 and the Goma Declaration. The overall goal of the Action Plan is to ensure the protection of women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse and guarantee increased representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making in conflict resolution and peace processes. The Action Plan is focusing on: The mandate of the different instruments, actions to address the existing gaps and challenges in accessing justice for victims of GBV, possible Actions for Implementation, monitoring, Systems of Collecting Information and Reporting Mechanisms and agency or Department or individual responsible for implementation[82]

It is used as a tool to monitor the systems in place, measure progress and assess the impact of interventions at all levels. On that basis, the NAP serves a wide range of sectors including government line ministries, departments, district and sub county administrations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and CBOs, and acts as a guide. In spite of the wide range of actors involved in the drafting and implementation of the resolution the country has still experienced armed conflict, even after the cessation of hostilities; violent acts against women continue to exist. [83]

The resolution was also used as an advocacy tool for the involvement of women in the peace talks between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army and as a tool to train women on the importance of their involvement in peace processes. The Uganda Women's Network (UWONET) states that the resolution was the key international instrument used to call for the involvement of women in the peace talks. ISIS-WICCE representing UWONET delivered a message to the Juba Peace Talks mediator, Dr Riek Machar calling for the inclusion of women in the talks. Through the efforts of ISIS and other women's groups, one woman was included in the government's team and two women joined the Lord Resistance

[82] Ibid
[83] Dr. Grace Maina, *Resolution 1325 in 2020 looking forward looking back. A* report based on a High-level Seminar organized by ACCORD, together with the African Union Peace and Security Council, at the International Conference Centre, Durban, South Africa on 8 and 9 October 2010 Fishwicks, South Africa
www.operaionspaix.net/.../5159~v~Mediating_Peace_in_Africa-security

Army (LRA) team. The Ugandan government also initiated a dialogue with civil society on the Juba Peace Talks and developed a national peace and recovery plan. A policy on gender and internal displacement is also being developed.[84]

2.2.3 Southern Sudan

South Sudan's struggle for self-determination and self-government, which successfully ended when it became an independent state on July 9, 2011, was triggered by a mutiny of equatorial corps, a military unit of Southern soldiers stationed in Torit in the equatorial province. This rebellion that began in 1955, known as Anyanya I, was the Southern response to the disenfranchisement Southerners felt from the then Sudan central government. By the time a ceasefire agreement was signed 17 years later, half a million people had lost their lives. The second war began in 1983 and lasted until 2005 when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed. An estimated 2 million people died during this period. As in many conflict zones, South Sudanese women, were not spared from the adverse effects of war. The role of women in the peace building and transformation of South Sudan is fundament After South Sudan attained its independence, South Sudanese women have not kept silent but have continued to express their desire to be fully incorporated in decision making bodies and other relevant organs of governance. A few months after the government appointed members to the CRC, a South Sudan Women's alliance called for inclusion of four women to represent the Constitutional Review Committee (CRC interests of South Sudanese women on the CRC.[85]

Sudanese women successfully mobilized for a gender quota in the National Election Act of 2008, which ensured25% women's representation in all Sudanese legislative assemblies. The initial draft of the Act presented in 2006 did not include a gender perspective. Despite the fact that the Sudanese women's movement is factionalized, they managed to advocate for the quota together. [86] Women have also begun to speak out against traditional practices they views repressive. They have decried the practice of polygamy, bride price, which often signifies ownership and usually leads to abuse, and early marriages for teenage girls. Women realized that these issues are best dealt with if South Sudan has a constitution that represents their interests.

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[84] Ibid

[85] Rita Martin, J.N Peleke moyo, *Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012, Global Network of women Peace builders* (2008).

[86] Liv Tønnessen, *The Norwegian Peace building Resource Centre complex realities and astute actors: Sudanese women's activism and UN security council resolution*, (2014)

Furthermore, they have formed an alliance -The South Sudan Women's Constitutional Coalition - whose main goal is to ensure fair representation of women on the CRC and the gender mainstreaming of issues important to women. South Sudan does not have an official task force 1325 and 1820. Government officials both at national and state levels of governance are largely not aware of UNSCR 1325.In South Sudan, only a few women CSOs work in this vast and important field The main advantage that South Sudan has at the moment in terms of implementation of the UNSCR 1325 is that it is still a new country that is in the process of developing policies. If South Sudan is given attention and support by the international community and if local actors coordinate properly, it will be able to develop policies, set up frame works, and develop strategies that support the welfare of women and security.[87]

The unanimous passage of Security Council Resolution 1325 highlighted the recognition, by UN member states, of the role played by women in peace and security. This ground-breaking resolution attempted to correct the disproportionate low representation of women in formal peace processes, and the road leading to the passage of the resolution saw unprecedented influence from civil society. SCR 1325 calls for implementation of women's participation in five thematic areas; in the normative framework and areas of policy; in promoting participation of women in leadership positions in peacekeeping and peacemaking; increasing resources for women and girls to protect themselves against gender-based violence during and after the conflict; increasing efforts to support women's role in conflict prevention, especially through local women's initiatives; and in promotion of equal access to aid in relief and recovery efforts.[88] The usefulness of the UNSCR 1325 can be determined by the impacts it's bringing forth to the specific

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[87] Ibid

[88]Mwende Munuve, *Women in Peace Building: A Contemporary Challenge.* Research paper – University of Calgary (2011) http://www.ucalgary.ca/peacestudies/files/peacestudies/Research paper

country's women. These impacts cannot be realized without proper research and scrutiny, having discussed the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in other countries, the next chapter will access the implementation of the resolution in Kenya and its impacts to the role of women in conflict resolution.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 IN KENYA AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

3.1 Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, much international attention has focused on identifying which factors within a mediation process contribute to sustainable peace. Factors affecting sustainable process include ripeness of the conflict; the skills, strategies and tactics of the mediator; and the nature of the parties to the conflict. Importantly, inclusion of civil society and participation of women in peace mediation has featured prominently as an element in the sustainability of peace agreements.[89] Getting women into the negotiation room is just the first step of building foundations for lasting peace. Inclusion of women in peace building should be everybody's responsibility as it cuts across different layers of society. In conflict situations, there is room for greater focus on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security that recognized the need for women to participate on equal terms with men at all levels and in all roles to promote peace and security. The impact of such focused actions will be greater if issues of gender equality are taken into account at the outset and if the realization of the human rights of women informs everything done in these situations. [90]

The potential of Resolution 1325, its implications and its impact in real terms are enormous. Women and men all over the world have been energized by this Resolution. Political support for its implementation by Member States, international organizations and, most importantly, civil society is growing every day. In its resolution 1325 (2000), the Security Council called on the Secretary- General to include in his reporting to the Council progress on gender mainstreaming and other aspects relating to women. In its presidential statement (S/PRST/2007/40), the Council requested country-specific reporting data on the impact of conflict on women, including instances of all forms of violence and special measures to protect women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence.[91]

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[89]Bercovitch J. Anagnoson et al. "*Some Conceptual Issues and Empirical Trends in the Study of Successful Mediation in International Relations*" journal of peace research vol.28, no.1, special issue on international mediation (Feb., 1991) pp.7–17

[90]Mwende Munuve, *Women in Peace Building: A Contemporary Challenge.* Research paper – University of Calgary (2011) http://www.ucalgary.ca/peacestudies/files/peacestudies/Research paper

[91]Security Council: *General racking implementation of security council resolution 1325 (2000)* (23 September 2014)

3.2 Critiques of resolution 1325

While UN Security Council Resolution 1325 created a benchmark for the recognition of gender inequality in international peacekeeping and reconstruction initiatives, considerable concerns remain regarding the implementation and monitoring of its requirements. [92] SCR 1325 is legally binding on Member States but not enforceable if there is not political will to implement. There is a lack of political will among Member States and within the UN system to implement SCR 1325 and this has extensive consequences on the effect of SCR 1325. For example, SCR clearly endorses gender training but without commitment from Member States to provide funds and to conduct preparatory national training, these measures will not be translated into action.

The language used in SCR 1325 is weak compared to other resolutions, for example, Counter-Terrorism Resolution (1373). 98SCR 1325 uses the terms 'express', 'emphasize', 'request' SCR 1373 uses 'decide', 'direct', 'declare', SCR 1325 calls for more women to be appointed into positions of leadership, for example, as Special Representatives and envoys representing the Secretary General but there are no quotas and timeframes for number of women to be appointed. It is not clear how gender perspectives will be incorporated into field operations, as there are no time-bound targets or guidelines for implementation. "Under the UN Charter Article 25, all members (states) have an obligation to carry out all UN resolutions but there are no formal mechanisms for implementation and there is no formal accountability."[93]

3.3 Presentation of data

This section presents the primary findings of this study. Thirty questionnaires were administered and presented in tables are the results.

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[92]UN, *Ten-year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping*, United Nations Secretariat One UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA (2000).
[93]Barbara Miller, MiladPournik, and Aisling Swaine, *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation.* Institute for Global and International Studies, May (2014)

Have you heard of the UN Resolution 1325 in Kenya?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	7	23.3
No	23	76.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 1

Only 7 percent of the respondents have heard about resolution 1325 in Kenya.

In your own opinion, do you think women are equally and well represented in politics in Kenya? Explain you answer?

	Frequency	Percent
It depends on how you look at it	1	3.3
No	16	53.3
Yes	13	43.3
Total	30	100.0

Table 2

53 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that women are not politically represented, 43 % said yes while 3.3 % said that it depends on how the whole idea is perceived.

In conflict Resolution, can women play a role, if yes which roles?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes if allowed	14	46.7
No	8	26.7
Most of the time	8	26.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 3

46 % said that in conflict resolution women can play a big role if allowed, 26.7% said most of the time while the remaining said no.

Do you know of any organization fighting equality for women in Kenya? Please list?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	14	46.7
Yes	8	26.7
None	8	26.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 4

46% know a few organizations fighting for women's equality 26.7% said none while the other 26.7% said none.

Has the launching of the Kenyan National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN resolution 1325 taken place?

	Frequency	Percent
I don't think so	30	100.0

Table 5

All the thirty respondents were not sure whether resolution 1325 has been launched.

What are the impacts that resolution 1325 has brought forth in Kenya?

	Frequency	Percent
None	10	33.3
Reduction of rape, More women more vocal nowadays	9	30.0
I don't know	11	36.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 6

36% don't know any impacts of 1325 resolution, while 33.3% said none while the other 30.0 % said reduction of rape, and women are more vocal nowadays.

Do you think gender equality can be achieved in Kenya

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	30	100.0

Table 7

All the respondents believe that gender equality can be achieved in Kenya.

If yes, which measures should be taken to achieve the same?

	Frequency	Percent
Government will and follow the constitution	10	33.3
More women to be leaders at the grass root levels	9	30.0
More education and awareness on the rights for women	11	36.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 8

36.7% suggested more education and awareness on the rights for women, 33.3% said that government would be a dependent factor while 30% were for having more women as leaders at the grass roots.

In your opinion, what challenges can face UN resolution 1325 implementation in Kenya?

	Frequency	Percent
Women's lack of information	10	33.3
Corruption	9	30.0
Political will to enforce laws	11	36.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 9

In terms of challenges, most of the respondents said that political will to enforce the existing laws was one of the challenges, 30% said corruption while 33.3% said women's lack of information.

What are your recommendations in support for gender equality in Kenya, especially in conflict resolution

	Frequency	Percent
Enforce the existing laws and regulations	10	33.3
More international support	9	30.0
Education and awareness	11	36.7
Total	30	100.0

Table 10

36.7 % recommended education and awareness while 33.3% enforce the existing laws and regulations while 30% recommended more international support.

3.4 Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Kenya

Kenya is a heterogeneous and multi-ethnic country, which has succeeded, since its independence in 1963, to remain reasonably stable despite the wide spread political and economic turmoil in Eastern and Horn of Africa. However, conflicts based on ethnic inclusion/exclusion and dictatorship has continued since independence (1963) with occasional blow outs and violent clashes and after the disputed 2007 general elections, Kenya went through a violent experience of post electoral chaos that lead to the loss of more than 1,133 lives, displacement of more than 650,000 people and destruction of property and infrastructure. [94]

There have been several attempts made to address conflicts in Kenya. The establishment of the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management, Commissions such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), Independent Electoral Boundary Commission (IEBC), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Religious Leaders and Faith Based Organizations(FBOs), Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs), private sector, regional organizations and development partners among others has led to collaborative efforts being undertaken by both the state and non-state actors.

The government of Kenya has also not lagged behind in advocating gender equality as well as the women, peace and security agenda which is an important pigment when it comes to the implementation of the resolution 1325. This is demonstrated in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 which has provided very progressive and gender friendly governance institutions, values and processes for all Kenyans in general and for women in particular. Specifically, the Constitution secures social, economic and political rights of women by guaranteeing that no single gender shall occupy more than two thirds of elective, nominative or appointive positions at any level thus creating many opportunities for women at all governance structure.

Additionally, the Constitution has also created a facilitative and gender friendly legal framework that makes it possible for both men and women to access and participate in these institutions. [95] Furthermore, recognizing the historical disadvantage of women and other vulnerable members of society including the disabled, minorities and the youth, the Constitution

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[94]*Jimmy Carter ,*Ethnicity, human rights and constitutionalism in Africa, The Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists (2008)

[95] Johannes Michael Nebe Ed, *Civil Conflict Management of the Post Election Violence 2007/2008 in Kenya Lessons Learnt and the Way Forward*, University of Trier/Germany(2012).

has entrenched the principle of affirmative action and made it mandatory that neither gender will occupy more than two-thirds of any public governance seats.[96]

Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and development of NAP is still an evolving process. Most NAPs have been developed in the past 10 years. The main issues of the action plan are goals, budgets, plans for monitoring and evaluation of performance and reporting. The implementation of NAPs has faced some common challenges such as: lack of funding, lack of political will, lack of capacity, lack of coordination and lack of monitoring and evaluation. The entry process of the SCR 1325 to the Kenyan political agenda Earlier, SCR 1325 had been lobbied for by local women's rights organizations, such as Kenya Human Rights Commission, and well-known activists. It however never gained national or political support.

It was after the 2007 post-election violence when the implementation of the resolution and twinning process with Finland was brought up. This happened at the highest level, when the president of Finland Mrs. Tarja Halonen and the Vice President of the Grand Coalition government Mr. Kalonzo Musioka agreed in June 2009 that twinning on SCR 1325 between these countries should be taken forward. This, originally very much top-down approach, was worked on civil service level and gradually the process was sold to the relevant governments and state functionaries with the promise of financial support. Then the stakeholders groups were created in order to have multiple actor presence. While non-state actors were keen on taking the process forward in order to improve gender equality, the Kenyan government's interest was more political; it could offer a chance to improve the tarnished image of the country's leadership after the postelection violence and its aftermath [97]

There is no blue-print or ready-made solution for donors to support interventions related to Resolution 1325. As the issues of women, peace, and security are very complex, including as they do aspects of women's participation and protection, as well as their role in prevention of conflicts, interventions need to be multi-faceted and based on a thorough understanding of the core challenges in each country context. In Kenya interventions directly related to the implementation of Resolution 1325 are currently being carried out by CSOs with the support of various donors, including Finland. But there are numerous challenges that must be overcome in

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[96]Centre for multiparty democracy Kenya, elective, nominative & appointive positions unpacked a handbook for women seeking leadership positions copyright www.peacewomen.org/.../1325_implementation1325finnishdevelopment

[97]Marufa Akter*UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and its Implementation*, SARSWP Technical Paper 4, Center For Gender And Social Transformation,(2013).

their implementation, particularly at the field level. At the policy and strategy level, many influential actors can contribute to and lead the reconciliation and rehabilitation processes within a framework of gender and Resolution 1325. However, the main challenges for implementation are within the lower levels of governance, at community level and below. Preparation of the Kenya NAP would certainly increase emphasis on women and conflict issues, as defined in Resolution 1325, but that cannot remain the only objective. The main focus needs to be on implementation of the NAP.

In Kenya, the state and grassroots awareness of the SCR 1325 is still very low and a lot of work has to be done in order to give content to the resolution in order to change it from mere numbers to have relevance to citizens' and particularly women's everyday life. The international community had been funding since 2004 a wider gender focused program, Gender and Governance Program (GGP). As the GGP was administrated earlier by the then UNIFEM, currently UNWOMEN, it was not always clear whether the program had Kenyan, UN, and donor agenda. Even its work planning process was often heavily guided by the funding donor group despite the fact that the original implementing partners of the program were NGO/CSOs with limited links with the government. Despite further planning, the program remained managed by UNIFEM and was often identified as a UNIFEM project rather than Kenya's own project. The funding has not been consistent and the promises of collaboration have not been followed up actively. The momentum seems to be lost with all other, more important, issues taking place in relation to the SCR 1325.

3.5 Implementation of UNSCR and its impacts on the role of women in conflict management

The post-election violence crisis is one good example of how women played an important role in conflict resolution and an evidence of the same. Discussed below is the PEV and how women were used in making peace.

3.5.1 The Role of women in the 2008 Post Election Violence

Women play important roles in the process of peace building, first as activists and advocates for peace, women wage conflict none violently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Secondly, as peacekeepers and relief aid workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. Thirdly, as mediators, trauma healing counsellors and policymakers, women work to 'transform relationships' and address the root cause of violence. Lastly, as educators and

participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict. This is made possible as a result of socialization processes and the historical experience of unequal relations and values that women bring to the process of peace building.[98]

The Kenyan peace process is an example of the benefits of involving women in international peace mediations. At the end of 2007, a violent electoral dispute was triggered by claims of rigging in the presidential elections. This led, for over two months, to the death of 1,133 and displacement of over 300,000 Kenyan people. The Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) process, under the auspices of Kofi Annan and the African Union Panel of Eminent African Personalities, sought to resolve this conflict at the end of January 2008. After forty-two days of intense mediated negotiations, President Mwai Kibaki and Hon. Raila Odinga brought an end to the violence and political stalemate by signing a power sharing agreement.

The peace process involved a high level and high profile of women, with about 25% of the members of the negotiating team being women. The formal structure of the process was established between the political parties involved the crisis, with small delegations of four members each and a liaison officer to support them. As these teams were established, Graça Machel suggested that each party ensure they had a female representative as part of their delegation. Based on this request, The Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) nominated Hon. Martha Karua and Hon. Sally Kosgei respectively. Both women were senior within their party structures and had been at the political forefront. At the time of the crisis, Hon. Karua held the ministerial post of Minister of Justice and was designated the team leader for the PNU coalition delegation.

Issues around the participation of women were raised by the female representatives at the table resulting in women being included in the composition of the Independent Electoral Review Commission and the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission. During the consultations with civil society in the early days of the mediation, Graça Machel called women's leaders to come together and meet her to discuss the position of women with regard to the crisis. She reached out to women she had previously worked with in order to encourage them to convene so they could engage the peace negotiations with one voice. These actions drew on her

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[98] Schirch et al. *The Role of Women in Peace building*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention. (2005).

understanding of the core issue of polarization in Kenya during elections. Women's leaders mobilized funds for a women's consultative meeting on the Kenyan crisis on 24th January 2008.

The involvement of women in the Kenyan process took other different forms.While the formal process was taking shape, women were mobilizing in a range of ways at local and national level. At the national level, women organized through a range of different forums. A few notable national processes were organized by the vital voices women's group, who partnered with Burundian women to share experiences of conflict. The Kenyans for Peace, Truth and Justice (KPTJ) met every day to discuss how to deal with the crisis. The Kenya Women's Consultative Group also held a one day meeting with more than fifty women to discuss how women could pressure the two principles to meet and end the electoral conflict. This group later formed a twelve member consultative group that presented a memorandum to the mediation tea. At the local level, a number of women's organizations, as well as individuals initiated reconciliation in their communities while the national dialogue was ongoing. For instance, the Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness Women's initiative was formed to address the gender based violence (GBV) that Kibera women were facing during the 2007 electoral crisis. Rural Women Peace link a local NGO based in Uasin Gichu in Rift Valley is another example of a women's organization that initiated community dialogues for reconciliation during the height of the postelection violence.[99]

Two important factors have been cited in promoting consideration of women's concerns during the dialogue process. The first of these was the presence of Mrs. Graça Machel, who was brought in due to her work in Kenya on the Africa Peer Review Mechanism. Her level of seniority and long history around women's issues meant that she possessed the skills necessary to identify specific issues of importance. Her seniority and stature meant that she was able to push these issues and speak out in a way that few other women would be able to. Her work through the Africa Peer Review Mechanism also meant that she had a good understanding of the underlying dynamics, and strong networks to civil society, in the country. A second important factor was the capacity for civil society to mobilize and ensure that women's issues and priorities were presented to the mediation team.

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[99] Meredith P. M, et al *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation*. Geneva Switzerland pp16-22 (2011).

The role of Kenyan civil society and women in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Process was critically important in shaping Agenda Four, which called for reforms to address the root causes of the violence. Kenyan civil Society influenced Agenda Four through the memorandums they presented through a number of different coalitions, including the Kenyans for Peace, Truth and Justice (KPTJ), Citizen's Coalition, Concerned Citizens. As these teams were established, Mrs. Graça Machel requested that each party ensured they had a female representative as part of their delegation. The Party of National Unity (PNU) and ODM nominated Hon. Martha Karua and Hon. Sally Kosgey respectively. Both women were senior within their party structures and had been at the political forefront. At the time of the crisis, Hon. Karua held the Ministerial post of Minister of Justice and was designated the team leader for the PNU Coalition delegation. These women were appointed based on their party loyalty, strength of character and negotiating abilities. Both women advocated strongly and consistently on behalf of their respective parties through the negotiations[100].

The level of advocacy and the outreach of the women (and civil society more broadly) in Kenya was an important feature in their success in influencing the process. With strong regional and international networks, women and civil society were among the first to lobby at the African Union. They were also quick to testify to the US Congress and pass messages to senior figures in the UN and other capitals. This capacity is a feature that has been consistently noted as critically important for ensuring civil society messages got through to the highest levels regionally and internationally. This strength helped to offset the challenge of not having a formalized channel for civil society generally, and women specifically, to influence the mediation process.[101]

There were Kenyan human and women's rights organizations which were interested and committed to take gender equality forward. However, this process remained sidelined with all the other ongoing reform processes (wider justice and security sector reform, constitutional reform, public sector reform, etc.). Instead of being able to use gender mainstreaming as a guiding value, gender equality became an additional element to these reform processes. Instead, the creation of KNAP became a process parallel with the wider reform agenda. Even the opportunities in promoting gender justice better in the new constitution were compromised to other political, ethnic, and religious interest. Small steps forward were made, but women again

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[100] Ibid
[101] Ibid

had to sacrifice comprehensive gains in women's rights in the name of the wider mediation and stabilization processes of the divided society.[102]

3.5.2 Level of Participation of Women in Formal Peace Negotiations

In 2011, the United Nations was the (co-) lead mediator in fourteen conflicts, four of which resulted in an agreement. In these processes, women experts were included in 12 of the 14 UN mediation support teams. The absence of women in formal roles in peace processes poses one set of problems; the scarcity of women's civil society groups with consultative access to negotiators and mediators poses another. Women's groups often represent and voice women's priorities and concerns, and indeed are more likely to do so than particular party's interests. As part of his seven-point Action Plan on Women's Participation in Peace building, the Secretary-General mandated that his Special Envoys and Representatives regularly report on their consultations with women's civil society organizations. A strong case can be made for the involvement of women's groups in some structured way that ensures that their perspectives are heard. There is a correlation between the organized participation of women's groups and greater gender sensitivity of the text of the agreements, which only enhances their comprehensiveness and legitimacy. Although this cannot be proven due to the very small number of cases to date, one can reasonably assume that the empowerment, mobilization and involvement of women's groups during the peacemaking phase can only support their engagement during the always-difficult phase of implementation and peace building. In 2008, Graça Machel, a member of The Elders, 15 was one of three mediators in the peace negotiations, led by the African Union (AU) that ended the post-election crisis in Kenya. The 2008 peace talks were another example of strong women's representation: two of the eight delegates to the post-election peace talks were women, and Martha Karua led the Government's negotiating team.[103]

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[102]Centre for multiparty democracy Kenya, *elective, nominative & appointive positions unpacked a handbook for women seeking leadership positions copyrigh*t (2011)
[103]Pablo Castillo Diaz, *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence women's Participation* , United Nations entity for gender equality and women empowerment (2014)

CHAPTER FOUR
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the implementation of UNSCR and its impacts on the role of women in conflict. It is divided into three parts namely, lessons from the PEV, the role of women in conflict management in Kenya, implementation of UNSCR and testing the hypotheses.

With the adoption of the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000, the international community recognized the important role played by women in conflict resolution and peace building. The resolution also stresses the importance of women's 'participation and full involvement' after a peace agreement has been signed. It specifically mentions, with regard to conflict prevention, the need for women to play a larger role in decision-making processes. Although the resolution is a milestone in the history of the UN and an important recognition of one of the main impediments to peace-building worldwide, the challenge lies in its implementation. In many countries (including Kenya) endemic discrimination is still a significant barrier to achieving the resolution's goal of inclusivity and gender equality.[104]

The global study requested in resolution 2122 of 2013 to provide an opportunity for the united nations system and partners to build on good practice, accelerate or generate new action where needed and address current and emerging concerns. Reports on county's specific situations and thematic issues remain a key source of information guiding the negotiations and decisions of the Security Council. In 2013, 102 country specific and thematic reports were submitted to the Security Council. Of the 27 (96 percent) periodic reports submitted were by special political missions, 26 included references to women peace and security compared to 95 % in 2012. The extent of reporting is correlated to the inclusion of references to women and peace and security in mission mandates. Significant progress has been made with regards to the participation of women in conflict resolution, mediation and peace processes, in particular since 2010; there has also been an increased role for women's civil society organizations in and around

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[104]Peter Nordstrom, *Gender and Reconciliation in the New Kenya: Equality at the Heart, Promoting Cohesion and Reconciliation in Kenya* Policy Brief No3 IJR (July 2013)

high level processes. Notably, six women ambassadors served on the Security Council in august 2014, reaching a 40& representation. As at July 2014, national action plans had been adopted by 46 member states 23 in Europe, 13 in Africa, 3 in America, 6 in Asia and the pacific and 1 in the middle east and western Asia, and 20 more were in development[105].

In April 2010, the Security Council published 26 global indicators for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 which are organized into United Nations pillars (prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery), the overall strategy for implementation of the policy built on a six-track approach: one, mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 into policies, programs and documentation; second, cooperating with international organizations, NGOs and civil society; third, operations; fourth, education and training; fifth, public diplomacy; and lastly national initiatives. All those activities are carried out by different actors and at different stages. Effective coordination, collaboration and information sharing between the different actors are important for effective implementation of the resolution. The evaluation of the UN system for implementation and monitoring of Resolution 1325 has not happened in a comprehensive manner. A specific mechanism for all UN member states and regular reporting are still needed. Also, regular, systematic and ethical data collection among UN agencies in implementing and monitoring projects and programs on Women, Peace and Security still need a lot of improvement.

4.2. Lessons from the PEV

The post-election violence of 2007/2008 for instance, constituted an eruption of underlying tensions in Kenyan society, spurred by decades of marginalization of many of the country's people by the government and resulting unequal distribution of resources. Many of the injustices that scar Kenya remain unresolved. To compound the problem, the women of Kenya, due to their further marginalized position in a highly patriarchal society, have been particularly affected. Women have been subjected to sexual violence and domestic abuse. Women have also for the most part been denied rights, and historically excluded from decision-making at all levels of society, their voices silenced.

The representation of women within this process was high by previous standards of formal mediation processes. One in four of the members of each negotiating team (25%) were a

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[105]United Nations, *The ideal of gender justice and the UNSCR 1325: two case studies: Kenya and the democratic republic of Congo (2010)*

woman. Mrs. Graça Machel was one of the three eminent personalities on the Panel, and a number of the senior advisors from the United Nations and the AU in the Panel's mediation team were women. One of the two staff seconded to support the mediation by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue was also a woman, as was the advisor on Transitional Justice. As much as the Kenya process represents a strong example of inclusion of women in mediation processes of conflict management, Recent discussion around women's participation in mediated peace processes has led to a more nuanced debate, which can be divided into two distinct areas: the participation of women in peace processes, and the inclusion of issues of importance to women in the substance of the talks. While these aspects are closely linked, increased participation of women does not immediately lead to addressing gender in the substance of mediation processes. Specific expertise and attention, in addition to participation, is required.

For instance in the Kenyan context the women in the mediation team were appointed based on their party loyalty, strength of character and negotiating abilities. Both women advocated strongly and consistently on behalf of their respective parties through the negotiations. This occasionally resulted in the deadlocking of specific issues and also created tension between these female negotiators and women's leaders in civil society who felt they should also have presented- and ideally prioritized women's issues in the process. [106]

Despite this growing consensus on the importance of women's participation in conflict resolution, many challenges still remain. These vary from the fact that gender roles are socially constructed, whereby men are expected to demonstrate masculine behaviour, such as aggression, attacking, killing and coercion.[107] The other challenges include cultural acceptability of having women participate; the focus on the participation of formal fighters and political decision-makers; to the perceived lack of capacity of women who could be effective representatives within a formal process. Interestingly, in the Kenya case, these traditional challenges were considerably less than in other cases studied.[108]

There arose challenges with regards to the implementation of the KNDR. For instance, within the agreement to establish the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV), there was no specific reference to gender issues or gender-based violence as a

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[106]Meredith P. M, et al *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, Geneva Switzerland (2011),

[107] Jeong, H. W. *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, Burlington, United States: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. (2000).

[108] Anderlini, et al. *Peace Negotiations and Agreements.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for Inclusive Security, (2009)

particular area of focus for the Commission. The agreement did not make any mention of or provisions for gendered perspectives in the activities, composition and methodology of CIPEV in three ways. CIPEV lacked women's representation in its leadership as its composition was three male jurists; mainstreaming of gender issues in the process was ad hoc as a gender advisor was hired after the commission hearings had begun; and ultimately an isolated approach was taken to the way women were represented in the report[109] The challenges faced during the post-election violence and its peace process and not unique to any other kind of conflict and by not solving these challenges, it can be a hindrance to restoring peace.

4.3 The Role of women in conflict management

Women's participation is a very important aspect in any conflict resolution exercise. This is because of the substantive contribution they bring to the table in various ways. Integrating different kinds of women is also a crucial way of ensuring maximum results, e.g. having representatives from all walks of life, from political leaders, CSOs and women at the grass root level. One of the significant developments for women in Kenya has been their increased participation in political decision-making. For instance, Kenya's Constitution offers a framework to address this historical marginalization. Even though a number of women have made great strides in politics in the country, women representation is far below the minimum one third public service requirement of Article 27(3) of the Constitution of Kenya.[110]

The 2010 constitution implemented quotas for not only elected positions, but also any appointed positions. This component of Article 27 is often given less attention, as discussion and focus has gravitated toward the elected positions in parliament and the newly decentralized local government. Yet the implications for women are equally significant. Judges, independent commission members, security sector recruits and officers, executive positions, etc., are all appointed. There appears to be a common understanding by citizens that, at a minimum, one-third of all new appointments will be women. While it has been difficult to ensure that quotas are being met across all sectors, a number of interviewees highlighted that "people are now watching." There is a common constitutional understanding of the requirement to have women represented, and growing recognition of the importance attached to more diverse representation.

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[109] Meredith P. M, et a*l, Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation*. Geneva Switzerland(2011)
[110]Douglas Lucas Kivoi, *Factors Impeding Political Participation and Representation of Women in Kenya*. University of Nairobi, Humanities and Social Sciences. Vol. 2, No. 6, pp. 173-181(2014)

Implementation is imperfect, but women often at the national level, clear gains were made for women in top executive positions. [111]

Traditional beliefs, perceptions and stereotypes which depict women as being inferior have tended to militate towards their marginalization. Cultural impediments to women's economic emancipation have also denied them political representation in the Legislature. Kenya has the challenge of identifying and implementing mechanisms – policies and practices - so as to achieve gender equity. Political parties are not keen to try and implement the minimum one third constitutional requirements for their lists of candidates nominated to vie in elections. It appears lack of political will is the biggest obstacle in addressing gender imbalance in the country. Articles 27(8) and (81) (b) of the Constitution provides for no more than two thirds representation of one gender in elective and appointive positions as a way of bridging the gender gap.A good example is the scenario of the 2013 general election where, apart from the 47 county women representatives who were elected by virtue of them being women, only 16 constituencies out of the 290 constituencies are represented by elected women. Of the 1450 county wards contested in the 47 counties, only 88 are represented by women. Previously only 22 women sat in the former 222 seat parliament. This is a pointer to the fact that the marginalization of women that has been there in past in the centralized governance appears now to be taking shape in counties where none of the 47 County governors elected is a woman. The exclusion of women from decision-making and political representation is counterproductive for the entrenchment of the principles of democracy, gender equity and subsequently the sustenance of peace.[112]

4.4 Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its Impacts

To accelerate progress on implementation, the Security Council in its resolution 1889 (2009) requested the Secretary-General to: In 2009, a process was initiated to produce a draft set of indicators based on this mandate. In its Presidential Statement of 26 October 2010, the Security Council supported taking forward this set of indicators presented "for use as an initial framework to track implementation" of resolution 1325 (2000). The Security Council urged the Secretary-General to "ensure that country-specific and relevant thematic issues reports and briefings" include information on implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) "using this set of

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[111]Aili p, Catie Lott and Louise Khabure, *Women's, leadership as a route to greater empowerment: Kenya case study*, Management Systems International (2014)
[112] Ibid

indicators, as appropriate". Member States were encouraged to "take into account the set of indicators" in implementing resolution 1325 (2000).[113]

The success of the implementation of the UN resolution is its adoption as well the other significant protocol that fights against gender inequality. In 2010 Kenya ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women (also known as the Maputo Protocol'). The African Union, of which Kenya is a member state, in December 2004, passed the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. The declaration commits member states to promoting gender equality. In addition, Kenya has ratified the East African Community (EAC) Treaty, which in article 5.3(e) states the commitment of EAC and member states to 'the mainstreaming of gender in all its endeavors and the enhancement of the role of women in cultural, social, political, economic and technological development Kenya has been criticized by the UN for failing to counter institutionalized discrimination against women in the country. While the constitution was considered a great leap forward for women's rights and political empowerment, it was tempered by backlash from the entrenched male elite.

Efforts to measure the impact of the women, peace and security agenda should improve including through greater investment in gender and peace security statistics, increased interaction is needed among stake holders engaged in conflict prevention, peace building and recovery to build and share knowledge in conflict prevention, peace building and recovery. More work is needed to overcome inconsistencies and transform good practice into standard practice. The impacts of the implementation of the resolution are not very clear. This could be caused by the challenges faced while implementing, e.g. lack of monitoring, lack of financial support, lack of political will among other. There is need to build capacity of civil society organizations to monitor and implement the SCR 1325 through the KNAP. There is a need to ensure that Kenya's SCR 1325 is given the political and financial support it requires for it to give positive results.[114]

4.5 Testing the hypothesis

This study has tested three hypotheses,

1. That Proper implementation of the UN resolution would greatly improve conflict
    management in Kenya; this was proven to be true by the study, following the

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[113]Paula Banerjee et al, *Women, peace and security implementation of un security council resolution 1325 in the context Finnish development policy with case studies from Kenya, Nepal and north-east India*, Copyright by Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (2010)
[114] Ibid

understanding of the important roles of women in society as mediators, advisors and well as instigators of peace in conflict situations.

2. The slow adoption and implementation of the UN resolution may affect the role of women in conflict management in Kenya: the study found this hypothesis to be true basing on the fact that UNSCR 1325 is a unique and the first resolution of its king that explicitly fights gender inequality

3. Under representation of women in decision making processes may stagnate the state of conflict management in Kenya, the study found this to be true as well due to what the UNSCR recommends on the inclusion of women in decision making processes in conflict and furthermore because of the significant role women play in the society especially in conflict management.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Summary of Findings

Chapter one of this study found that the UN and other International, Regional and Local Interventions have continued to prioritize conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building by establishing peace and security institutions and frameworks that attempt to address conflict by furthering the implementation of UNHCR 1325. In Kenya, The peace infrastructure and institutional framework comprises of the National Peace Council (NPC), County Peace Secretariat and Local Peace Committees (LPCs) among others including the civil Society. Understanding the need for involving women and/or their in conflict resolution is a key step to the Implementation of the UN resolution 1325. It also looks at the history and types of Conflict in Kenya, the issue of conflict in Kenya had remained unresolved since the colonial era. The situation had been getting worse overtime following the five years electoral cycle, 1991/1992/1997/1998, all which culminated to the Post-Election Violence (PEV) in 2007-2008. The Predominant types of conflicts in Kenya include ethnic and political Conflicts, land wrangles that are largely caused by ethnicity too and the recent acts of terror that make terrorism a rather new type of conflict in the Kenya. The 2007 PEV led 1,133 deaths and the displacement of over 300,000 people and with Terrorism Between 1970 and 2014 there were more than 440 terrorist attacks in Kenya. These attacks killed more than 1,400 people and wounded more than 5,800 others.

Chapter two of this study sought to understand the history of the various conventions revolving women's rights even before the UN 1325 Resolution of 2000. These conventions dates back to as far as 1979 when The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), was adopted, Beijing Declaration Platform of Action of 1995, The Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa in 2003 African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. Resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000), addressing the protection of civilians in armed conflict, were also central to the foundations of UNSCR 1325, and, crucially, functioned to suggest that the UN Security Council recognizes the protection of civilians as an issue that falls under its remit. Civil society has also joined in with their counter-parts encouraging the developing if Naps. These

unions are the European Union, African Union, South African Development Community, and the international conference of the great lakes region, the economic commission for great lakes countries and the Mano River Union. It gives an overview of the UN resolution in Rwanda, Uganda and southern Sudan.

Chapter three provides the findings of this study, both from primary and secondary sources. It dwells on the state of CSR 1325 in Kenya and its challenges. It found out that over the years, there have been several attempts made to address conflicts in Kenya. The establishment of the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management, Commissions such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), Independent Electoral Boundary Commission (IEBC), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Religious Leaders and Faith Based Organizations(FBOs), Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs), private sector, regional organizations and development partners among others has led to collaborative efforts being undertaken by both the state and non-state actors. Finland is also one of the leading donors in poverty reducing and forestry projects and these are highly relevant for implementation of Resolution 1325. Another point to note is that in addition to Finland's support during the preparation of the Kenyan Nap, the Constitution of Kenya 2010 has provided very progressive and gender friendly governance institutions, values and processes for women. The PEV is particularly important example of the benefits of involving women in conflict resolution where during the resolution process Mrs. Graça Machel suggested that each party ensure they had a female representative as part of their delegation, this was made possible by Hon. Martha Karua and Hon. Sally Kosgei. The involvement of women during this time went far and beyond and took different forms such as members of panels, senior advisors as civil society leaders.

Chapter four critically looks at the impacts of the Un resolution, this was based by Security Council published 26 global indicators for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 which are organized into United Nations pillars including prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery. The incidences of SGBV are still very high regardless of the good practices by the Government. In 2007, SGBV was rampant and severe; Service-delivery statistics from the Nairobi Women's Hospital and the Coast General Hospital report an upsurge in the number of women and children seeking treatment for rape after late December 2007. From December 27, 2007, to February 29, 2008, the Nairobi Women's Hospital's Gender Violence Recovery Centre, which offers free medical services to victims of sexual violence, treated a total of 443 survivors

of SGBV, of which 80% were cases of rape defilement. Women's participation in conflict resolution has greatly improved basing on the 2007 PEV although there is still a lot to be done on the same. Women's Political Participation is relevant when implementing The UN resolution, the constitution of Kenya, though not satisfactorily has tried to bridge this gap

5.1 Recommendations

It is important to note that Kenya's Government as an implementing body has its own interests which do not always correspond with the interest of women and in general with the less powerful groups of the society. When working on gender justice it is important to use international agreements, such as the SCR 1325, as an umbrella that provides the guidelines for all reform programs at the same time. Local experience and local approach is needed, particularly from the grassroots. The top down designs might not bring expected results as they tend to face the challenges related to the complex race, ethnicity, class, etc. Kenya's Government must involve The UN but understand that SCR 1325 is not a UN program but a national program with full national and local ownership at all levels. There is need to have some monitoring activity going on in the country's implementation, follow up actions need to be improved and the funding system should be more consistent and systematic.

The National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) have an important role to play in safeguarding and promoting gender equality in Kenya. Created from the respected Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHRC), it has a clear mandate based on constitutional provisions regarding gender equality. It is of great importance that the commission be provided with the necessary resources and political support to efficiently carry out this mandate. The NGEC should work in close cooperation with the government, independent commissions such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and civil society, to provide leadership in promoting gender reconciliation strategies. Improving the implementation of resolution 1325 to get better results of women and conflict management in Kenya, there is need for mediation structures to be more responsive to the needs of women and other stakeholders in the conflict.

One crucial area in women's participation and empowerment is peace and security that are inextricably linked to development. SCR 1325 of 2000 is a landmark decision. For the first time in 55 years, it takes into account the unrecognized, under-utilized and undervalued contribution of women to preventing war, building peace and working toward social justice. The

potential of Resolution 1325, its implications and its impact in real terms are enormous. Women and men all over the world have been energized by this Resolution. Political support for its implementation by Member States, international organizations and, most importantly, civil society is growing every day. The battle for women's equality must be fought on many levels, including the need to address violence against women through the justice system.

First and foremost, getting help for women's trauma at the personal level balanced with getting women into leadership positions, from where they can re-write societies' rules will be an essential combination, if women are to feel truly supported and empowered. In the words of Nafis Sadiq, when she was Executive Director of the UN Population Fund, "tradition must not be used to oppress, but to empower". The international community must be as outspoken on gender oppression as it is on racial and ethnic oppression. This report advances this cause. The most obvious way to support women's activity in peace building is often identified as supporting women's organizations. There are many different types of women's organizations, with overlapping and changing agendas, which have contributed (or have the potential to contribute) to peace building. They have tended to take different forms in different countries at different times, which are not necessarily transferable through time and space. Nonetheless, there are some recognizable `types', with common potentials and problems.

5.2 Conclusions

The UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 was late but a very welcome resolution in pursuit for peace. The Resolution 1325 a comprehensive set of measures to enhance the role of women in peacemaking and peace building, and to ensure that gender issues receive full consideration in all U.N. programs in societies in conflict. Despite important steps since its passage, governments, international organizations, NGOs, and the U.N. itself have failed to fully implement its provisions. Many of the findings in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda were discouraging. Resolution 1325 is virtually unknown and unused by populations and governments, and to some extent even by women activists and U.N. officials in these countries. Women are largely excluded from peace processes, governments, and the formal economy. Peace negotiations often look first at granting amnesties for warring parties – men with guns forgive other men with guns for crimes against women.

However the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is an important instrument in the agenda to achieve gender equity in conflict resolution operations. Among the factors that hinder

progress in the implementation and incorporation of SCR 1325 are due to a lack of resources, insufficient involvement of women in senior positions of peacekeeping operations, the tendency to focus on women as victims, neglecting their potential to act as key contributors and lack of political will. In order for Resolution 1325 to be more effectively implemented through UN peacekeeping operations, the delayed recognition by peace building actors of the inherently discriminatory and destabilizing effects of inequitable gender roles, and the lack of understanding as to how gender can be fully incorporated into program design must be addressed. The progress achieved in Kenya since the post-election violence provides a firm foundation on which to build as the country continues on the path towards consolidation of democracy and towards a future characterized by sustainable peace, reconciliation and development.

There is great potential in achieving women's full participation in peace building. Harnessing this potential requires enhancing commitment, leadership and accountability, improving institutional capacity and increasing the financial and human resources of formal and informal peace & security sector. Further, collaboration is especially needed in preventing and fighting sexual violence against women, including by working with parties to conflict and enhancing monitoring and reporting mechanisms and practices. The overall goal must remain to operationalize resolution 1325 (2000) throughout the United Nations system, Member States, International Institutions, governments and beyond so as to adequately close the current gaps in women's involvement in conflict prevention, mitigation and building lasting peace.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Declaration: The information given will be treated confidentially and for the purpose of academic research only.

Location:

Town…………………….………..

Age ………………………………………… (Years)

Gender: Male……………….. Female……………………..

Education: No education…… Primary………Secondary……..University……Other specify……..

Occupation…………………………… Organization ……………………….

1. Have you heard of the UN Resolution 1325 in Kenya?

    A. Yes
    B. No

2. In your own opinion, do you think women are equally and well represented in politics in Kenya? Explain you answer?

    ……………………………………………………………………………

3. In conflict Resolution, do women play a role, if yes which roles?

    ………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………..

4. Do you know of any organizations fighting equality for women in Kenya? Please list?

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………………………………….

5. Has the launching of the Kenyan National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN resolution 1325 taken place?

6. What Impacts has resolution 1325 brought forth since its inception in Kenya?

    …………………………………………………………………………………

7. Do you think gender equality can be achieved in Kenya?

    A. Yes
    B. No

8. If yes, which measures should be taken to achieve the same?

    …………………………………………………………………………….

    ……………………………………………………………………………….

    …………………………………………………………………………………

9. In your opinion, what challenges can face UN resolution 1325 implementation in Kenya?

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10. What are your recommendations in support for gender equality in Kenya, especially in conflict resolution

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